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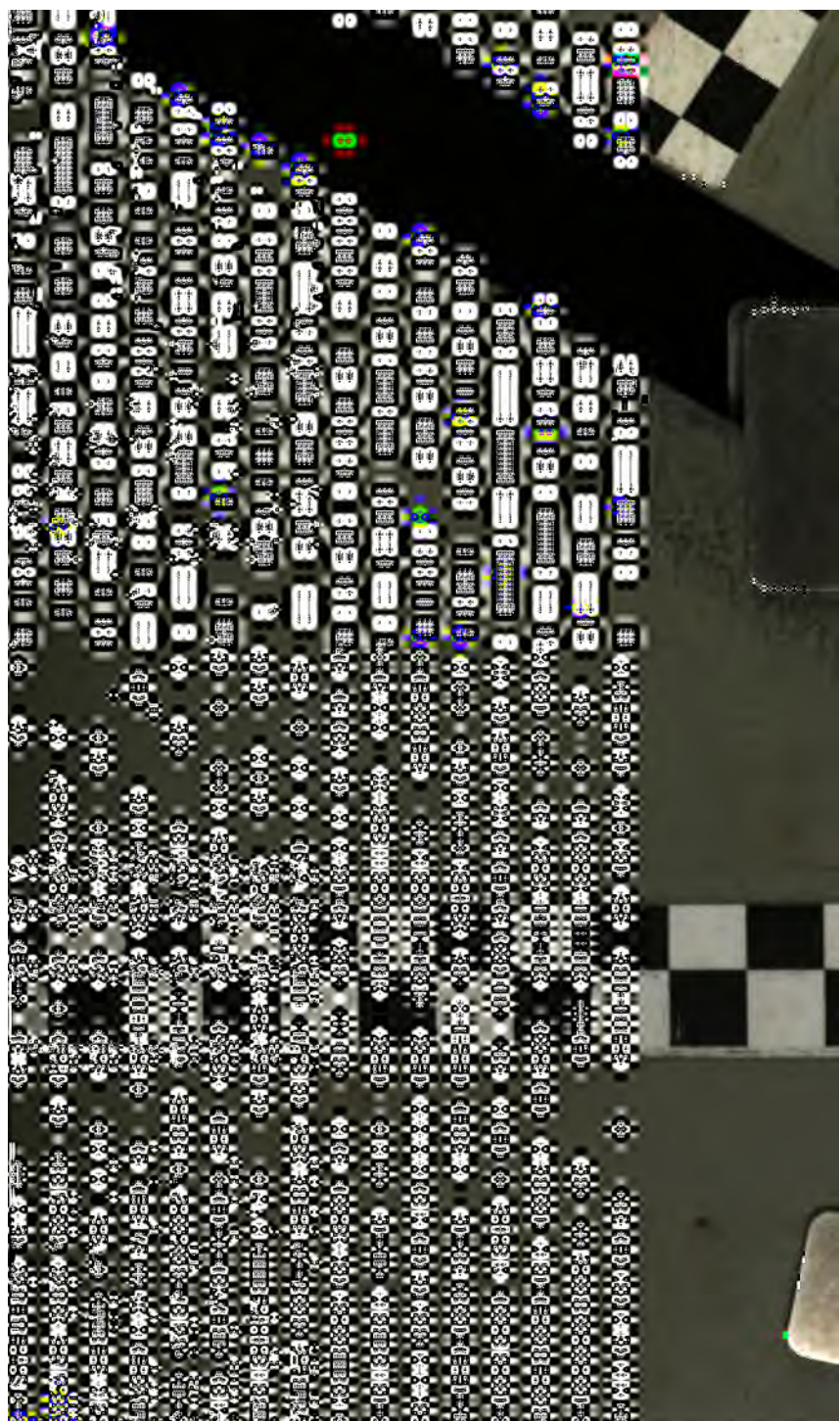
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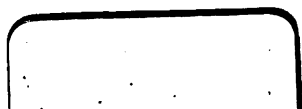
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THE  
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES  
OF  
NEW ENGLAND,  
NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY,  
AND  
PENNSYLVANIA.

EMBRACING THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS, VIZ:

DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS—INDIAN HISTORY—INDIAN, FRENCH, AND  
REVOLUTIONARY WARS—RELIGIOUS HISTORY—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES  
—ANECDOTES, TRADITIONS, REMARKABLE AND UNACCOUNTABLE  
OCCURRENCES—WITH A GREAT VARIETY OF CURIOUS AND  
INTERESTING RELICS OF ANTIQUITY

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

---

COLLECTED AND COMPILED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES,  
BY JOHN WARNER BARBER;  
MEMBER OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AUTHOR OF THE CONNECTICUT  
AND MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, &c.

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be considered as a collection of historical facts, items, and antiquities, relating to the history of the northern States. It may, perhaps, be the opinion of many, that if a work has been printed and circulated, there is but little or no danger of its becoming totally lost. It is a well known fact, however, that there have been works printed in this country, of which a copy cannot now be found. In some instances, even the publishers of books have been unable to procure a single copy of some of their publications, which had been issued but a few years. The compiler has endeavored to make an interesting collection, and trusts his readers will find entertainment, as well as valuable information, respecting the history of the several States. The study of history, is believed to be one every way worthy of attention. By the contemplation of the past, we feel our span of existence extended, and in a measure enter into the feelings of those who have gone before us. By tracing the history of man, in the varied situations in which he has been placed, and by observing the effect of principles by which he has been actuated, we feel interested and instructed.

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# OUTLINE HISTORY

## OF THE

### NEW ENGLAND STATES.

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THESE are good reasons for believing that the first civilized people who visited New England, were a colony of Norwegians, or Northmen. The original Icelandic accounts of the voyages of discovery, performed by these men, are still in existence; and have been recently published by the Society of Antiquaries, at Copenhagen.\* The following summary of events, and conclusions, respecting the discovery and first settlement of this country are drawn by the authors of that publication.

"In the spring of 986, Eric the Red, emigrated from Iceland to Greenland, and formed a settlement there. In 994, Biarne, the son of Heriulf Bardson, one of the settlers who accompanied Eric, returned to Norway, and gave an account of discoveries he had made to the south of Greenland. On his return to Greenland, Leif, the son of Eric, bought Biarne's ship, and with a crew of 35 men, embarked on a voyage of discovery, A. D. 1000. After sailing sometime to the southwest, they fell in with a country covered with a slaty rock, and destitute of good qualities, and which, therefore, they called *Helluland*, (Slate-land.) They then continued southerly, until they found a low flat coast, with white sand cliffs, and immediately back, covered with wood, whence they called the country *Markland*, (Wood-land.) From here, they sailed south and west, until they arrived at a promontory which stretched to the east and north, and sailing round it turned to the west and sailing westward, passed between an island and the mainland, and entering a bay through which flowed a river, they concluded to winter there.

Having landed they built houses to winter in, and called the place *Leifsbuthir*, (Leifs-booths.) Soon after this, they discovered an abundance of vines, whence they named the country *Vinland* or Wineland. Antiquarians have been much puzzled to know where *Vinland* was located, but the Antiquarian Society, to

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\* *ANTIQUITATES AMERICANÆ, sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum Antecolumbianarum in America.* (Antiquities of America, or Northern writers of things in America before Columbus.) Hafniæ, 1837, 4to. pp. 486.

whose exertions we owe the above work, after the most careful examination of all the evidence on the subject, do not hesitate to place it at the head of Narraganset Bay, in Rhode Island. Every thing in the description of the voyage and country, agrees most exactly with this. The promontory extending east and north, corresponds closely with that of Barnstable and Cape Cod, and the islands they would encounter immediately upon turning west, would be Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard.

Two years after, [1002,] Thorwold, the brother of Leif, visited Vinland, where he spent two years, and was finally murdered by the natives. Before his death, he coasted round the promontory and called the north end, now Cape Cod, *Kjalarnes*, (Keel-Cape.) He was killed and buried on a small promontory, reaching south from the mainland, on the west side of the Bay, inclosed by the promontory of *Kjalarnes*, and which answers most accurately to the strip of land on the east side of Plymouth harbour, now called Gurnet's Point. The Norwegians called it *Krassanes*, (Crossness or Cross-land,) because the grave of Thorwold had a cross erected at both ends.

In 1007, three ships sailed from Greenland for Vinland, one under the command of Thorfinn Karlsefne, a Norwegian of royal descent, and Snorre Thorbrandson, of distinguished lineage; one other commanded by Biarne Grimalfson and Thorhall Gamlason; and the third by Thorward and Thorhall. The three ships had 160 men, and carried all sorts of domestic animals necessary for the comfort and convenience of a colony. An account of this voyage, and a history of the country, by Thorfinn Karlsefne, is still extant, and forms one of the documents in the *Antiquitates Americanae*. They sailed from Greenland to *Helluland*, and passing *Markland*, arrived at *Kjalarnes*; whence sailing south by the shore of the promontory, which they found to consist of trackless beaches and long wastes of sand, they called it *Furthustrandir*, (Wonder-Strand or Beach;) whether on account of the extensive sandy shore, or from the mirage and optical illusion so common at Cape Cod, it is impossible to determine. Passing south, they sailed by the island discovered by Leif, which they called *Straumey*, (Stream-Isle,) probably Martha's Vineyard, and the straits between, *Straumfjofthr*, (Stream-Firth,) and arrived at *Vinland*, where they spent the winter. The Bay into which they sailed, they called *Hopsvatn*, and their residence received the name of *Hop*, (*English Hope*, *Indian Haup*.) the identical *Mount Hope*, so much celebrated as the residence of King Philip. After various successes, Thorfinn returned to Greenland, and finally went to Iceland and settled.

From a comparison of all the remaining accounts of these voyages, the *geographical, nautical and astronomical facts* con-

tained in them, with the natural history and geography of this country when first settled by the whites, there can be little doubt that *Vinland* has been correctly located by the learned society. By similar evidence it also appears, that *Markland* was what is now called Nova Scotia; that *Liila Helluland* (Little Helluland) was Newfoundland; and that *Helluland it Mikla*, (Great Helluland,) was the coast of Labrador. We ought also to have observed above, that *Straumfjothr* (Stream-Firth) probably included the whole of Buzzard's Bay.

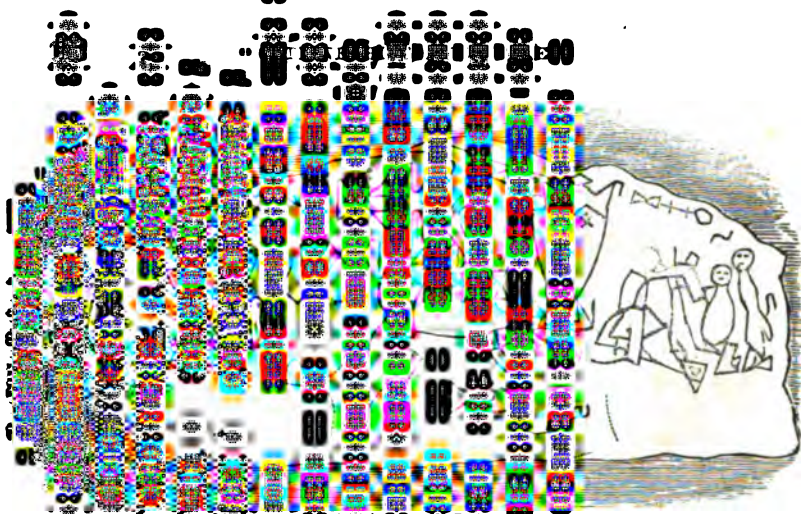
Of the *climate* of Vinland the Northmen say, it was, when they were there, so mild that cattle would live out-doors during the year, that the snow fell but lightly, and that the grass continued to be green in some places, nearly all winter. Among the *productions* of Vinland, were, abundance of vines, a kind of wild wheat (*maize*), a beautiful wood which they called *mazer* (Birds-eye-maple, *Acer Saccharinum*), a great variety of forest animals, eider ducks in great plenty, and the rivers and bays they describe as filled with fish, among which they reckon salmon, halibut, whales, &c. It is also said by the same historians, that the sun rose at half past seven o'clock in the shortest days, which is the exact time it rises at Mount Hope.

Subsequent to this time, explorations were made to the south of Vinland, along the eastern shore, and judging from the fragments of voyages, it would seem that some penetrated as far south as Florida. The whole country south of Chesapeake Bay is called by them *Hvitramannaland*, (white-man's-land,) or *Ireland it Mikla*, (Ireland the Great.) In 1121, Vinland was visited by bishop Eric, and as there is no account of his return, it seems probable that he spent his days there.\*

Soon after the first settlement of this part of the country, a remarkable rock covered with hieroglyphics, was discovered in the present town of Berkley, since known as the "*Dighton Writing Rock*." This rock which has caused much speculation among antiquarians, is of fine grained gray granite, a few feet above the present low water mark, in Taunton river and is partially covered at every tide. The face of the rock is eleven feet long, and rises from the ground about five: the inscriptions are apparently pecked into it, the channels of the letters or marks being about a half, or three fourths of an inch in width.

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\* For this summary account, the author is indebted to an article published in the "*Chronicle of the Church*," by A. B. Chapin, Esq. of New Haven, Con.



in the inscriptions under the direction and published in some, that these signify in Icelandic were in A. D., 1007, pose them to be of menicians. general spirit of European nations. Ironage of Henry recovery. He was andred men, with London and Bristol. he sight of land, and it *Prima Vista*, *First sight*. This is of Newfoundland. uler island which they soon reached orthwardly, to the ling that the coast and sailed south India," till they air provisions now mariners, they re- ment, or conquest service of France,

sailed along the American coast from Florida to Labrador, and named the country New France. In 1534, the French fitted out another expedition under James Cartier. He discovered and named the gulf of St. Lawrence; the year following he sailed up the river St. Lawrence as far as Montreal, built a fort and took possession of the country in the name of the French king. These, and other discoveries and settlements, made by the French, afterwards proved the source of many calamities to the British Colonies, till the conquest of Canada in 1760.

For a long period after the discovery of Cabot, the English monarchs appear to have given but little attention to the country which they afterwards claimed. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, and sent out two ships commanded by Amidas and Barlow to America, to examine the country in order to make a settlement. They landed at Roanoke, and were well received by the natives. On their return they have so flattering an account of the country, that Queen Elizabeth delighted with the idea of possessing so fine a territory, named it *Virginia*, as a memorial that the discovery was made under a virgin queen. This name was afterwards applied to the country along the whole coast. The exertions of Raleigh, however, to plant a permanent colony proved unsuccessful.

In 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold sailed in a small barque from Falmouth, England, with thirty-two persons, for the northern parts of Virginia with the intention of making a settlement. Steering due west, as near as the winds would permit, after a passage of seven weeks, discovered land on the American coast, May 14th. Sailing along the shore the next day they discovered a head land in the latitude of forty-two degrees, where they came to anchor; and taking a great number of Cod at this place, they named it Cape Cod. On the 21st they discovered an island, which they called Martha's Vineyard. On the 28th they concluded to commence a settlement on one of the Elizabeth Islands; so named by them in honor of the Queen. They landed on *Cut-tahunk* the westernmost Island, and in nineteen days, a fort and store house were completed. While the men were occupied in this work, Gosnold crossed the Bay and landed on the main land, where he amicably trafficked with the natives. Upon his return to the island, he found that a portion of his men who were to have remained, so discontented, that he concluded to abandon the design of a settlement, and the whole company returned to England.

The discovery made by Gosnold, incited a spirit of enterprise, and by the influence of Richard Hakluyt, a most active promoter of the English settlements in America, an association of gentlemen was formed, for the purpose of establishing colonies in



America. Upon their application to king James, a patent was granted in 1606, for the settling two plantations in America, one called *North*, the other *South Virginia*. The Southern district, called the first colony, he granted to the London Company; the Northern, called the second colony, he granted to the Plymouth Company. North Virginia was allotted as a place of settlement, to several knights, gentlemen, and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England.

In 1607, owing to the encouragement given for the settlement of North Virginia, Sir John Popham and others sent out two ships under the command of George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, with a hundred men, with ordnance and all provisions necessary until they might obtain further supplies. They sailed from Plymouth the last of May, and on the 11th of August, landed on a peninsula at the mouth of Kennebec river now in the state of Maine. Here, after a sermon was delivered, and their patent and laws were read, they built a store-house, fortified it and gave it the name of Fort St. George. On December 5th, the two ships sailed for England, leaving a colony of forty-five persons, Popham being president, and Gilbert, admiral. The ships which arrived the next year with supplies, brought the news of the death of Sir John Popham and Sir John Gilbert. These misfortunes, with the death of Capt. George Popham, the loss of the stores the preceding winter by fire, with the barren aspect of the country, so dispirited the colony, that they unanimously resolved to return in these ships to England.

In 1609, Henry Hudson an Englishman in the service of the Dutch, attempted to penetrate to the East Indies, by sailing a north-westward course. Having attempted in vain this passage, he followed the track, which the Cabots had marked for him a century before. He coasted along the foggy shores of Newfoundland; shaped his course for Cape Cod; worked into the Chesapeake, where the English were settled; sailed into the Manhattan or Hudson river; and departed in October for England. The Dutch sent ships the next year to Manhattan, to open a trade with the natives.

In 1614, Capt. John Smith, who some years before had been Governor of Virginia, was sent out with two ships from England, to North Virginia, with instructions to remain in the country, and to keep possession. He ranged the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod; made a discovery of the river Piscataqua, and the Massachusetts Islands. He also traded with the natives for furs. From the observations he made on the coast, islands, headlands, &c. on his return home, he formed a map, and presented it to king Charles, who in the warmth of admiration, declared the country should be called *New England*. Smith in his voyage

made several discoveries, and distinguished them by peculiar names. The north promontory of Massachusetts Bay, he named *Tragaligzanda*, in honor of a Turkish lady to whom he had been a slave at Constantinople. Prince Charles, however, in filial respect to his mother, called it Cape Ann; a name which it still retains. The three small islands at the head of the promontory, Smith called the *Three Turks Heads*, in memory of his victory over three Turkish champions; but this name was also changed. Another cluster of Islands, to which the discoverer gave his own name, Smith's Isles was afterwards called the Isle of Shoals, which name it still retains.

"The base and perfidious action of one man subjected English adventurers to present inconveniences, and to future dangers. Smith had left behind him one of his ships, to complete her lading, with orders to Thomas Hunt, the master, to sail with the fish, that he should procure on the coast, directly for Malaga. Hunt however, under pretence of trade, having enticed twenty-four of the natives on board his ship, put them under hatches, and carried them to Malaga, where he sold them to the Spaniards.\* This flagrant outrage disposed the natives in that part of the country where it was committed, to revenge the injury on the countrymen of the offender; and the English were hence constrained to suspend their trade, and their projected settlement in New England.

An opportunity was soon offered to the Indians, to show their resentment, if not to inflict revenge. In the course of the year, the English adventured to dispatch to the same coast another vessel, commanded by Captain Hobson, for the purpose of erecting a plantation, and establishing a trade with the natives; but it was found next to impracticable to settle any where within their territories. Two Indians, Epenow and Manowet, who had been carried by Hunt to England, were brought back in Hobson's vessel, to be serviceable toward the design of a plantation; but they united with their countrymen in contriving means, by which they might be revenged on the English. Manowet died soon after their arrival. Epenow, not allowed to go on shore, engaged his old friends, who visited the vessel, to come again, under pretext of trade. On their approach at the appointed time with twenty canoes, he leaped overboard, and instantly a shower of arrows was sent into the ship. The Indians, with desperate

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\* Hubbard says, that Hunt, "like a wicked varlet," decoyed them; and that he took 20 Indians from Patuxet [now Plymouth], and 7 from Nauset [Eastham]. I. Mather says the same thing. But, as Hubbard and the best authorities give the aggregate number of 24, it is probable, that 4 only were taken from Nauset, and that this figure has been mistaken for 7. Mather also says, that Hunt carried these Indians to Gibraltar, and there sold as many of them, as he could, for £20 a man, until it was known whence they came; "for then the friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the Christian religion."

courage, drew nigh, and, in spite of the English muskets, carried off their countrymen. Several Indians were killed in the skirmish. The master of the ship and several of the company were wounded. Discouraged by this occurrence, they returned to England.”\*

The rise of the English Puritans by whom the first permanent settlement in New England was effected is generally dated about the year 1550. The controversy which resulted in the separation from the Church of England is said to have originated “on occasion of bishop Hooper’s refusing to be consecrated in the Popish habits.” Hooper was a zealous, a pious, and a learned man, who had gone out of England in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII, and resided at Zurich. Pierce hence observes, ‘that the habits have, from the very infancy of our Reformation, been an offence to *very learned and pious men*.’ The archbishop of Canterbury, with other bishops and divines, having concluded on an order of divine worship, an act, confirming that new liturgy, had passed both houses of Parliament, January 15, 1549. It was protested against, however, by the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester. The Parliament enacted, that all divine offices should be performed according to the new liturgy, and subjected such of the clergy, as should refuse the service, or officiate in any other manner, to forfeitures and imprisonment; and, for the third offence, to imprisonment for life. Whoever should write or print against the book were to be fined £10 for the first offence; £20 for the second; and to be imprisoned for life for the third. The Council immediately appointed visitors, to see that the liturgy was received throughout England.”

“Although the æra of the Puritans commenced in the reign of Edward VI; yet that pious young prince very soon after began an ecclesiastical reformation. Had he lived to perfect it according to his intentions, the Puritans would probably have been satisfied. But he died in 1553, at the early age of XVI; and was succeeded by queen Mary, a bigoted Papist, under whose administration John Rogers, of pious memory, was burnt at Smithfield; and bishop Hooper, with other pious reformers, suffered martyrdom. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, the reformation, which had been begun by Edward, was, in some degree, restored; but that illustrious queen, addicted to show, and jealous of prerogative, soon made the Puritans feel the weight of her royal power. Bishops and other clergymen were deposed, for refusing the oath to the queen’s supremacy. At length (31st Jan. 1563) the convocation of the English clergy met, and finished

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\* Holmes’ Annals.

the XXXIX Articles. Of the lower house, 43 present were for throwing out the ceremonies, but 35 were for keeping them; and these, with the help of proxies, carried their measure by one vote. The bishops now began to urge the clergy to subscribe to the liturgy and ceremonies, as well as to the Articles. Coverdale, Fox, Humfrey and others, refused to subscribe; and this was the epoch of NON-CONFORMITY."

"In 1564, many instances of non-conformity were reported to the queen. Her majesty was highly displeased. It appeared that some of the clergy performed divine service "wearing a square cap, some a round cap, some a button cap, some a hat, some in scholar's clothes, and some in others." However unimportant or ludicrous such a controversy may appear in the present day, the merits of these habits were then solemnly debated by the gravest doctors and bishops of England, and by the most learned divines of Europe. Their disputes were useless. The strong arm of authority decided the question. The bishops published their "advertisements" to the clergy, prescribing an *exact* uniformity, as to the fashion of their dress, "gowns, caps, cuffs, capes, sleeves, and tippets." By this measure another portion of the most serious and useful ministers, who had continued to preach, were expelled from their pulpits, and shut up in prison. They refused to *conform*. Some of them became physicians, some became chaplains in private families; some fled to Scotland; others to the continent; some resorted to secular business; and many with large families, were reduced to want and beggary. The churches were shut; the public mind was inflamed; six hundred people repaired to a church in London to receive the sacrament; the doors were closed; no minister would officiate. The cries of the people reached the throne; but the throne was inexorable, and the archbishop had rather see his flock perish for the waters of salvation, than dispense with the clerical robes of the Papal church.

Despairing of relief from the government, the suspended ministers appealed to the world, and published an able defence of their conduct. Other publications followed. These were answered by the bishops. The Puritans replied; the public mind was agitated and inflamed; multitudes of the common people refused to attend worship where the ministers wore *the habits*. The government was roused. The Star Chamber decreed, that no person should publish any book against the queen and ordinances, or their *meaning*. Booksellers were compelled to enter into bonds to observe this law. This measure hastened the controversy to a signal *crisis*. The suspended ministers finding themselves in a pressing dilemma, having lost all hope of relief, had a solemn consultation, and agreed, "that since they could not have

the word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered without *idolatrous geare, it was their duty to break off from the public church, and to assemble in private houses and elsewhere.*" This agreement took place about the year 1566, and was the event that constituted the memorable era of SEPARATION from the church of England, and the establishment of the denomination of DISSENTERS.

In June, 1567, the sheriff of London discovered and broke up an assembly of about one hundred Puritans, most of whom were arrested, and several sent to Bridewell, where they were confined more than a year. In all suspected places, spies were employed to prevent these religious assemblies. In 1572, about one hundred clergymen were deprived of their support, for not subscribing to the articles of the church. Doctor Clark was expelled from the university of Cambridge, which by this time was considered "a nest of Puritans," for preaching that "Satan introduced into the church the different orders of the clergy."

Though the pulpits of the Puritans were daily silenced, and they were not allowed to print a page, still their cause gained ground; the spirit of their principles spread continually through the mass of society. Their zeal was inextinguishable. They employed printing presses, which secretly traveled through the country. Their pamphlets were scattered in every direction. The sober part of the community were addressed with powerful arguments; humor, sarcasm, and intolerable satire, were scattered every where by invisible hands. To no purpose did Parker, for a long time, employ his agents to discover their presses. Deploable was the state of morals and religion. Oppression and invective had sharpened the spirit of the parties. In some places Popery was openly professed; the bishops were loaded with riches; the people were neglected, and the court was corrupt, and reputed even to be the residence of licentiousness and atheism.

While the bishops were driving the Puritans from their pulpits, many of the nobility received them into their families, as their chaplains, and tutors of their children. Thus sheltered from their oppressors, they preached to the family, and catechised the children. This doubtless had a powerful effect on the rising generation. Still the spirit of persecution did not rest.

In June, 1583, two ministers of the Brownists were executed. This year the troubles of the Puritans were increased. Archbishop Grindal, who was rather favorably disposed towards them, was succeeded by Whitgift, a cruel persecutor. He ordered that all preaching, catechising, and praying should cease in every house, when any person was present beside the family. In 1584, no less than thirty-eight clergymen were suspended in the county of Essex. More effectually to arrest the Puritan pens, the Star

Chamber forbade having any printing presses in any private place, or any where in the kingdom, except in London, and the two universities. These must be licensed by the archbishop of Canterbury, or bishop of London. Nor might any book be printed, till it had been perused by them or their chaplains. The Lord's day being greatly profaned by plays and sports, the Rev. Mr. Smith, preaching before the university of Cambridge, urged the unlawfulness of such practices. For this he was summoned before the vice chancellor; yet so reasonable was the course of duty, that without any law, the observance of the Sabbath became more common, and afterwards was considered as the badge of a Puritan. So oppressive was the Episcopal party, that the dissenters were not permitted to keep a common school.

In 1586, the Puritan ministers again petitioned parliament. They state, that after the most laborious and exact survey, they find that one third of the ministers have been expelled from their pulpits; that there are in England only two thousand ministers to supply ten thousand churches; that many people, in order to hear a sermon, must travel twelve or twenty miles. But the spirit of mercy had forsaken the government.

Another terrific law was made by the Parliament, which opened February 19, 1591. It was enacted "that if any person above the age of sixteen, shall for one month, refuse to attend at some Episcopal church, and after conviction, shall not in three months make a humble confession, he shall go into *perpetual* banishment, if he do not depart in the time appointed, or if he return without the queen's license, he shall suffer death, without benefit of clergy." The moderate Puritans evaded this dreadful law by going to church when the services were near closing. But on the Brownists, who had conscientiously separated from the church, of whom there were twenty thousand in Norfolk, Essex, and about London, this law burst like a fatal thunderbolt. Though they conducted their meetings with all practicable secrecy, and changed the place of their worship from time to time to prevent discovery, it was not long before the officers of government fell upon one congregation, and arrested fifty-six of them, who were all sent to prison, where many of them perished, and others, after several years of confinement, were executed or banished. At their examination, they confessed, that for years they had met in the fields, in summer, at 5 o'clock A. M. on the Lord's day, and in the winter at private houses.

Till about this time, the controversy had chiefly respected habits, discipline, and ceremonies; but doctrines now began to be disputed. The Puritans and the universities denied the descent of Christ into hell, advocated the sanctity of the Sabbath, and the opinions of Calvin, his Institutions being read in their schools:

while the Episcopal party took the opposite side, and espoused the system of Arminius. The cause of the Puritans advanced; the bishops lost the respect due to ministers of religion. If any among the clergy or laity were distinguished for their pure morals, or ardent piety, they were immediately supposed to be Puritans. For some time, however, before the death of the queen, the zeal of controversy had gradually subsided, and the aspect of public affairs was more favorable to the rights and interests of the Puritans. Those of their opposers, who had been the most intimate friends of the queen, whom she had most favored, and through whose influence she had been led to do many things against the Puritans, when her case became desperate, and she could no longer serve them, deserted her, and scarce afforded her any of their company. She died March, 1603, and was succeeded by James I., who came to the throne by hereditary right, as well as by the appointment of queen Elizabeth.

The Puritans had high hopes of relief from the new king, who had been educated in their religion. But unfortunately for himself and the nation, James had not abilities to soften the violence of party asperity, nor conscience enough to support the friends of a thorough reformation; but immediately became a dupe to the flattery of the bishops, and a tool of their ambition. The men who forsook Elizabeth, and seduced the king to act against his own principles and interests, became his confidants. Though he had given the most solemn pledges of favor to the Presbyterians, "thanking God that he was king of the purest church in the world;" yet in nine months he renounced his former professions, and became the champion of Episcopacy. The church of Rome he called *his mother church*, declaring, "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and *ceremony*." "I will make them *conform*, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else worse."

The execution was as fatal as the threatening was absurd and wicked. Whitgift was succeeded by Bancroft, as archbishop of Canterbury, a man of rough temper, and an open foe to civil and religious liberty. By enforcing the observance of festivals, and the use of surplices, and caps and hoods; and by requiring the clergy, *from the heart* to subscribe certain articles, he very soon silenced more than three hundred Puritan ministers. Some were excommunicated, some imprisoned, and others driven into exile. The greater part of those who left the country were Brownists, whose leaders were Johnson, Ainsworth, Smith, and the well known John Robinson; who has since been considered the father of that portion of the Puritans, who were the founders of the New England colonies; of whom a more particular account will be given in the subsequent history.

Abbot, a sound Protestant, and thorough Calvinist, succeeded Bancroft, who died in 1610, in the archbishopric of Canterbury. Still, in 1612, several persons were burned for heresy at Smithfield and Litchfield; but so evident was the commiseration of the people, that it was thought more prudent to let the prisoners languish out their days in Newgate.

On the death of James, in March, 1625, he was succeeded by his son Charles I., who inherited his father's love of power, and hatred of puritanism. The good archbishop Abbot, having lost his influence, and Laud being bishop of London, and prime minister, the work of persecution proceeded with new vigor. Ministers were daily suspended, and their families ruined; no shelter from the terrific storm could be discovered in the realm of England.\*

"The Puritan or Reformed church in the north of England, had, in the year 1606, on account of its dispersed state, become divided into two distinct churches, to one of which belonged Mr. John Robinson, afterward its minister, and Mr. William Brewster, afterward its ruling elder. This church, in common with other dissenting churches throughout England, being extremely harrassed for its non-conformity, sought at length an asylum in Holland, where religious toleration was sanctioned by the laws. Mr. Robinson and as many of his congregation, as found it in their power, left England in the years 1607 and 1608, and settled in Amsterdam; whence, in 1609 they removed to Leyden. After residing several years in that city, various causes influenced them to entertain serious thoughts of a removal to America. These causes were, the unhealthiness of the low country where they lived; the hard labors to which they were subjected; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders, especially their lax observance of the Lord's day; the apprehension of war at the conclusion of the truce between Spain and Holland, which was then near its close, the fear, lest their young men would enter into the military and naval service; the tendency of their little community to become absorbed and lost in a foreign nation; the natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church, which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the Gospel in the regions of the New World. In 1617, having concluded to go to Virginia, and settle in a distinct body under the general government of that colony, they sent Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver to England, to treat with the Virginia company, and to ascertain, whether the king would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. Though these agents found the Virginia company very desirous of the projected settlement in their American

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\* Morse and Parish's History of New England.



territory, and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges, as they had power to convey; yet they could prevail with the king no farther, than to engage, that he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they should conduct peaceably Toleration in religious liberty, by his public authority, under his seal, was denied. The agents returned to Leyden the year following (1618), to the great discouragement of the congregation.

Resolved however to make another trial, they sent two other agents to England in February of this year (1619), to agree with the Virginia company; but, dissensions then arising in that body, the business was necessarily procrastinated. After long attendance, the agents obtained a patent, granted and confirmed under the seal of the Virginia company; but though procured with much charge and labor, it was never used, because it was taken out in the name of a gentleman, who, though at that time designing to accompany the Leyden congregation, was providentially prevented. This patent, however, being carried to Leyden for the consideration of the people, with several proposals from English merchants and friends for their transportation, they were requested to prepare immediately for the voyage.

It was agreed by the English congregation at Leyden, that some of their number should go to America, to make preparation for the rest. Mr. Robinson, their minister, was prevailed on to stay with the greater part at Leyden; Mr. Brewster, their elder, was to accompany the first adventurers; but these, and their brethren remaining in Holland, were to continue to be one church, and to receive each other to Christian communion, without a formal dismission, or testimonial. Several of the congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, which, together with money received from other adventurers, enabled them to purchase the *Speedwell*, a ship of sixty tons, and to hire in England the *Mayflower*, a ship of one hundred and eighty tons, for the intended enterprise.

Preparation being thus made, the adventurers having left Leyden for England in July, sailed on the fifth of August from Southampton for America; but, on account of the leakiness of the small ship, they were twice obliged to return. Dismissing this ship, as unfit for the service, they sailed from Plymouth on the sixth of September in the *Mayflower*. After a boisterous passage, they at break of day on the ninth of November, discovered the land of Cape Cod. Perceiving that they had been carried to the northward of the place of their destination, they stood to the southward, intending to find some place near Hudson's river, for settlement. Falling, however, among shoals,\* they were induced

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\* The same, which Gosnold called Point Care and Tucker's Terror; but which the French and Dutch call Malebar.

from this incident, together with the consideration of the advanced season of the year, and the weakness of their condition, to relinquish that part of their original design. The master of the ship, availing himself of the fears of the passengers, and of their extreme solicitude to be set on shore, gladly shifted his course to the northward; for he had been clandestinely promised a reward in Holland, if he would not carry the English to Hudson's river. Steering again therefore for the cape, the ship was clear of the danger before night; and the next day, a storm coming on, they dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbor, where they were secure from winds and shoals.

Finding the harbor to be in the forty-second degree of north latitude, and therefore beyond the territory of the South Virginia company, they perceived that their charter, received from that company had become useless. Symptoms of faction at the same time appearing among the servants on board, who imagined, that, when on shore, they should be under no government; it was judged expedient, that, before disembarkation, they should combine themselves into a body politic, to be governed by the majority. After solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument, drawn for that purpose, was accordingly subscribed on board the ship, on the eleventh day of November. This solemn contract was signed by forty-one of their number; and they, with their families, amounted to one hundred and one persons. Mr. John Carver was now unanimously chosen their governor for one year. Thus did these intelligent colonists find means to erect themselves into a republic, even though they had commenced their enterprise under the sanction of a royal charter; "a case, that is rare in history, and can be effected only by that perseverance, which the true spirit of liberty inspires."

Government being thus established, sixteen men, well armed, with a few others, were sent on shore the same day, to fetch wood, and make discoveries; but they returned at night, without having found any person, or habitation. The company, having rested on the Lord's day, disembarked on Monday, the thirteenth of November; and soon after proceeded to make further discovery of the country. On Wednesday the fifteenth, Miles Standish and sixteen armed men, in searching for a convenient place for settlement, saw five or six Indians, whom they followed several miles, until night; but not overtaking them were constrained to lodge in the woods. The next day they discovered heaps of earth, one of which they dug open; but, finding within implements of war, they concluded these were Indian graves; and therefore, replacing what they had taken out, they left them inviolate. In different heaps of sand they also found baskets of corn, a large quantity of which they carried away in a great kettle, found at the

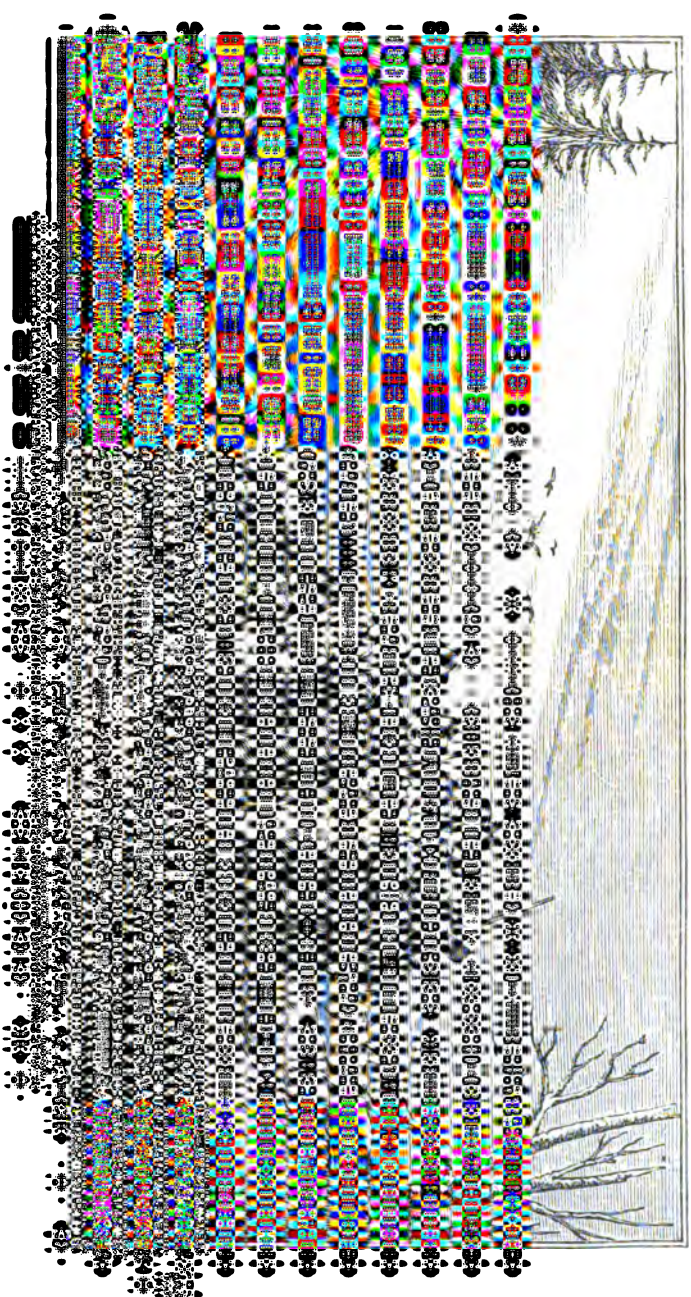
ruins of an Indian house. This providential discovery gave them seed for a future harvest, and preserved the infant colony from famine.

Before the close of November, Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was called Peregrine; and this was the first child of European extraction, born in New England.

On the sixth of December, the shallop was sent out with several of the principal men, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish and others, and eight or ten seamen, to sail around the bay, in search of a place for settlement. The next day this company was divided; and, while some traveled on shore, others coasted in the shallop. Early in the morning of the eighth, those on the shore were surprised by a flight of arrows from a party of Indians; but, on the discharge of the English muskets, the Indians instantly disappeared. The shallop, after imminent hazard from the loss of its rudder and mast in a storm, and from shoals, which it narrowly escaped, reached a small island on the night of the eighth; and here the company the next day, which was the last day of the week, reposed themselves, with pious gratitude for their preservation. On this island they the next day kept the Christian Sabbath. The day following, they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping; went on shore, and explored the adjacent land, where they saw various cornfields and brooks; and, judging the situation to be convenient for a settlement, they returned with the welcome intelligence to the ship.

On the fifteenth they weighed anchor, and proceeded with the ship for this newly discovered port, where they arrived on the following day. On the eighteenth and nineteenth they went on shore for discovery, but returned at night to the ship. On the morning of the twentieth, after imploring divine guidance, they went on shore again, to fix on some place for immediate settlement. After viewing the country, they concluded to settle on a high ground, facing the bay, where the land was cleared, and the water was excellent.

On Saturday the twenty-third, as many of the company, as could with convenience, went on shore, and felled and carried timber to the spot, designated for the erection of a building for common use. On Lord's day the twenty-fourth, the people on shore were alarmed by the cry of Indians, and expected an assault; but they continued unmolested. On Monday the twenty-fifth they began to build the first house. A platform for their ordinance demanding the earliest attention, they on the twenty-eighth began one on a hill, which commanded an extensive prospect of the plain beneath, of the expanding bay, and of the distant ocean. In the afternoon they divided their whole company into nineteen families; measured out the ground; and assigned to





every person by lot half a pole in breadth, and three poles in length, for houses and gardens. Though most of the company were on board the ship on the Lord's day, December thirty-first; yet some of them kept Sabbath for the first time in their new house. Here therefore is fixed the æra of their settlement, which, in grateful remembrance of the Christian friends, whom they found at the last town they left in their native country, they called Plymouth. This was the foundation of the first English town, built in New England.

After the departure of the adventurers from the coast of England, a new patent, dated the third day of November, was granted by king James to the duke of Lenox, the marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with thirty-four associates, and their successors, styling them, 'The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of NEW ENGLAND, in America.' By this patent that part of the American territory, which lies between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of north latitude in breadth, and 'in length by all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main-land from sea to sea,' was given to them in absolute property; the same authority and privileges, which had previously been given to the treasurer and company of Virginia, were now conferred on them; and they were equally empowered to exclude all from trading within the boundaries of their jurisdiction, and from fishing in the neighboring seas. This patent was the only civil basis of all the subsequent patents and plantations, which divided this country.\*

"The Plymouth colonists on the 9th of Jan. 1621, proceeded to the erection of their projected town; which they built in two rows of houses for greater security. On the fourteenth their Common House, that had been built in December, took fire from a spark, that fell on its thatched roof, and was entirely consumed. On the seventeenth of February, they met for settling military orders, and having chosen Miles Standish for their captain, conferred on him the power pertaining to that office.

On the sixteenth of March an Indian came boldly alone, into the street of Plymouth, and surprised the inhabitants by calling out, "Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!" He was their first visitant; his name was Samoset, a sagamore of the country, lying at the distance of about five days journey. Having conversed with the English fishermen, who had come to this coast, and learnt of them to speak broken English, he informed the Plymouth people, that the place, where they were seated, was called by the Indians Patuxet; that all the inhabitants died of an extra-

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\* Holmes' American Annals.

ordinary plague, about four years since; and that there was neither man, woman, nor child, remaining. No natives therefore were dispossessed of this territory, to make room for the English, excepting by the providence of God previously to their arrival.

Samoset, treated with hospitality by these strangers, was disposed to preserve an intercourse with them; and, on his third visit, was accompanied by Squanto, one of the natives, who had been carried off by Hunt in 1614, and afterward lived in England. They informed the English, that Masassoit, the greatest king of the neighboring Indians, was near, with his brother and a number of his people; and within an hour he appeared on the top of a hill over against the English town, with a train of sixty men.

Mutual distrust prevented for some time any advances from either side. Squanto at length, being sent to Masassoit, brought back word, that the English should send one of their number to parley with him. Mr. Edward Winslow was accordingly sent. Two knives, and a copper chain, with a jewel in it, were sent to Masassoit at the same time; and to his brother a knife, and a jewel, 'with a pot of strong water,' a quantity of biscuit, and some butter, all which articles were gladly accepted. Mr. Winslow, the messenger, in a speech to Masassoit, signified, that king James saluted him with words of love and peace, and that the English governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbor. The Indian king heard his speech with attention, and approbation. After partaking of the provision, which made part of the English present, and imparting the rest to his company, he looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armor, with an intimation of his desire to buy it; but found him unwilling to part with it. At the close of the interview, Masassoit, leaving Mr. Winslow in the custody of his brother, went over the brook, which separated him from the English, with a train of twenty men, whose bows and arrows were left behind. He was met at the brook by captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, who conducted him to a house then in building, where were placed a green rug, and three or four cushions. The governor now advanced, attended with a drum and trumpet, and a few musketeers. After mutual salutations, the governor called for refreshments, of which the Indian king partook himself, and imparted to his followers. A league of friendship was then agreed on; and it was inviolably observed above fifty years.

A great mortality, that commenced among the people soon after their arrival at Plymouth, swept off half of their number within the first three months, leaving scarcely fifty persons remaining.\*

\* "Tradition gives an affecting picture of the infant colony, during this critical and distressing period. The dead were buried on the bank, at a little distance from the

The first marriage in the colony was solemnized on the twelfth of May, between Mr. Edward Winslow, and Mrs. Susanna White. The first duel in New England was fought on the eighteenth of June, on a challenge at single combat, with sword and dagger, between two servants; both of whom were wounded. For this outrage they were sentenced by the whole company to the ignominious punishment of having the head and feet tied together, and of lying thus twenty-four hours, without meat or drink. After suffering, however, in that painful posture one hour, at their master's intercession, and their own humble request, with the promise of amendment, they were released by the governor.

Gov. Bradford, by advice of the company, sent Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, with Squanto for their guide, to Masassoit, to explore the country; to confirm the league; to learn the situation and strength of their new friend; to carry some presents; to apologize for some supposed injuries; to regulate the intercourse between the English and the Indians; and to procure seed corn for the next planting season. They lodged the first night at Namasket. In some places, they found the country almost depopulated by the plague, which had desolated the neighborhood of Patuxet. They passed through fine old cornfields, and pasture grounds, that were destitute of cattle and of inhabitants. Skulls and bones appeared in many places where the Indians had dwelt. On their arrival at Pokanoket, the place of Masassoit's residence, forty miles from Plymouth, they were kindly welcomed by that Indian sovereign, who renewed his assurances of continuing the peace and friendship.\*

rock where the Fathers landed; and lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were leveled and sown, for the purpose of concealment."

\* "The manner of reception and treatment of the envoys at the court of Masassoit is worthy of notice. When the king had taken them into his house, and seated them, he heard their message, and received their presents. He then put on a horseman's red coat, and a chain about his neck, (these having been among the presents), and 'was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired.' Having given a friendly answer to the message, his men gathered around him; and, turning himself to them, he addressed them in a speech: 'Am not I Masassoit, commander of the country around you? Is not such a town mine, and the people of it? Will you not bring your skins to the English?' After this manner he named at least thirty places, to every one of which they gave an answer of consent and applause. At the close of his speech he lighted tobacco for the envoys, and proceeded to discourse about England, and the English king, wondering that he would live without a wife. He talked also of the Frenchmen, bidding the English not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was king James' country, and he was king James' man. It now grew late, 'but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any,' having but just returned home. The envoys therefore, finding no prospect of refreshment, but from sleep, desired to go to rest; yet they were disappointed even of repose. 'Hee laid us,' says the narrator, 'on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and wee at the other, it being onely plankes laid a foot from the ground, and a thinne mat upon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and upon us; so that wee were worse wearie of our lodging then of our journey.'" Purchas, v.



After the league with Masassoit, Corbitant, one of his petty sachems, becoming discontented, meditated to join the Narragansetts, who were inimical to the English; and he was now at Namasket, attempting to alienate the subjects of Masassoit from their king. Squanto and Hobomack, two faithful friends of the English, going at this time to Namasket, to make observation, were threatened with death by Corbitant, who seized and detained Squanto, but Hobomack made his escape. To counteract the hostile machinations of Corbitant, and to liberate Squanto, the governor, with the advice of the company, sent Miles Standish and fourteen men, with Hobomack for their guide, to Namasket. On their arrival, the Indians of Corbitant's faction fled. The design of the English expedition was explained to the natives of the place, with menaces of revenge, in case of insurrection against Masassoit, or of violence to any of his subjects.

This resolute enterprise struck such terror into the neighboring Indians, that their chiefs came in, and solicited the friendship of the English. On the thirteenth of September, nine sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission to king James. It was peculiarly happy for the colony, that it had secured the friendship of Masassoit; for his influence was very extensive. He was revered and regarded by all the natives from the bay of Narragansett to that of Massachusetts. The submission of the nine sachems is ascribed to their mutual connection with this sovereign, as its primary cause. Other princes under him made also a similar submission, among whom are mentioned those of Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, and Namasket, with several others about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts.\*

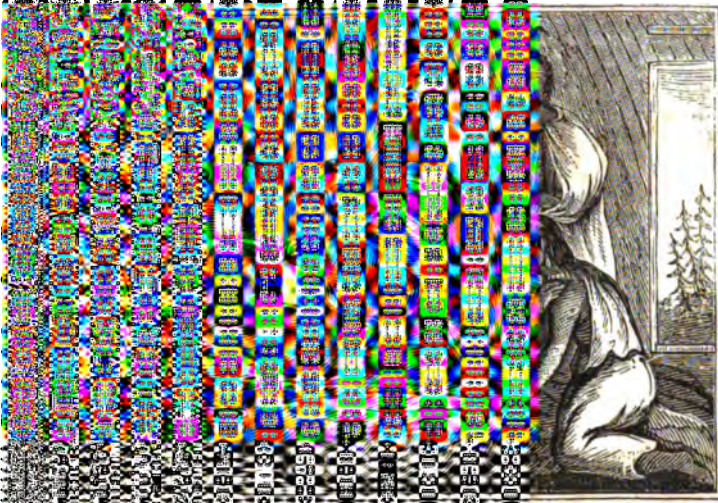
In March, 1623, intelligence being received at Plymouth that Masassoit was sick, and apparently near death, and that a Dutch ship was driven ashore near his house, the governor sent Edward Winslow and John Hambden, to visit and assist him, and speak with the Dutch. They found Masassoit extremely ill; but by some cordials which Mr. Winslow administered, he recovered.

Gratefully impressed with the kind offices performed, Masassoit revealed a plot of the Massachusetts Indians, against Weston's people at Wessagusset, who, being a set of rude and profane fellows, had provoked the Indians, by stealing their corn, and other abuses. Being fearful that the English settlers at Plymouth might avenge their countrymen, it was determined to kill them also. Masassoit advised the English to kill the chief conspirators, as the only means of safety.

"The governor, on receiving this intelligence, which was con-

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\* *Homes' Annals*



soit.

take with him as if a plot should be hatched, with eight men, suspecting his opportunity, another Indian, and a about as many of signal to his men; knife of Pecksuot a violent struggle; his son; and hung the killed an Indian, Indians, which he Indians. Standish, bravery, released coats, or allowing English settlers now was thus broken up, having supplied of Massachusetts Plymouth, bringing the fort. This sudden discovery of other natives, who conspiracy, that they desert places, where to many of them :

among whom were Canacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspinet, sachem of Nauset; and Ianough, sachem of Mattachiest."

"We have already mentioned that Mr. Carver was elected governor of the colony immediately after their arrival. He died the 5th of April following. He was a man of great piety, and indefatigable in his endeavors to advance the interest and happiness of the colony. Mr. William Bradford was soon after chosen to succeed him in office. This gentleman, by renewed elections, was continued in office until he died in 1657, except in 1633, 1636 and 1644, when Edward Winslow was chosen, and 1634, when Thomas Prince was elected, who also succeeded Governor Bradford and was annually elected, until his death in 1673, when Josias Winslow succeeded and continued until he died in 1680, and was succeeded by Thomas Hinkley, who held the place, except in the interruption by Andros, until the junction with the Massachusetts in 1692.

In March 1624, Mr. Winslow, agent for the colony, arrived in the ship *Charity*, and, together with a good supply of clothing, brought a *bull and three heifers*, which were the first cattle of the kind in this part of America. From these, and others that were afterward brought over from England, sprang the present multitudes of cattle in the northern states. None of the domestic animals were found in America by the first European settlers.

This year Lyford and Oldham, two treacherous intriguing characters, influenced the factious part of the adventurers, to join them in opposing the church and government of the colony. Their artful designs got vent, and occasioned much disturbance. Oldham was detected and banished. Lyford, who afterward proved to be a villain, was, upon apparent repentance, pardoned and received.

At the close of 1624, the plantation at New Plymouth, consisted of 180 persons, who lived in thirty-two dwelling-houses. Their stock was a few cattle and goats, and a plenty of swine and poultry. Their town was empaled about half a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town, they had erected a fort of wood, lime and stone, and a handsome watchtower. This year they were able to freight a ship of 180 tons. Such was the healthfulness of the place or of the seasons, that, notwithstanding their frequent destitution of the necessaries of life, not one of the first planters died for three years succeeding 1621.

The Laudian persecution was conducted with unrelenting severity; and while it caused the destruction of thousands in England, proved to be a principle of life and vigor to the infant settlements in America. Several men of eminence in England, who were the friends and protectors of the Puritans, entertained a design of settling in New England, if they should fail in the

measures they were pursuing for the establishment of the liberty, and the reformation of the religion of their own country. They solicited and obtained grants in New England, and were at great pains in settling them. Among these patentees were the Lords Brook, Say and Seal, the Pelhams, the Hampdens and the Pym; names which afterward appeared with great eclat. Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Oliver Cromwel, were actually upon the point of embarking for New England, when Archbishop Laud, unwilling that so many objects of his hatred should be removed out of the reach of his power, applied for, and obtained, an order from the court to put a stop to these transportations. However, he was not able to prevail so far as to hinder New England from receiving vast additions, as well of the clergy, who were silenced and deprived of their living and for non-conformity, as of the laity who adhered to their opinions.

New Plymouth, until this time, had remained without a patent. Several attempts were made, agents were sent and much money was expended, with a view to obtain one, but all hitherto had proved abortive. On the 13th of January, 1630, the council of New England sealed a patent to William Bradford, Esq.; and his heirs, of 'all that part of New England lying between Cohasset rivulet towards the north, and Narragansett river toward the south, the western ocean toward the east, and between and within a strait line directly extending up the main-land toward the west from the mouth of Narragansett river, to the utmost bound of a country in New England, called Pokanoket, alias Sawamsett westward, and another like strait line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river toward the west so far up into the main-land as the utmost limits of the said Pokanoket extend.' Also, 'all that part of New England between the utmost limits of Capersecont which adjoineth to the river Kennebek, and the falls of Negumke, with the said river itself, and the space of fifteen miles on each side between the bounds above said,' with all the rights, jurisdictions, privileges, &c. &c. usual and necessary.

This patent passed the King's hand, and would no doubt have now been finished, had not the agents, without the notice or advice of the colony, inserted a clause to free the colony from customs seven years inward, and twenty-one outward. But in consequence of this clause the patent was never finished, and they remained without a charter, until they were incorporated with Massachusetts, in 1691 or 1692. Notwithstanding this, New Plymouth was a government *defacto*, and considered as such by king Charles in his letters and orders which were sent them at various times previous to their incorporation with Massachusetts."

"On the 19th of March, 1628, the Plymouth council sealed a patent to Sir Henry Roswell, and five others, of all that part of New England, included between a line drawn three miles south of Charles river, and another three miles north of Merrimack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea.\* This patent gave a good right to the soil, but no powers of government. A royal charter was necessary. This passed the seals March 4th, 1629. Until this year, a few scattering settlements only, had been made in Massachusetts Bay. In the summer of 1628, Mr. Endicot, one of the original planters, with a small colony, was sent over to begin a plantation at Naumkeag, (now Salem). The June following, about 200 persons, furnished with four ministers,† came over and joined Mr. Endicot's colony; and the next year they formed themselves into a regular church. This was the first church gathered in Massachusetts, and the second in New England. The church at Plymouth had been gathered eight years before. In 1629, a larger embarkation was projected by the company in England; and at the request of a number of respectable gentlemen, most of whom afterward came over to New England, the general consent of the company was obtained, that the government and patent should be transferred and settled in Massachusetts.

In 1630, seventeen ships from different ports in England, arrived in Massachusetts, with more than 1500 passengers, among whom were many persons of distinction. Incredible were the hardships they endured. Exposed to the relentless cruelties of the Indians, who, a few months before, had entered into a general conspiracy to extirpate the English—reduced to a scanty pittance of provisions, and that of a kind to which they had not been accustomed, and destitute of necessary accommodations, numbers sickened and died; so that before the end of the year, they lost 200 of their number. About this time settlements were made at Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Cambridge, Roxbury,

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\* This tract of country was called MASSACHUSETTS BAY. The Massachusetts tribe of Indians, lived around, and gave their name to the large bay at the bottom of this tract, hence the name Massachusetts Bay.

The following extract from the epistle dedicatory to a sermon preached at Plymouth, in 1620, will show the ideas then entertained, respecting the situation of the South Sea.

"New England, so called, not only (to avoid novelties) because Captain Smith hath so entitled it in his description, but because of the resemblance that is in it, of England the native soil of Englishmen; it being much what the same for heat and cold in summer and winter, it being champion ground, but not high mountains, somewhat like the soil in Kent and Essex; full of dales, and meadow ground, full of rivers and sweet springs, as England is. But principally, so far as we can yet find it is an island, and near about the quantity of England, being cut out from the main land in America, as England is from the main of Europe, by a great arm of the sea, which entereth in forty degrees, and runneth up North West and by West, and goeth out either into the South Sea, or else into the Bay of Canada."

† Messrs. Higginson, Skelton, Bright and Smith.

and Medford. The first general court of Massachusetts was held on the 19th of October, 1631, not by representation, but by the freemen of the corporation at large. At this court, they agreed that in future, the freemen should choose the assistants, and that the assistants should choose, from among themselves, the governor and deputy governor. The court of assistants were to have the power of making laws and appointing officers. This was a departure from their charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted this court. At the next general court of election, in the same year, the freemen, notwithstanding their former vote, resolved to choose their own governor, deputy, and assistants, and passed a most extraordinary law, 'that none but church members should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic.' This law continued in force until the dissolution of the government; with this alteration, however, that instead of being church members, the candidates for freedom, must have a certificate from the minister, that they were of orthodox principles, and of good lives and conversations.

In the years 1632 and 1633, great additions were made to the colony. Such was the rage for emigration to New England, that the King in council thought fit to issue an order, (February 7, 1633,) to prevent it. This order, however, was not strictly obeyed; for this year came over Messrs. Cotton, Hooker, and Stone, three of the most famous pillars of the church. Mr. Cotton settled at Boston, and the other two at Cambridge. Mr. Hooker settled at Hartford, on Connecticut river.

In 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared in the general court for elections, as the representatives of the body of freemen, and resolved, 'That none but the general court had power to make and establish laws—to elect officers—to raise monies, and confirm proprieties;' and determined that four general courts be held yearly, to be summoned by the governor, and not be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court—that it be lawful for the freemen of each plantation, to choose two or three persons as their representatives, to transact, on their behalf, the affairs of the commonwealth, &c. Thus was settled the legislative body, which, except an alteration of the number of general courts, which were soon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumstances, continued the same as long as the charter lasted.

In 1636 Mrs. Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman who came to New England with Mr. Cotton, made great disturbances in the churches. Two capital errors with which she was charged, were, 'That the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person; and that nothing of sanctification, can help to evidence to believers their justification.' Disputes ran high about the cove-

nant of works, and the covenant of grace, and involved both the civil and religious affairs of the colony in great confusion. The final result was, a synod was appointed to be held at Cambridge, in August, 1637, where were present, both ministers and messengers of churches and magistrates, who after three weeks disputing, condemned, as erroneous, above eighty points or opinions, said to have been maintained by some one or other in the country. The result was signed by all the members but Mr. Cotton. In consequence of this, Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her principal followers were sentenced to banishment. She, with her husband and family, shortly after removed to Aquidnick, (Rhode Island), where, in 1642, Mr. Hutchinson died. She being dissatisfied with the people or place, removed to the Dutch country beyond New Haven, and the next year, she and all her family, being sixteen souls, were killed by the Indians, except one daughter who was carried into captivity.

In 1640, the importation of settlers ceased. The motives for emigrating to New England were removed by a change in the affairs of England. They who then professed to give the best account, say that in 298 ships, which were the whole number from the beginning of the colony, there arrived 21,200 passengers, men, women and children, perhaps about 4000 families. Since then more persons have removed from New England to other parts of the world, than have arrived from thence hither. The present inhabitants therefore of New England, are justly to be estimated a natural increase, by the blessing of heaven, from the first 21,000 that arrived by the year 1640. It was judged that they had, at this time, 12,000 neat cattle, and 3000 sheep. The charge of transporting the families and their substance, was computed at £192,000 sterling.

In 1641, many discouragements were given to the settlers by their former benefactors, who withheld their assistance from them, and endeavored, though without success, to persuade them to quit their new establishments. The following year, the Indians confederated under Miantinomo, a leader of the Narragansett Indians, for the extirpation of the English. The confederacy was fortunately discovered in its infancy and produced no mischief.

This year (1643), great disturbance was made in the colony by a sect which arose from the ashes of Antinomianism. The members of it, by their imprudence, exposed themselves to the intolerant spirit of the day, and Gorton, the leader of the party, was sentenced to be confined to Charlestown, there to be kept at work, and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape, and was threatened with severer punishment in case of a repetition of his crime. The rest were confined to different towns, one in a town, upon the same conditions with Gorton."

"The first grant of Connecticut was made, by the Plymouth council, to the Earl of Warwick, in 1630, and confirmed by his majesty in council the same year. This grant comprehended 'all that part of New England which lies west from Narragansett river, 120 miles on the sea-coast, from thence, in latitude and breadth aforesaid, to the south sea.' The year following, the earl assigned this grant to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, and nine others.

No English settlements were attempted in Connecticut until the year 1633, when a number of Plymouth men, having purchased of Sequasson and Natawanute, two principal sachems, a tract of land at the mouth of Farmington river in Windsor, built a house and fortified it, and ever after maintained their right of soil upon the river.

The same year, a little before the arrival of the English, a company of Dutch traders came to Hartford, and built a house which they called the *Hirse of Good Hope*, and erected a small fort, in which they planted two cannon. This was the only settlement of the Dutch in Connecticut in these ancient times. The Dutch, and after them the province of New York, for a long time claimed as far east as the western bank of Connecticut river. It belongs to the professed historian to prove or disprove the justice of this claim. Douglass says, 'The partition line between New York and Connecticut as established December 1, 1664, run from the mouth of Momoronock river, (a little west from Byram river), N. N. W. and was the *ancient easterly limits of New York*, until Nov. 23, 1683, when the line was run nearly the same as it is now settled.' If Douglass is right, the New York claim could not have been well founded.

In 1635, Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, sent over a small number of men, who built a fort at Saybrook, and held a treaty with the Pequot Indians, who, in a formal manner, gave to the English their right to Connecticut river and the adjacent country. In 1635, the Plymouth council granted to the Duke of Hamilton, all lands between Narragansett and Connecticut rivers, and back into the country as far as Massachusetts south line. This covered a part of the Earl of Warwick's patent, and occasioned some disputes in the colony. There were several attempts to revive the Hamilton claim, but were never prosecuted.

In Oct. of this year, about sixty persons, from Newtown, Dorchester, and Watertown, in Massachusetts, came and settled Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor, in Connecticut; and the June following the Rev. Mr. Hooker, and his company came and settled at Hartford, and was a father to the colony to the day of



his death. The first court held in Connecticut was at Hartford April 26th, 1636."

The year 1637, is rendered memorable in Connecticut by the conquest of the Pequots, one of the most warlike tribes in New England. They were surprised by Capt. Mason in one of their forts which stood in the limits of the present town of Groton, near New London, Conn., and their existence as a tribe was destroyed. This destruction of the Pequots struck such terror among the surrounding Indian tribes, as to restrain them from open hostilities for nearly forty years afterwards.

The pursuit of the Pequots along the southern coast of Connecticut, led to an acquaintance with lands on the sea-coast. The favorable report respecting the country, induced Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, both merchants of London of the first respectability, and the Rev. Mr. Davenport a man of distinguished abilities, with their company to select it as a place for settlement. Accordingly, in March, 1638, they proceeded to *Quinnipiac* now New Haven and laid the foundation of a flourishing colony. At their first election in Oct. 1639, Mr. Theophilus Eaton was chosen governor for the first year. Their elections by agreement, were to be annual; and the Word of God their rule for all their affairs of government.

In 1639, the three towns on Connecticut river, already mentioned, finding themselves without the limits of any jurisdiction, formed themselves into a body politic, and agreed upon articles of civil government. These articles were the foundation of the Connecticut charter, which was granted by king Charles in 1662. The colony of New Haven being included within the chartered limits of Connecticut, both colonies were united in one, in 1665.

Rhode Island was first settled from Massachusetts. It owes its first settlement, to a spirit of religious persecution. "Mr. Roger Williams, a minister, who came over to Salem in 1630, was charged with holding a variety of errors, and was at length banished from the colony of Massachusetts, and afterward from Plymouth, *as a disturber of the peace of the Church and Commonwealth*; and, as he says, 'a bull of excommunication was sent after him.' He had several treaties with Myantonomo and Canonicus, the Narragansett sachems, in 1634 and 1635; who assured him he should not want for land. And in 1634 and 1635, he and twenty others, his followers, who were voluntary exiles, came to a place called by the Indians Mooshausick, and by him *Providence*. Here they settled, and though secured from the Indians by the terror of the English, they for a considerable time greatly suffered through fatigue and want.

The unhappy divisions and contentions in Massachusetts still prevailed. And in the year 1636, governor Winthrop strove to

exterminate the opinions which he disapproved. Accordingly a synod was called at Newtown (now Cambridge) on the 30th of August, when eighty erroneous opinions were presented, debated, and condemned; and a court holden in October following, at the same place, banished a few leading persons of those who were accused of these errors, and censured several others; not, it seems, for holding these opinions, but for seditious conduct. The disputes which occasioned this disturbance, were about the same points as the five questions debated between the synod and Mr. Cotton, which are thus described by Dr. Mather. They were 'about the order of things in our union to our Lord Jesus Christ; about the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness; about the use of our sanctification in evidencing our justification; and about the consideration of our Lord Jesus Christ by men yet under a covenant of works; briefly, they were about the points whereon depend the grounds of our assurance of blessedness in a better world.'

The whole colony of Massachusetts, at this time, was in a violent ferment. The election of civil officers was carried by a party spirit, excited by religious dissension. Those who were banished by the court, joined by a number of their friends, went in quest of a new settlement, and came to Providence, where they were kindly entertained by Mr. R. Williams; who, by the assistance Sir Henry Vane, jun. procured for them, from the Indians, Aquidnick, now Rhode Island. Here, in 1638, the people, eighteen in number, formed themselves into a body politic, and chose Mr. Coddington, their leader, to be their judge or chief magistrate. This same year the sachems signed the deed or grant of the island. For which *Indian gift*, it is said, they paid very dearly by being obliged to make repeated purchases of the same lands from several claimants. The other parts of the state were purchased of the natives at several successive periods.

In the year 1643, the people being destitute of a patent or any legal authority, Mr. Williams went to England as agent, and by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, jun. obtained of the Earl of Warwick (then governor and admiral of all the plantations) and his council, 'a free and absolute charter of civil incorporation, by the name of the incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay.' This lasted until the charter granted by Charles II. in 1663, by which the incorporation was styled, 'The English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England.' This charter, without any essential alteration, has remained the foundation of their government ever since."—*Dr. Morse.*

The first discovery of any part of New Hampshire by the English, it appears, was made by Capt. John Smith in 1614, as

has been related. "In 1621, Capt. John Mason, obtained from the council of Plymouth, a grant of all the land from the river *Naumkeag* (now Salem) round Cape Ann, to the river Merrimack, up each of those rivers, and from a line connecting the furthest sources of them inclusively, with all islands within three miles of the coast. This district was called *Mariana*. The next year, another grant was made to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mason jointly, of all the lands between the Merrimack and Sagadahock, extending back to the great lakes of Canada. This grant, which includes a part of the other, was called *Laconia*. Under the authority of this grant, in 1623, a settlement was made at Little Harbor, near the mouth of the Piscataqua.

In 1629, some planters from Massachusetts Bay, wishing to form a settlement in the neighborhood of Piscataqua, procured a general meeting of the Indians, at Squamscot falls, where, *with the universal consent of their subjects*, they purchased of the Indian chiefs, for a valuable consideration, a tract of land comprehended between the rivers Piscataqua and Merrimack, and a line connecting these rivers, drawn at the distance of about thirty miles from the sea-coast, and obtained a deed of the same, witnessed by the principal persons of Piscataqua and the province of Maine.

The same year, Mason procured a new patent under the common seal of the council of Plymouth, of all lands included within lines drawn from the mouths and through the middle of Piscataqua and Merrimack rivers, until sixty miles were completed, and a line crossing over land connecting those points, together with all islands within five leagues of the coast. This tract of land was called New Hampshire. It comprehended the whole of the above mentioned Indian purchase; and what is singular and unaccountable, the same land which this patent covered, and much more, had been granted to Gorges and Mason, jointly, seven years before. In 1635, the Plymouth company resigned their charter to the king, but this resignation did not materially affect the patentees under them, as the several grants to companies and individuals were mostly confirmed at some subsequent period by charters from the crown.

In 1640 four distinct governments had been formed on the several branches of Piscataqua. The people under these governments, unprotected by England, in consequence of her own internal distractions, and too much divided in their opinions to form any general plan of government which could afford any prospect of permanent utility, thought best to solicit the protection of Massachusetts. That government readily granted their request, and accordingly, in April, 1641, the principal settlers of Piscataqua, by a formal instrument, resigned the jurisdiction of the whole

to Massachusetts, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy the same liberties with their own people, and have a court of justice erected among them. The property of the whole patent of Portsmouth, and of one third of that of Dover, and of all the improved lands therein, was reserved to the lords and gentlemen proprietors and their heirs forever. These reservations were acceded to on the part of Massachusetts, and what is extraordinary, and manifested the fondness of the government for retaining them under their jurisdiction, a law, of Massachusetts, declaring that none but church members should sit in the general court, was dispensed with, in their favor. While they were united with Massachusetts, they were governed by the general laws of the colony, and the conditions of the union were strictly observed. During this period, however, they had to struggle with many difficulties. One, while involved together with Massachusetts in a bloody war with the Indians; and repeatedly disturbed, with the warm disputes occasioned by the ineffectual efforts of Mason's heirs to recover the property of their ancestor. These disputes continued until 1679, when Mason's claim, though never established in law, was patronized by the crown, and New Hampshire was erected into a separate government. Massachusetts was directed to recall all her commissions for governing in that province, which was accordingly done. The first commission for the government of New Hampshire, was given to Mr. Cutt, as resident of the province on the 18th of September, 1679.

In the year 1691, Mason's heirs sold their title to their lands in New England to Samuel Allen of London, for £2750. This produced new controversies, concerning the property of the lands, which embroiled the province for many years. In 1692, Colonel Samuel Allen was commissioned governor of New Hampshire. Eight years after, he came over to America to prosecute his claim, but died before the affair was concluded.

The inhabitants about this time suffered extremely from the cruel barbarity of the Indians; Exeter, Dover, and the frontier settlements, were frequently surprised in the night—the houses plundered and burnt—the men killed and scalped—and the women and children either inhumanly murdered, or led captives into the wilderness. The first settlers in other parts of New England were also, about this time, harrassed by the Indians, and it would require volumes to enumerate their particular sufferings. In 1737, a controversy, which had long subsisted between the two governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, respecting their divisional line, was heard by commissioners appointed by the crown for that purpose. These commissioners determined that the northern boundaries, of Massachusetts should be a line three miles north from the river Merrimack as far as Pawtucket falls,

then to run west 10° north, until it meets New York line. Although Massachusetts felt herself aggrieved by this decision, and attempted several ways to obtain redress, the line has never been altered, but is, at present, the divisional line between the two states. Douglass mentions, 'That the governor of Massachusetts, for many years, was also governor of New Hampshire, with a distinct commission.' This must have been many years after New Hampshire had been erected into a separate government in 1679. He adds that New Hampshire entered a complaint to the king in council against the joint governor, relative to settling the boundaries between the two provinces. This complaint was judged by the king to have been well founded, and 'therefore a separate governor for New Hampshire was commissioned in 1740.'—*Dr. Morse's Hist.*

The first permanent settlement in Maine, was effected in York in 1630, by emigrants from Plymouth colony. "In 1635, Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained a grant from the council of Plymouth, of the tract of country between the rivers Piscataqua and Sagadahok, which is the mouth of Kennebeck; and up Kennebeck so far as to form a square of 120 miles. It is supposed that Sir Ferdinand first instituted government in this province. In 1639, Gorges obtained from the crown a charter of the soil and jurisdiction, containing as ample powers perhaps as the king of England ever granted to any subject.

In the same year he appointed a governor and council, and they administered justice to the settlers until about the year 1647, when, hearing of the death of Gorges, they supposed their authority ceased, and the people on the spot universally combined and agreed to be under civil government, and to elect their officers annually. Government was administered in this form until 1652, when the inhabitants submitted to the Massachusetts, who, by a new construction of their charter which was given to Rosswell and others, in 1628, claimed the soil and jurisdiction of the province of Maine as far as the middle of Casco Bay. Maine then first took the name of Yorkshire; and county courts were held in the manner they were in Massachusetts, and the towns had liberty to send their deputies to the general court at Boston.

In 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, all that part of New England which lies between St. Croix and Pemaquid rivers on the sea-coast; and up Pemaquid river, and from the head thereof to Kennebeck river, and thence the shortest course north to St. Lawrence river. This was called the Duke of York's property, and annexed to the government of New York. The Duke of York, on the death of his brother Charles II. be-

came James II., and upon James' abdication, these lands reverted to the crown.

Upon the restoration of Charles II., the heirs of Gorges complained to the crown of the Massachusetts usurpation; and in 1665, the King's commissioners who visited New England, came to the province of Maine, and appointed magistrates and other officers independent of Massachusetts Bay. The magistrates, thus appointed, administered government according to such instructions as the king's commissioners had given them, until about the year 1668, when the Massachusetts general court sent down commissioners and interrupted such as acted by the authority derived from the king's commissioners. At this time public affairs were in confusion; some declaring for Gorges and the magistrates appointed by the king's commissioners, and others for Massachusetts. The latter however prevailed, and courts of pleas and criminal jurisdiction were held as in other parts of the Massachusetts Bay.

About the year 1674, the heirs of Gorges complained again to the king and council of the usurpation of Massachusetts Bay, and they were called upon to answer for their conduct. The result was, they ceased for a time to exercise their jurisdiction, and Gorges, grandson of Ferdinando, sent over instructions. But in 1677, the Massachusetts, by their agent, John Usher, Esq., afterward governor of New Hampshire, purchased the right and interest of the patent for £1200 sterling. The Massachusetts now supposed they had both the jurisdiction and the soil, and accordingly governed in the manner the charter of Maine had directed, until 1684, when the Massachusetts charter was vacated. In 1691, by charter from William and Mary, the province of Maine and the large territory eastward, extending to Nova Scotia, was incorporated with Massachusetts Bay."—*Dr. Morse.*

King Charles in the patent given to Gorges, granted more and greater powers, than had ever been granted by a sovereign to a subject. He enjoined little else in particular, than an establishment of the Episcopal religion. The territory was then called the Province of Mayne, by way of compliment to the queen of Charles I. who was a daughter of France, and owned as her private estate, a province there, called the Province of Mayne, now the department of Maine. Maine became separated from Massachusetts in 1820, by being that year formed into an independent state.

In the spring of 1630 the *Great Conspiracy* was entered into by the Indians in all parts, from the Narragansetts round to the eastward, to extirpate the English. The colony at Plymouth was the principal object of this conspiracy. They well knew that if they could effect the destruction of Plymouth, the infant

settlement at Massachusetts would fall an easy sacrifice. They laid their plan with much art. Under color of having some diversion at Plymouth, they intended to have fallen upon the inhabitants, and thus to have effected their design. But their plot was disclosed to the people at Charlestown, by John Sagamore, an Indian, who had always been a great friend to the English. This treacherous design of the Indians alarmed the English, and induced them to erect forts and maintain guards, to prevent any such fatal surprise in future. These preparations, and the firing of the *great guns*, so terrified the Indians that they dispersed, relinquished their design, and declared themselves the friends of the English.

Such was the great increase of inhabitants in New England by natural population, and particularly by emigrations from Great Britain, that in a few years, besides the settlements in Plymouth and Massachusetts, very flourishing colonies were planted in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Haven and New Hampshire. The dangers to which these colonies were exposed from the surrounding Indians, as well as from the Dutch, who, although very friendly to the infant colony at Plymouth, were now likely to prove troublesome neighbors, first induced them to think of an alliance and confederacy for their mutual defence. Accordingly in 1643, the four colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, agreed upon articles of confederation, whereby a congress was formed, consisting of two commissioners from each colony, who were chosen annually, and when met were considered as the representatives of '*The United Colonies of New England.*' The powers delegated to the commissioners, were much the same as those vested in Congress by the articles of confederation, agreed upon by the United States in 1776. The colony of Rhode Island would gladly have joined in this confederacy, but Massachusetts, for particular reasons, refused to admit their commissioners. This union subsisted, with some few alterations, until the year 1686, when all the charters, except that of Connecticut, were, in effect, vacated by a commission from James II.

"In 1656 began what has been generally called the persecution of the Quakers. The first who openly professed the principles of this sect in this colony, were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who came from Barbadoes in July of this year. A few weeks after, nine others arrived in the ship *Speedwell* of London. On the 8th of September, they were brought before the court of Assistants. It seems they had before affirmed that they were sent by God to reprove the people for their sins; they were accordingly questioned how they could make it appear that God sent them? After pausing, they answered that they had the same call that Abraham

had to go out of his country. To other questions, they gave rude and contemptuous answers, which is the reason assigned for committing them to prison. A great number of their books which they brought over with intent to scatter them about the country, were seized and reserved for the fire. Soon after this, as the governor was going from public worship on the Lord's day to his own house, several gentlemen accompanying him, Mary Prince called to him from a window of the prison, railing at and reviling him, saying, 'woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor;' and denouncing the judgments of God upon him. Not content with this, she wrote a letter to the governor and magistrates filled with opprobrious stuff. The governor sent for her twice from the prison to his house, and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present, and with much moderation and tenderness endeavored to convince her of her errors, to which she returned the grossest railings, reproaching them as hirelings, deceivers of the people, Baal's priests, the seed of the serpent, or the brood of Ishmael and the like.

At this time there was no special provision made in the laws for the punishment of the Quakers. But in virtue of a law which had been made against heretics in general, the court passed sentence of banishment upon them all. Afterwards other severe laws were enacted, among which were the following; any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and for the second offence, the other—a woman to be each time severely whipped—and the third time, whether man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red-hot iron."—*Dr. Morse.*

"In October, 1658, the members of the general court of Massachusetts, by a majority of one vote only, passed a law for punishing with death all Quakers who should return into their jurisdiction after banishment. Under this law four persons were executed. The friends of the Quakers in England now interposed, and obtained an order from the king, September 9th, 1661, requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporeal punishments of his subjects called Quakers, and that such as were obnoxious, should be sent to England. This order was obeyed, and all disturbances by degrees subsided.

Much censure has been passed upon the New England colonies for their severe laws against those calling themselves Quakers; yet it must be recollected that the laws in England against them, at this period, were severe, and although none were put to death by public execution, yet many were confined in prisons, where they died, in consequence of the rigor of the law. One principal thing which tends to mislead the judgment of many, in this present age, is the supposition that those who suffered the punishment of the law were essentially of the same spirit and practice



of the respectable and worthy society of Friends or Quakers of the present day. This is a mistake; many who went by this name at that period may be considered as fanatics, and proper subjects of a madhouse. The following instances of their conduct may be considered as a species of madness. 'Some at Salem, Hampton, Newbury, and other places, coming into the congregations and calling to the minister in time of public worship, declaring their preaching, &c., to be an abomination to the Lord. Thomas Newhouse went into the meeting-house at Boston, with a couple of glass bottles, and broke them before the congregation, and threatened, '*Thus will the Lord break you in pieces.*' Another time, M. Brewster came in with her face smeared and black as a coal. Deborah Wilson went through the streets of Salem as naked as she came into the world.\* "That some provision was necessary against these people so far as they were disturbers of civil peace and order, every one will allow; but such sanguinary laws against particular doctrines or tenets in religion are not to be defended."

"Soon after the restoration of Charles II. in 1660, many complaints were made to his majesty respecting the colony, and, agreeably to a requisition from him, agents were sent over to answer to them. These were favorably received, and returned in a short time with letters from the king, commanding the alteration of some of the laws and customs, and directing the administration of justice to be in his name. The letters not being strictly obeyed, and new complaints coming to the king's ears, four commissioners were dispatched in 1665, to the colony of Massachusetts, with absolute authority to hear and determine every cause. This authority met with merited opposition. The colonists adhered to what they imagined to be their just rights and privileges, and though somewhat culpable for their obstinate defence of a few unwarrantable peculiarities, deserve commendation for their general conduct. The commissioners left the colony dissatisfied and enraged. Their report, however, occasioned no trouble from England, on account of the jealousies of government which then prevailed there, and the misfortunes of the plague, and fire of London."

"The year 1675 is memorable in the history of New England on account of *King Philip's War*, the most general and destructive ever sustained by the infant colonies. The Indian power in New England was forever broken in a bloody conflict in the depth of winter, called the *Swamp fight*. The war was ended by the death of Philip, who was killed August 12th, 1676. In this distressing war, the English lost six hundred men, the flower of their strength;

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\* Hutchinson, vol. i., p. 203 and 204

twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed, and six hundred dwelling houses were consumed. Every eleventh family was houseless, and every eleventh soldier had sunk to the grave.

"In the year 1684, it was decided in the high Court of Chancery, that Massachusetts had forfeited her charter, and that henceforth her government should be placed in the hands of the king. This event was brought about chiefly by the instrumentality of Edmund Andros. This man had been sent over as a kind of spy on the colonies; he made it his business to collect charges against the colonies, and return to England and excite the jealousy of the British government. In this manner, the way was prepared for annulling the colonial charters. In December 1686, Andros arrived at Boston, being commissioned by King James, as Governor General, and Vice Admiral over New England, New York, and the Jerseys. Like all tyrants, Sir Edmund began his administration with professions of high regard for the public welfare. In a few months, however, the prospect was changed. The press was restrained, liberty of conscience infringed, and exorbitant taxes were levied. The charters being vacated, it was pretended all titles to land were destroyed; farmers, therefore, who had cultivated their soil for half a century, were obliged to take new patents, giving large fees, or writs of intrusion were brought, and their lands sold to others. To prevent petitions or consultations, town meetings were prohibited, excepting once in a year for the choice of town officers. Lest cries of oppression should reach the throne, he forbade any to leave the country without permission from the government.

In 1689, King James having abdicated the throne, William, Prince of Orange, and Mary, daughter of James, were proclaimed in February. A report of the landing of William in England, reached Boston; but before the news of the entire revolution in the English government arrived, a most daring one was effected in New England.

The colonists had borne the impositions of Andros's government about three years. Their patience was now exhausted. On the morning of April 18th, the public fury burst forth like a volcano. The inhabitants of Boston were in arms, and the people from the country poured in to their assistance. Andros and his associates fled to a fort; resistance was in vain, he was made a prisoner, and sent to England."

The year 1692 is memorable in New England for the convulsion produced in Salem and its vicinity by the supposed prevalence of *witchcraft*. Many were supposed to be bewitched, and would complain of being bitten, pinched, pricked with pins, &c.; some declared that they beheld a spectral representation of the person whom they said was the cause of their affliction.

Some were struck dumb, others had their limbs distorted in a shocking manner, sometimes running on their hands and feet, creeping through holes, and under chairs, tables, &c.; barking like a dog, with other actions equally strange and unaccountable. Upon the accusation and testimony of persons thus afflicted, many were imprisoned, and nineteen were executed for *practicing witchcraft*, most of whom died professing their innocence.\* The evil became awfully alarming; the most respectable persons in the country were accused; but the magistrates finally acquitted those who were accused, and the menacing storm blew over to the great joy of the inhabitants.

At this period, many learned and eminent men, both in England and America, fully believed in the existence of witchcraft. Sir Matthew Hale, one of the brightest ornaments of the English bench, repeatedly tried and condemned persons as criminals, who were brought before him charged with this crime. It must be confessed, that notwithstanding all the obloquy and contempt which is now cast upon our forefathers, for believing in the existence of witchcraft, many things took place at that time, (if we can credit the accounts given by many respectable witnesses), which would be extremely difficult to account for, on natural principles.

"About this period, the French in Canada and Nova Scotia, instigated the northern and eastern Indians to commence hostilities against the English settlements. Dover and Salmon Falls, in New Hampshire, Casco, in Maine, and Schenectady, in New York, were attacked by different parties of French and Indians, and shocking barbarities committed. Regarding Canada as the principal source of their troubles, New England and New York formed the bold project of reducing it by force of arms. For this purpose, they raised an army under general Winthrop, which was sent against Montreal, and equipped a fleet, which, commanded by Sir William Phipps, was destined to attack Quebec. The season was so far advanced when the fleet arrived at Quebec, October 5th, 1690, the French so superior in number, the weather

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\* A cotemporary writer observes: "As to the method which the Salem Justices do take in their examinations, it is truly this: A warrant being issued out to apprehend the persons that are charged and complained of by the afflicted children, as they are called; said persons are brought before the justices, the afflicted being present. The justices ask the apprehended why they afflict those poor children; to which the apprehended answer, they do not afflict them. The justices order the apprehended to look upon the said children, which accordingly they do; and at the time of that look (I dare not say *by* that look as the Salem gentlemen do,) the afflicted are cast into a fit. The apprehended are then blinded, and ordered to touch the afflicted; and at that touch, though not *by* the touch, (as above,) the afflicted do ordinarily come out of their fits. The afflicted persons, then declare and affirm, that the apprehended have afflicted them, upon which the apprehended persons, though of never so good repute, are forthwith committed to prison on suspicion of witchcraft."

so tempestuous, and the sickness so great among the soldiers, that the expedition was abandoned. Success had been so confidently expected, that no adequate provision was made for the payment of the troops. There was danger of a mutiny. In this extremity, the government of Massachusetts issued *bills of credit*, as a substitute for money; and these were the first ever issued in the American colonies.

The war with the French and Indians, which began in 1690, was not yet terminated. For seven years, the frontier settlements were harrassed by the savages, till peace took place between France and England. But in a few years war again broke out in Europe, which was the signal for hostilities in America. In February, 1704, Deerfield, on Connecticut river, was surprised in the night, about forty persons killed, and more than one hundred made prisoners, among whom were Mr. Williams, the minister, and his family. In 1707, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, despatched an armament against Port Royal, in Nova Scotia; but the expedition was unsuccessful. In 1710, New England, assisted by the mother country, with a fleet, succeeded in reducing the place; and its name, in honor of Queen Anne, was changed to Annapolis. This success encouraged the commander, General Nicholson, to visit England and propose an expedition against Canada. His proposition was adopted, and in June, 1711, Admiral Walker, with a fleet of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports, with an army of veteran troops, arrived at Boston, from whence he sailed for Quebec about the last of July. At the same time, General Nicholson repaired to Albany, to take the command of the forces that were to proceed by land. When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. Nine of the transports were dashed in pieces on the rocks, and upwards of a thousand men perished. Weakened by this disaster, the admiral returned to England, and the New England troops returned to their homes. Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, returned with his troops to Albany. In 1713, peace was made between France and Great Britain at *Utrecht*.

In 1716, Samuel Shute, a colonel in the army of the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, was appointed governor of Massachusetts. For a long period afterwards, many controversies and difficulties took place between the royal governors sent from England and the representatives of the people, who were jealous of their rights as British subjects. These disturbances continued, with some intervals, till the period of the American Revolution.

In 1744, war again broke out between England and France, and the colonies were again involved in its calamities. Their commerce and fisheries suffered great injury from privateers fitted

out at Louisburg, a strong fortress on the Island of Cape Breton. This place was considered one of the strongest in America; the fortifications had been twenty-five years in building, and had cost the French five and a half millions of dollars. The legislature of Massachusetts, convinced of the importance of reducing this place, planned a daring, but successful enterprise for its reduction. Accordingly, about four thousand men, from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, under the command of Gen. *Pepperell*, sailed from Boston for the conquest of this place. Having the assistance of four ships of war, under Commodore Warren, from the West Indies, the troops arrived at Louisburg, about the 1st of May, 1745, and commenced the siege. For fourteen nights successively, the New England troops, sinking to their knees in mud, drew their cannons and mortars through a swamp two miles in length. By this means, the siege was pushed with so much vigor, that, on the 16th of June, the garrison surrendered. France, fired with resentment against the colonies, the next summer sent a powerful fleet to ravage the coast of New England and recover Louisburg. The news of their approach spread terror throughout New England. But an uncommon succession of disasters, which the pious at that time ascribed to the special interposition of Providence, blasted the hopes of the enemy. The French fleet was delayed and damaged by storms: some of the ships were lost, and a pestilential fever prevailed among the troops, and the two admirals killed themselves through chagrin on the failure of the expedition. The war at this period was ended by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, by which all prisoners on each side were to be restored without ransom, and all conquests made during the war were to be mutually restored.

Scarcely had the colonies begun to reap the benefits of peace, before they were again thrown into anxiety and distress by another war against France. The war actually commenced in 1754, though not formally declared till May, 1756. Early in the spring of 1755, preparations were made by the colonies for vigorous exertions against the enemy. Four expeditions were planned:—one against the French in Nova Scotia; a second against the French on the Ohio; a third against Crown Point; and a fourth against Niagara. The expedition against Nova Scotia, consisting of three thousand men, chiefly from Massachusetts, was led by General Monckton and General Winslow. With these troops, they sailed from Boston on the 1st of June, arrived at Chignecto, in the bay of Fundy. After being joined by three hundred regular British troops, they proceeded against fort Beau Sejour, which surrendered, after a siege of four days. Other forts were taken, and Nova Scotia was entirely subdued. In order that the French in Canada should derive no assistance from this territory, the country

was laid waste, and the inhabitants were taken from the country, and dispersed among the English colonies. One thousand of these proscribed Acadians were transported to Massachusetts, where many of them embarked for France. The expedition against Niagara, was committed to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, whose force amounted to two thousand five hundred men. The season, however, was too far advanced before he had completed his preparations, to effect any thing of importance, and the expedition was abandoned.

The war continued, with varied success, till the conquest of Quebec by the army under Gen. Wolfe, in September, 1759, and the final reduction of Canada in 1760. This event caused great and universal joy in the colonies, and public thanksgivings were generally appointed. A definitive treaty, the preliminaries of which, had been settled the year before, was signed at Paris in 1763, by which all Nova Scotia, Canada, the isle of Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence, were ceded to the British crown."

"The first attempt to raise a revenue in America appeared in the memorable *Stamp act*, passed March 22, 1765; by which it was enacted that certain instruments of writing, as bills, bonds, &c. should not be valid in law, unless drawn on stamped paper, on which a duty was laid. No sooner was this act published in America, than it raised a general alarm. The people were filled with apprehensions at an act which they supposed an attack on their constitutional rights. The colonies petitioned the king and parliament for a redress of the grievance, and formed associations for the purpose of preventing the importation and use of British manufactures, until the act should be repealed. This spirited and unanimous opposition of the Americans produced the desired effect, and on the 18th of March, 1766, the stamp act was repealed. The news of the repeal was received in the colonies with universal joy, and the trade between them and Great Britain was renewed on the most liberal footing.

The parliament, by repealing this act, so obnoxious to their American brethren, did not intend to lay aside the scheme of raising a revenue in the colonies, but merely to change the mode. Accordingly the next year, they passed an act, laying a certain duty on glass, tea, paper and painter's colors; articles which were much wanted, and not manufactured, in America. This act kindled the resentment of the Americans, and excited a general opposition to the measure; so that parliament thought proper in 1770, to take off these duties, except three pence a pound on tea. Yet this duty, however trifling, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists, and their opposition to parliamentary taxation continued and increased.

But it must be remembered that the inconvenience of paying the duty was not the sole, nor principal cause of the opposition: it was the *principle* which, once admitted, would have subjected the colonies to unlimited parliamentary taxation, without the privilege of being represented. The *right*, abstractly considered, was denied; and the smallest attempt to establish the claim by precedent, was uniformly resisted. The Americans could not be deceived as to the views of parliament; for the repeal of the stamp act was accompanied with an unequivocal declaration, 'that the parliament had a right to make laws of sufficient validity to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.'

The colonies therefore entered into measures to encourage their own manufactures, and home productions, and to retrench the use of foreign superfluities; while the importation of tea was prohibited. In the royal and proprietary governments, the governors and people were in a state of continual warfare. Assemblies were repeatedly called, and suddenly dissolved. While sitting, the assemblies employed the time in stating grievances and framing remonstrances. To inflame these discontents, an act of parliament was passed, ordaining that the governors and judges should receive their salaries of the crown; thus making them independent of the provincial assemblies, and removable only at the pleasure of the king.

These arbitrary proceedings, with many others not here mentioned, could not fail of producing a rupture. The first act of violence, was the massacre at Boston, on the evening of the fifth of March, 1770. A body of British troops had been stationed in Boston to awe the inhabitants and enforce the measures of parliament. On the fatal day, when blood was to be shed, as a prelude to more tragic scenes, a riot was raised among some soldiers and boys: the former aggressing by throwing snowballs at the latter. The bickerings and jealousies between the inhabitants and soldiers, which had been frequent before, now became serious. A multitude was soon collected, and the controversy became so warm, that to disperse the people, the troops were embodied and ordered to fire upon the inhabitants. This fatal order was executed and several persons fell a sacrifice. The people restrained their vengeance at the time; but this wanton act of cruelty and military despotism fanned the flame of liberty; a flame that was not to be extinguished but by a total separation of the colonies from their oppressive and hostile parent.

In 1773 the spirit of the Americans broke out into open violence. The *Gaspee*, an armed schooner belonging to his Britannic Majesty, had been stationed at Providence in Rhode Island, to prevent smuggling. The vigilance of the commander irritated the inhabitants to that degree, that about two hundred armed men en

tered the vessel at night, compelled the officers and men to go ashore, and set fire to the schooner. A reward of five hundred pounds, offered by government for apprehending any of the persons concerned in this daring act, produced no effectual discovery.

About this time, the discovery and publication of some private confidential letters, written by the royal officers in Boston, to persons in office in England, served to confirm the apprehensions of the Americans, with respect to the designs of the British government. It was now made obvious that more effectual measures would be taken to establish the supremacy of the British parliament over the colonies. The letters recommended decisive measures, and the writers were charged, by the exasperated Americans, with betraying their trust and the people they governed.

As the resolutions of the colonies not to import or consume tea, had, in a great measure, deprived the English government of a revenue from this quarter, the parliament formed a scheme of introducing tea into America, under cover of the East India Company. For this purpose an act was passed, enabling the company to export all sorts of teas, duty free, to any place whatever. The company departed from their usual mode of business and became their own exporters. Several ships were freighted with teas, and sent to the American colonies, and factors were appointed to receive and dispose of their cargoes.

The Americans, determined to oppose the revenue system of the English parliament in every possible shape, considered the attempt of the East India Company to evade the resolutions of the colonies, and dispose of teas in America, as an indirect mode of taxation, sanctioned by the authority of Parliament. The people assembled in various places, and in the large commercial towns, took measures to prevent the landing of the teas. Committees were appointed, and armed with extensive powers to inspect merchants books, to propose tests, and make use of other expedients to frustrate the designs of the East India Company. The same spirit pervaded the people from New Hampshire to Georgia. In some places, the consignees of the teas were intimidated so far as to relinquish their appointments, or to enter into engagements not to act in that capacity. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored, the consignees being restrained from offering the tea for sale. In other provinces, the ships were sent back without discharging their cargoes.

But in Boston the tea shared a more violent fate. Sensible that no legal measures could prevent its being landed, and that if once landed, it would be disposed of; a number of men in disguise, on the 18th of December 1773, entered the ships and threw overboard three hundred and forty chests of it, which was the propor-



tion belonging to the East India Company. No sooner did the news of this destruction of the tea reach Great Britain, than the parliament determined to punish that devoted town. On the king's laying the American papers before them, a bill was brought in and passed, 'to discontinue the landing and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares and merchandizes at the town of Boston, or within the harbor.'

This act, passed March 25, 1774, called the Boston Port Bill, threw the inhabitants of Massachusetts into the greatest consternation. The town of Boston passed a resolution, expressing their sense of this oppressive measure, and a desire that all the colonies would concur to stop all importation from Great Britain. Most of the colonies entered into spirited resolutions, on this occasion, to unite with Massachusetts in a firm opposition to the unconstitutional measures of the parliament. The first of June, the day on which the Port Bill was to take place, was appointed to be kept as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer throughout the colonies, to seek the divine direction and aid, in that critical and gloomy juncture of affairs.

During the height of the consternation and confusion which the Boston Port Bill occasioned; at the very time when a town meeting was sitting to consider of it, General Gage, who had been appointed to the government of Massachusetts, arrived in the harbor. His arrival however did not allay the popular ferment, or check the progress of the measures then taking, to unite the colonies in opposition to the oppressive act of parliament.

But the port bill was not the only act that alarmed the apprehensions of the Americans. Determined to compel the province of Massachusetts to submit to their laws, parliament passed an act for 'the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay.' The object of this act was to alter the government, as it stood on the charter of King William, to take the appointment of the executive out of the hands of the people, and place it in the crown; thus making even the judges and sheriffs dependent on the king, and removable only at his pleasure.

This act was soon followed by another, which ordained that any persons, indicted for murder, or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistrates in executing the laws, might be sent by the governor either to another colony, or to Great Britain for his trial.

In the mean time, every thing in Massachusetts wore the appearance of opposition by force. A new council for the governor had been appointed by the crown. New judges were appointed and attempted to proceed in the execution of their office. But the juries refused to be sworn under them; in some counties, the people assembled to prevent the courts from proceeding to business; and in Berkshire they succeeded, setting an example of resist-

ance that has since been followed, in violation of the laws of the state.

In this situation of affairs, the day for the annual muster of the militia approached. General Gage, apprehensive of some violence, had the precaution to seize the magazines of ammunition and stores at Cambridge and Charlestown, and lodged them in Boston. This measure, with the fortifying of that neck of land which joins Boston to the main-land at Roxbury, caused a universal alarm and ferment. Several thousand people assembled, and it was with difficulty they could be restrained from falling upon the British troops.

On this occasion, an assembly of delegates from all the towns in Suffolk county, was called; and several spirited resolutions were agreed to. These resolutions were prefaced with a declaration of allegiance; but they breathed a spirit of freedom that does honor to the delegates. They declared that the late acts of parliament and the proceedings of General Gage, were glaring infractions of their rights and liberties, which their duty called them to defend by all lawful means.

This assembly remonstrated against the fortification of Boston Neck, and resolved upon a suspension of commerce, an encouragement of arts and manufactures, the holding of a provincial congress, and a submission to the measures which should be recommended by the continental congress. They recommended that the collectors of taxes should not pay any money into the treasury, without further orders; they also recommended peace and good order, as they meant to act merely upon the defensive. In answer to their remonstrance, General Gage assured them that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of the inhabitants to and from the town of Boston, and that he would not suffer any person under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects.

Previous to this, a general assembly had been summoned to meet; and notwithstanding the writs had been countermanded by the governor's proclamation, on account of the violence of the times and the resignation of several of the new counselors, yet representatives were chosen by the people who met at Salem, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord.

This congress addressed the governor with a rehearsal of their distresses, and took the necessary steps for defending their rights. They regulated the militia, made provision for supplying the treasury, and furnishing the people with arms; and such was the enthusiasm and union of the people that the recommendations of the provincial congress had the force of laws.

General Gage was incensed at these measures—he declared, in

his answer to the address, that Britain could never harbor the black design of enslaving her subjects and published a proclamation in which he insinuated that such proceedings amounted to rebellion. He also ordered barracks to be erected for the soldiers; but he found difficulty in procuring laborers, either in Boston or New York.

In the beginning of 1775, the fishery bills were passed in parliament, by which the colonies were prohibited to trade with Great Britain, Ireland or the West Indies, or to take fish on the banks of Newfoundland. In the distresses to which these acts of parliament reduced the town of Boston, the unanimity of the colonies was remarkable, in the large supplies of provision, furnished by the inhabitants of different towns from New Hampshire to Georgia, and shipped to the relief of the sufferers. Preparations began to be made, to oppose by force, the execution of these acts of parliament. The militia of the country were trained to the use of arms—great encouragement was given for the manufacture of gunpowder, and measures were taken to obtain all kinds of military stores.

In February, Colonel Leslie was sent with a detachment of troops from Boston, to take possession of some cannon at Salem. But the people had intelligence of the design—took up the drawbridge in that town, and prevented the troops from passing, until the cannon were secured; so that the expedition failed.

In April, Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn were sent with a body of about nine hundred troops, to destroy the military stores which had been collected at Concord, about sixteen miles from Boston. It is believed, that another object of this expedition, was to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who by their spirited exertions, had rendered themselves very obnoxious to General Gage. At Lexington, the militia were collected on a green, to oppose the incursion of the British forces. These were fired upon by the British troops, and eight men killed on the spot.

The militia were dispersed, and the troops proceeded to Concord; where they destroyed a few stores. But on their return, they were incessantly harrassed by the Americans, who, inflamed with just resentment, fired upon them from houses and fences, and pursued them to Boston. The loss of the British in this expedition, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was two hundred and seventy-three men.

The militia now collected from all quarters, and Boston, in a few days was besieged by twenty thousand men. A stop was put to all intercourse between the town and country, and the inhabitants were reduced to great want of provisions. General Gage promised to let the people depart, if they would deliver up

their arms. The people complied, but when the general had obtained their arms, the perfidious man refused to let the people go.

This breach of faith, and the consequences that attended it, were justly and greatly complained of; and although many, at different times, were permitted to leave the town, they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that many who had been used to live in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to extreme indigence and misery. A circumstance peculiarly and wantonly aggravating, and which was the ground of the bitterest complaints of Congress, was, that passports were granted or retained in such a manner, as that families were broken, and the dearest connections separated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part cruelly retained against their inclination.

In the mean time, a small number of men, to the amount of about two hundred and forty, under the command of Colonel Allen, and Colonel Arnold, without any public orders, surprised and took the British garrisons at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, without the loss of a man on either side.

During these transactions, the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, with a number of troops. In June following, our troops attempted to fortify Bunker's hill, which lies near Charlestown, and but a mile and a half from Boston. They had, during the night, thrown up a small breast-work, which sheltered them from the fire of the British cannon. But the next morning, the British army was sent to drive them from the hill, and landing under cover of their cannon, they set fire to Charlestown, which was consumed, and marched to attack our troops in the entrenchments. A severe engagement ensued, in which the British, according to the best accounts, had two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded. They were repulsed at first, and thrown into disorder; but they finally carried the fortification, with the point of the bayonet.

In autumn, a body of troops, under the command of General Montgomery, besieged and took the garrison at St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada. The prisoners amounted to about seven hundred. General Montgomery pursued his success, and took Montreal; and designed to push his victories to Quebec. A body of troops, commanded by General Arnold, was ordered to march to Canada, by the river Kennebeck, and through the wilderness. After suffering every hardship, and the most distressing hunger, they arrived in Canada, and were joined by General Montgomery, before Quebec. This city, which was commanded by Governor Carleton, was immediately besieged. But there being little hope of taking the town by a

siege, it was determined to storm it. The attack was made on the last day of December, but proved unsuccessful, and fatal to the brave general; who, with his aids, were killed in attempting to scale the walls. Of the three divisions which attacked the town, one only entered, and that was obliged to surrender to superior force. After this defeat, Gen. Arnold, who now commanded the troops, continued some months before Quebec, although his troops suffered incredibly by cold and sickness. But the next spring, the Americans were obliged to retreat from Canada."

The year 1777 was distinguished by several important events in favor of the American cause. Gen. Burgoyne, with a well disciplined and powerful army, advanced from Canada, to invade New York and the New England States. His approach occasioned much alarm, and the militia from all parts of New England, pressed forward to resist the British forces. The progress of Burgoyne was checked, by the defeat of Col. Baum, near Bennington, in which the undisciplined militia of Vermont, under Gen. Stark, defeated and captured nearly the whole of a large detachment of British troops. Burgoyne himself surrendered at Saratoga, Oct. 17th, 1777, with his whole army. This event diffused great joy throughout the American States, and laid the foundation for a treaty with France.

From the first period of the Revolutionary War, to its close, the New England States, rendered the most powerful and efficient aid in the American cause; but this was not done without enduring many sacrifices and privations. During the enfeebled and disorganized state of the country, which followed the war, Massachusetts, in her zeal to comply fully with the requisitions of Congress, and satisfy the demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. This was the immediate cause of the rebellion in that State, in 1786. But a heavy debt lying on the State, added to burdens of the same nature, upon almost every incorporation within it; a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation and corruption of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other—these were the real, though more remote causes of the insurrection. It was the tax which the people were required to pay, that caused them to feel the evils which we have enumerated—this called forth all their other grievances; and the first act of violence committed, was the burning or destroying of a tax bill. This sedition threw the State into a convulsion which lasted about a year; courts of justice were violently obstructed; the collection of debts was suspended; and a body of armed troops, under the command of general Lincoln, was employed during the winter of 1786, to disperse the insurgents. Yet so numerous

were the latter, in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and so obstinately combined to oppose the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the State thought proper not to intrust General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the offensive, and to repel force with force, in case the insurgents should attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents; they were desperate, but without fortitude; and while they were supported with a superior force, they appeared to be impressed with that consciousness of guilt, which awes the most daring wretch, and makes him shrink from his purpose. This appears by the conduct of a large party of the rebels before the magazine at Springfield; where General Shepard with a small guard, was stationed to protect the continental stores. The insurgents appeared upon the plain, with a superiority of numbers, but a few shot from the artillery, made the multitude retreat in disorder with the loss of four men. This spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the industry, perseverance and prudent firmness of General Lincoln, dispersed the rebels, drove the leaders from the State, and restored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was passed in the legislature for all the insurgents, except a few leaders, on condition they should become peaceable subjects and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for pardon, which, from motives of policy, was granted by the legislature."

Although the efforts of the colonies against their enemies during the French and Revolutionary conflicts, were crowned with entire success, yet the demoralizing effects ever attendant on wars, were felt afterwards. Infidel, and corrupting principles were introduced by the British and French soldiery; particularly by the latter, and their demoralizing influence was felt to some extent. Perhaps the time in the history of New England, in which religion and morality were at their lowest ebb, may be found in the course of twenty or thirty years after the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. Since this period, greater regard has been paid to religion and morality, the habits and manners of the people have been improved; the benefits of education have been more widely diffused, and wealth has been more equally distributed.

**RY**

609, Henry Hudson, a Dutch East India Company discoverer of Long Island harbor of New York, river to which his name has since been given. He penetrated this river according to his own account, by leagues; which must be where the city of Albany now stands. This discovery gave the Dutch at first entrance into the heart of the American continent, where the best furs could be procured in French or English, both before and four years after this time procured from the Indians up to Hudson's river; and now stands."

Dale, governor of Virginia, who, being unable to get, to the king of England, Virginia. Determined to send General, in 1621, a company; and in the year 1624, from Amsterdam, now New York.

at the foot of the highest point of Manhattan, they planted themselves about 100 feet from the shore. In the beach there, the ruins of the old city were visible. The car where the two men

stone formerly stood. In this situation, finding themselves insecure, during the wars between the English and Dutch, they left this place, and planted their habitations under the guns of the fort, which laid the foundation of the present city of New York.

The first emigrants under Minuet, appear to have been from the river Waal in Guelderland, and under the name of *Waaloons*, founded the first permanent settlement, beyond the immediate protection of the cannon of fort Amsterdam. They settled at Brooklyn, opposite New York, and were the first who professionally pursued agriculture. In June, 1625, the first child of European parentage was born in New Netherlands. In 1633, Minuet was recalled, and Wouter Van Twiller arrived at fort Amsterdam as governor. His arrival gave fresh impulse to the settlements, and agricultural pursuits. In 1638, Van Twiller was succeeded by William Kieft as governor. Two years after his administration, the English had overspread the eastern part of Long Island and advanced as far as Oyster Bay. In 1647, Kieft was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant.

In consequence of their discoveries and settlements, the Dutch claimed all the country, extending from Cape Cod to Cape Hennen, along the sea-coast, and as far back into the country as any of the rivers, within those limits, extend, and named it *New NETHERLANDS*. But these extravagant and unfounded claims were never allowed to the Dutch. This nation, and after them the province of New York, for a long time, claimed as far east as the western banks of Connecticut river, and this claim was the ground of much altercation, till 1664, when the partition line between New York, and Connecticut was run nearly the same as it is now settled.'

In 1664, Aug. 27, Gov. Stuyvesant surrendered the colony to Col. Nicolls, who had arrived in the bay a few days before, with three or four ships, and about 300 soldiers, having a commission from King Charles II. to reduce the place, which was then called New Amsterdam, afterwards, New York. Very few of the inhabitants removed out of the country; and their respectable descendants are still numerous in many parts of this state, and of New Jersey. A league of friendship was at this time entered into with the Five Indian nations. In 1667, at the peace of Breda, New York was confirmed to the English, who, in exchange, ceded Surinam to the Dutch.

The English kept peaceable possession of the country, until the year 1673, when the Dutch, with whom the English were then at war, sent a small squadron, which arrived at Staten Island on the 30th of July. John Manning, a captain of an independent company, who had at that time command of the fort, sent a messenger down to the commodore, and made his terms with him. On the same day, the ships came up, moored under the fort, landed



their men, and entered the garrison, without giving or receiving a shot. All the magistrates and constables from East Jersey, Long Island, Esopus, and Albany, were summoned to New York; and the major part of them swore allegiance to the States General, and the Prince of Orange. The conquerors, however, did not long enjoy the fruits of their success; for on the 19th of February, the year following, a treaty of peace between England and Holland, was signed at Westminster; by the sixth article of which, this province was restored to the English.

In 1684, the French attempted the destruction of the Five Nations, the confederated Indian tribes in New York, because they interrupted their trade with the more distant tribes, called the *Far Nations*. The Seneca Indians interrupted this trade, because the French supplied the Miamies, with whom they were at war, with arms and ammunition. To effect the destruction of the Indians, great preparations were made by the French. But famine and sickness prevailing among them, the expedition proved fruitless. Five years after this, 1200 of these Indians attacked Montreal, burnt many houses, and put to death 1000 inhabitants.

A new charter having been granted to the duke of York; major afterwards Sir Edmund Andross was sent over as governor. This agent of a despotic master soon began a career of tyranny. He involved himself in disputes with the neighboring government of Connecticut; and excited the indignation of the magistrates, clergy and people of his own jurisdiction. Not content with the plenary powers which he exercised over New York, he with the countenance of his master claimed an undefined and vexatious jurisdiction over New Jersey. Complaints of his arbitrary acts having been sent over to England, the duke of York was compelled to recall him, and Col. Dongan was appointed his successor in 1682.

In 1689, Col. Dongan, the governor, being called home by King James, and a general disaffection to government prevailing at New York, one Jacob Leisler took possession of the garrison for King William and Queen Mary, and assumed the supreme power over the province. His reduction of Albany, held by others for William, and the confiscation of the estates of his opponents, were impolitic measures, which sowed the seeds of mutual animosity, the ill effects of which were felt for a long time after, in the embarrassments of the public affairs.

The French, in 1689, in order to detach the Five Nations from the British interest, sent out several parties against the English colonies; one of which, consisting of about 150 French, and some of the Cagnawaghga Indians, commanded by D'Ailldebout, de Mantel, and le Moyne, was intended for New York. But by the advice of the Indians, they determined first to attack Schenectady. They entered the town at night whilst the inhabitants were asleep.

They murdered 60 persons, pillaged and burnt the place. Twenty-five of the inhabitants who fled towards Albany, lost their limbs by the severity of the frost.

Upon the arrival of Governor Slaughter at New York, who was commissioned by the king, Leisler refused to surrender the garrison, for the seizure of which, he and his son were tried and condemned to die, as guilty of high treason. 'Gov. Slaughter hesitated to command their execution, and wrote to the English ministers how to dispose of them. But their enemies stimulated by hate and apprehension of some reaction in their favor, earnestly through the legislature and council, pressed their execution. The governor resisted, until, having been invited by the petitioners to a sumptuous entertainment, he was, his reason drowned in wine, seduced to sign the death warrant. Before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed.'

The whole province of New York was originally settled by non-episcopalians, chiefly by presbyterians, except a few episcopal families in the city of New York. In 1693, Col. Fletcher, then governor of the province, projected the scheme of a general tax for building churches, and supporting episcopal ministers, and by artifice effected his design in part. This overture laid the foundation for a controversy between the presbyterians and episcopalians, which, until the revolution, was maintained on both sides with great warmth and animosity. Several of the governors, particularly Lord Cornbury, showed great partiality to the episcopalians, and oppressed and persecuted the presbyterians.

In 1701, (July 19), the confederated tribes of Indians, at Albany, surrendered to the English their beaver hunting country, lying between lakes Ontario and Erie, to be by them defended for the said confederated Indians, their heirs and successors forever. This transaction was confirmed, Sept. 14, 1726, when the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, surrendered to the English, for the same use, their habitations, from Cayahoga to Oswego, and 60 miles inland.

In 1709, a vigorous expedition was meditated against Canada; in making preparations for which, this province expended above £20,000; but the expected assistance from Britain failing, it was never prosecuted. Soon after, Col. Schuyler, who had been very influential with the Indians, visited England with five sachems, who were introduced into the presence of Queen Anne. The object of this visit was to stimulate the ministry to the reduction of Canada. Afterward, in 1711, a considerable fleet was sent over for that purpose; but eight transports being cast away on the coast, the rest of the fleet and troops returned without making any attempt to reduce Canada.

In 1710, Gov. Hunter brought over with him about 2700 Pala-

tines, who, the year before, had fled to England from the rage of persecution in Germany. Many of these people settled in the city of New York; others settled on a tract of several thousand acres, in the manor of Livingston, and some went to Pennsylvania, and were instrumental in inducing thousands of their countrymen afterwards to migrate and settle in that province.

The prohibition of the sale of Indian goods in France, in 1720, excited the clamor of the merchants at New York, whose interest was affected by it. The measure was undoubtedly a futile one; and the reasons for it were these: the French, by this trade, were supplied with articles which were wanted by the Indians. This prevented the Indians from coming to Albany, and drew them to Montreal; and they, being employed by the French as carriers, became attached to them from interest. About the same time, a trading house was erected by the English at Oswego, on lake Ontario; and another by the French at Niagara.

In 1729, the act prohibiting the trade between Albany and Montreal, was imprudently repealed by the king. This naturally tended to undermine the trade at Oswego, and to advance the French commerce of Niagara; and at the same time to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English. Not long after this, the French were suffered to erect a fort on lake Champlain. To prevent the ill consequences of this, a scheme was projected to settle the lands near lake George, with loyal protestant Highlanders, from Scotland. Accordingly, a tract of 30,000 acres was promised to Capt. Campbell, who, at his own expense, transported eighty-three protestant families to New York. But through the sordid views of some persons in power, who aimed at a share in the intended grant, the settlement was never made."

In 1743, George Clinton was sent over as governor of New York. He was welcomed with joy; and one of his earliest measures confirmed the favorable accounts, which had preceded him. To show his confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding assemblies. The house manifested its gratitude, by adopting the measures he recommended, for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England. In 1745, the Indians, in alliance with the French, made frequent incursions into the English colonies. Hosick was deserted, Saratoga was destroyed; the western settlements in New England were often attacked and plundered. Encouraged by success, the enemy became more daring, and even ventured into the suburbs of Albany, and there lay in wait for prisoners.

During the seven years war previous to the reduction of Canada, in 1760, New York became the theatre of many important military operations. A French army under Dieskau, invaded the province

from Montreal, in 1755, and was routed by the New York and New England troops, under Gen. Johnson. The French under Montcalm, in 1757, took Fort William Henry, on Lake George. An unsuccessful attack was made by Gen. Abercrombie, in 1758, on the French fort at Ticonderoga. In 1759, Gen. Amherst took Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; and Gen. Johnson defeated a French army near Niagara, and took Niagara.

During the Revolutionary War, the territory of New York was again traversed by hostile armies. In September, 1776, the British forces occupied the city of New York, and kept possession of it through the war. The battle of White Plains was fought Oct. 28th, 1776, and fort Washington taken Nov. 16th of the same year. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were occupied by Burgoyne, in 1777; during the same year, a State Constitution was established. In 1779, Gen. Sullivan undertook an expedition against the Iroquois Indians, and destroyed great numbers of their villages. The British troops evacuated the city of New York, Nov. 25th, 1783.

The State of New York was among the first in framing and adopting the Federal Constitution, and she became the seat of the Federal Government, during the first year of its operation. During the last war with Great Britain, her soil again became a theatre for important military operations. Since the Revolution, New York has pursued a wise, enlightened, and liberal policy, in sustaining objects of public utility. She now ranks as the *Empire State*, being the first in wealth, resources, commerce, and population.

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In Dec. 1664, Gov. Nicolls by a patent dated at Fort James, in New York, granted a tract of land in New Jersey called the Elizabethtown grant. This tract was purchased of some Indian chiefs of Staten Island, by John Bailey, Daniel Denton, and Luke Watson of Jamaica, Long Island. This territory soon became a place of resort for reputable farmers. "The English inhabitants at the west end of Long Island, principally removed thither: and many families from New England. There were soon four towns in the province; Elizabethtown, Newark, Middletown, and Shrewsbury." Most of the Long Island emigrants "fixed about Middletown, whence by degrees they extended their settlements to Freehold and thereabouts," those from New England settled at Shrewsbury. The name of the principal town is said to have been given for Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Carteret. The four towns, with the adjacent country, were, in a few years, well inhabited by many settlers from Scotland, some from England, and some from the neighboring colonies.

The Dutch reduced the country in 1673; but it was restored by the peace of Westminster, February 9th, 1674. In consequence of the conquest made by the Dutch, and to obviate any objections that might be made on account of it against the former grant, a new patent was issued, in 1674, to the Duke of York, for the same country. The country of New Jersey was divided into West and East Jersey. In 1676, West Jersey was granted, by the Duke of York, to the assigns of Lord Berkley; and East Jersey to Sir G. Carteret. The division line was to run from the southeast point of Little Egg Harbor, on Barnegat Creek, being about the middle between Cape May and Sandy Hook, to a creek, a little below Ancocus creek, on Delaware river, thence about thirty-five miles, strait course, along Delaware river up to 41° 40' north latitude.

In 1675, West Jersey, which had been granted to Lord Berkley, was sold to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Bylinge. Fenwick came over with a colony, and settled at Salem. These were the first English settlers in West Jersey. In 1676, the interest of Bylinge in West Jersey was assigned to William Penn, Gavin Laurie, and Nicholas Lucas, as trustees, for the use of his creditors. Mutual quit claims were executed between Sir George Carteret and the trustees of Bylinge.

In 1678, the Duke of York made a new grant of West Jersey to the assigns of Lord Berkley. Agreeably to Sir George Carteret's will, dated December 5, 1678, East Jersey was sold, in 1682, to twelve proprietors, who by twelve separate deeds, conveyed one half of their interest to twelve other persons, separately, in fee simple. This grant was confirmed to these twenty-four proprietors, by the Duke of York the same year. These twenty-

four shares, by sales of small parts of them, and by these small parts being again divided among the children of successive families, became at last subdivided in such a manner, as that some of the proprietors had only one 40th part, of a 48th part of a 24th share. West Jersey was in the same condition. This created much confusion in the management of the general proprietors, particularly in regard to appointing governors. These inconveniences, aided by other causes of complaint, which had been increasing for several years, and were fast advancing to a dangerous crisis, disposed the proprietors to surrender the government to the crown; which was accordingly done, and accepted by Queen Ann, on the 17th of April, 1702. Both territories were now united under one government and received the single name of New Jersey, and Lord Cornbury, Governor of New York was appointed governor of the united colony. Till this time the government of New Jersey was proprietary; it now became royal, and so continued till the fourth of July, 1776.

This State was the seat of war for several years, during the bloody contest between Great Britain and her Colonies. Her losses both of men and property, in proportion to the population and wealth of the State, was greater than of any other of the thirteen States. When General Washington was retreating through the Jerseys, almost forsaken by all others, her militia were at all times obedient to his orders; and for a considerable length of time, composed the strength of his army. There is hardly a town in the State that lay in the progress of the British army, that was not signalized by some enterprise or exploit. At Trenton the enemy received a check which may be said with justice to have turned the tide of the war.

In the summer of 1778, Sir Henry Clinton retreated with the British army from Philadelphia, through New Jersey to New York. The battle of Monmouth signalizes this retreat. The military services performed by the soldiers of New Jersey, and the sufferings of her people during the Revolutionary War, entitle her to the gratitude of her sister States. By her sacrifices of blood and treasure, in resisting oppression, she is entitled to stand in the foremost rank, among those who struggled for American freedom.

# AN ACCOUNT

## OF THE

### INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

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THE original inhabitants of New England, were savages. "These people" says Dr. Dwight, "were all of one nation; unless we are to except those in the eastern parts of the District of Maine, with those of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia;\* and were so considered by themselves. A single language was spoken by them all; distributed indeed into different dialects; not more different, however, from each other, than some of those, which are now spoken in England; particularly that of Yorkshire, and that which you call the West Country dialect. Accordingly, they appear to have conversed easily with each other, both on their public and private concerns. But they were only a small part of this nation. The same language was spoken by all the tribes between the Potomac and the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the ocean. I know of no exception, beside the Iroquois, or Six Nations; who were plainly a people entirely distinct from all the rest. The tribes, who inhabited this vast extent of territory, containing about six hundred thousand square miles,† seem never to have been called by any common name; as were their brethren

\*The Indians of Penobscot, as I have been since informed by the Hon. Timothy Edwards, were proved to be Mohekanewe, by the following incident: Several men of this tribe, during the Revolutionary War, came to Boston, to solicit of the government a stipend, which had been formerly granted to the tribe, by the legislature of Massachusetts Bay. The business was referred, by the Council of Safety, to Mr. Edwards, then a member of their body, as being versed in the affairs, and acquainted with the character of Indians. Mr. Edwards employed Hendrick Awpaumut, a Stockbridge Indian accidentally in Boston at that time, to confer with the petitioners, and learn the nature of their expectations. Hendrick found himself able to converse with them, so far as to understand their wishes satisfactorily; and observed to Mr. Edwards, that their language was radically Mohekanewe, and differed only as a dialect. This fact I had from Mr. Edwards. I have mentioned it here because the contrary opinion seems to have been universally adopted."—*Dr. Dwight*

†From a collation of facts, particularly the accounts given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and others, it appears that the language of the Mohekanewe is extensively spoken by the Indians on the West of the Mississippi, as far, at least, as within four hundred miles of the Pacific ocean. This nation, therefore, has probably been extended over the greater part of North America.



the *Tartars* in the northern parts of Asia ; but always to have been designated by appellations, derived apparently from incidental circumstances ; particularly from the mountains, rivers, lakes, bays, and islands, on or near which they resided. The oldest tribe, according to their own account, and that which has been regularly allowed the pre-eminence in all their councils, lived in the county of Berkshire in Massachusetts, and in the neighboring regions of New York ; and since my remembrance principally at Stockbridge. They are styled by the late Dr. *Edwards*, President of Union College at Schenectady in the State of New York, who spoke their language familiarly, *Mohekaneweew*, and by a writer of their own, *Muhheakunnuk*.

The principal tribes, which were settled in New England, were the *Pequods* in Connecticut ; *Narragansetts* in Rhode Island ; the *Wampanoags*, *Massachusetts*, *Nipnets* or *Nipmuks*, *Nashuas*, and *Stockbridge* Indians in Massachusetts ; the *Pigwacket* and *Coos* Indians in New Hampshire ; and the *Tarrateens*, or *Abe-naquis*, in the District of Maine."

In no part of New England were the Indians so numerous as in Connecticut. The great quantities of fish and fowl which the country and its waters afforded, were well adapted to their convenience and modes of living. Neither wars, nor diseases, had so depopulated this, as they had some other parts of New England. Dr. Trumbull says the Connecticut Indians cannot be estimated at less than twelve or sixteen thousand. It was supposed that the River Indians alone, in 1633, could bring three or four thousand warriors into the field. These were principally included within the ancient limits of Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield and Middletown. Within the town of Windsor only, there were ten distinct tribes, or sovereignties. The *Pequots* were the most warlike tribe in New England. The tradition is, that they were originally an inland tribe ; but by their prowess, came down and settled themselves along the sea-coast from Nehantic to Narragansett bay. When the English began their settlements in Connecticut, Sassacus had twenty-six sachems, or principal war captains under him. The chief seat of these Indians was near New London, Con. and it is supposed they could muster about a thousand warriors.

Gen. Gookin, in his "*Historical Collections of the Indians*" written in 1674, after giving an account of the *Pequots*, says :

"The *Narragansitts* were a great people heretofore ; and the territory of these sachems extended about thirty or forty miles from Sekunk river and Narragansitt bay, including Rhode Island and other islands in that bay, being their east and north bounds or border, and so running westerly and southerly unto a place called Wekapage, four or five miles to the eastward of Pawcutuk river, which was reckoned for their south and west border, and the easternmost limits of the Pe-

quots. This sachem held dominion over divers petty governors; as part of Long Island, Black Island, Cawesitt, Niantick, and others; and had tribute from some of the Nipmuck Indians, that lived remote from the sea. The chief seat of this sachem was about Narragansitt bay by the Canonnicut island. The Narragansitts were reckoned, in former times, able to arm for war more than five thousand men as ancient Indians say. All do agree they were a great people, and oftentimes waged war with the Pawkunnawkutts and Massachusetts, as well as with the Pequots. The jurisdiction of Rhode Island and Providence plantations, and part of Connecticut people, possess their country. These Indians are now but few comparatively: all that people cannot make above one thousand able men.

The Pawkunnawkutts were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansitts; and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores; as the sagamores upon the island of Nantuckett, and Nope, or Martha's Vineyard, of Nawsett, of Mannamoyk, of Sawkattukett, Nobsquasitt, Matakees, and several others, and some of the Nipmucks. Their country, for the most part, falls within the jurisdiction of New Plymouth colony. This people were a potent nation in former times; and could raise, as the most credible and ancient Indians affirm, about three thousand men. They held war with the Narragansitts; and often joined with the Massachusetts, as friends and confederates against the Narragansitts. This nation, a very great number of them, were swept away by an epidemical and unwonted sickness, Anno. 1612 and 1613, about seven or eight years before the English first arrived in those parts, to settle the colony of New Plymouth. Thereby Divine providence made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of the English in those nations. What this disease was, that so generally and mortally swept away, not only these, but other Indians, their neighbors, I cannot well learn. Doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died and afterward.

The Massachusetts, being the next great people northward, inhabited principally about that place in Massachusetts bay, where the body of the English now dwell. These were a numerous and great people. Their chief sachem held dominion over many other petty governors; as those of Weechagaskas, Neponsitt, Punkapaog, Nonantam, Nashaway, some of the Nipmuck people, as far as Pokomta-cuke, as the old men of Massachusetts affirmed. This people could, in former times, arm for war, about three thousand men, as the old Indians declare. They were in hostility very often with the Narragansitts; but held amity, for the most part, with the Pawkunnawkutts, who lived on the south border, and with the Pawtucketts, who inhabited on their north and northeast limits. In An. 1612 and 1613, these people were also sorely smitten by the hand of God with the same disease, before mentioned in the last paragraph; which dea-

troyed the most of them, and made room for the English people of Massachusetts colony, which people this country, and the next called Pawtuckett. There are not of this people left at this day above three hundred men, besides women and children.

Pawtuckett is the fifth and last great sachemship of Indians. Their country lieth north and northeast from Massachusetts, whose dominion reacheth so far as the English jurisdiction, or colony of the Massachusetts, doth now extend, and had under them several other smaller sagamores; as the Pennakooks, Agawomes, Naamkeeks, Pascatawayes, Accomintas, and others. They were also a considerable people heretofore, about three thousand men; and held amity with the people of Massachusetts. But these also were almost totally destroyed by the great sickness before mentioned; so that at this day, they are not above two hundred and fifty men, besides women and children. This country is now inhabited by the English under the government of Massachusetts."

"The New England Indians, were large, strait, well proportioned men. Their bodies were firm and active, capable of enduring the greatest fatigues and hardships. Their passive courage was almost incredible. When tortured in the most cruel manner; though flayed alive, though burnt with fire, cut or torn limb from limb, they would not groan, nor show any signs of distress. Nay, in some instances they would glory over their tormentors, saying that their hearts would never be soft until they were cold, and representing their torments as sweet as Englishmen's sugar. When traveling in summer or winter, they regarded neither heat nor cold. They were exceedingly light of foot, and would travel or run a very great distance in a day. Mr. Williams says, 'I have known them run between eighty and a hundred miles in a summer's day and back again within two days.' As they were accustomed to the woods, they ran in them nearly as well as on plain ground. They were exceedingly quick sighted, to discover their enemy, or their game, and equally artful to conceal themselves. Their features were tolerably regular. Their faces are generally full as broad as those of the English, but flatter; they have a small, dark coloured good eye, coarse black hair, and a fine white set of teeth. The Indian children when born, are nearly as white, as the English children; but as they grow up their skin grows darker and becomes nearly of a copper color. The shapes both of the men and women, especially the latter are excellent. A crooked Indian is rarely if ever to be seen.

The Indians in general were quick of apprehension, ingenious, and when pleased nothing could exceed their courtesy and friendship. Gravity and eloquence distinguished them in council, address and bravery in war. They were not more easily provoked than the English; but when once they had received an injury, it

was never forgotten. In anger they were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful. Indeed, when they were exasperated nothing could exceed their revenge and cruelty. When they have fallen into the power of an enemy, they have not been known to beg for life, nor even to accept it when offered them. They have seemed rather to court death. They were exceedingly improvident. If they had a supply for the present, they gave themselves no trouble for the future. The men declined all labor, and spent their time in hunting, fishing, shooting, and warlike exercises. They were excellent marksmen, and rarely missed their game whether running or flying.

They imposed all their drudgery upon their women. They gathered and brought home their wood, planted, dressed and gathered in their corn. They carried home the venison, fish and fowl, which the men took in hunting. When they traveled, the women carried the children, packs and provisions. The Indian women submitted patiently to such treatment, considering it as the hard lot of the woman. This ungenerous usage of their haughty lords, they repaid with smiles and good humor.

It has been common among all heathen nations to treat their women as slaves, and their children in infancy, with little tenderness. The Indian men cared little for their children when young, and were supposed at certain times, to sacrifice them to the devil. Christianity only provides for that tender and honorable treatment of the women, which is due to the sex formed of man. This alone provides for the tender care, nursing and education of her offspring, and is most favorable to domestic happiness, to the life and dignity of man.

The Indian women were strong and masculine; and as they were more inured to exercise and hardship than the men, were even more firm and capable of fatigue and suffering than they. They endured the pains of child-bearing without a groan. It was not uncommon for them, soon after labor, to take their children upon their backs and travel as they had done before.

The clothing of the Indians in New England, was the skins of wild beasts. The men threw a light mantle of skins over them, and wore a small flap which was called Indian breeches. They were not very careful however to conceal their nakedness. The women were much more modest. They wore a coat of skins, girt about their loins, which reached down to their hams. They never put this off in company. If the husband chose to sell his wives' beaver petticoat, she could not be persuaded to part with it, until he had provided another of some sort. In the winter, their blanket of skins, which hung loose in the summer, was tied or wrapped more closely about them. The old men in the severe seasons also wore a sort of trowsers made of skins and fastened to their

girdles. They were shoes without heels, which they called mocasons. These were made generally of moose hide but sometimes of buckskin. They were shaped entirely to the foot, gathered at the toes and round the ancles, and made fast with strings.

Their ornaments were pendants in their ears and nose, carved of bone, shells and stone. These were in the form of birds, beasts and fishes. They also wore belts of wampompeag upon their arms, over their shoulders and about their loins. They cut their hair into various antic forms and stuck them with feathers.

They also by incisions into which they conveyed a black or blue, unchangeable ink, made on their cheeks, arms, and other parts of their bodies, the figures of moose, deer, bears, wolves, hawks, eagles, and all such living creatures as were most agreeable to their fancies. These pictures were indelible and lasted during life. The sachems, on great days, when they designed to show themselves in the full splendor of majesty, not only covered themselves with mantles of moose, or deer skins, with various embroideries of white beads, and with paintings of different kinds; but they wore the skin of a bear, wild cat or some terrible creature upon their shoulders and arms. They had also necklaces of fish bones, and painting themselves in a frightful manner, made a most ferocious and horrible appearance. The warriors, who, on public occasions, dressed themselves in the most wild and terrific forms were considered as the best men.

The Indian houses or wigwams, were, at best, but poor smoky cells. They were constructed generally like arbors, of small young trees bent and twisted together, and so curiously covered with mats or bark, that they were tolerably dry and warm. The Indians made their fire in the centre of the house, and there was an opening at the top, which emitted the smoke. For the convenience of wood and water, these huts were commonly erected in groves; near some river, brook or living spring. When the wood failed the family removed to another place.

They lived in a poor low manner. Their food was coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning. They had neither spice, salt, nor bread. They had neither butter, cheese, nor milk. They drank nothing better than the water which ran in the brook or spouted from the spring. They fed on the flesh and entrails of moose, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild beasts and fowls: on fish, eels, and creeping things. They had good stomachs and nothing came amiss. In the hunting and fishing seasons, they had venison, moose, fat bears, racoons, geese, turkies, ducks, and fish of all kinds. In the summer they had green corn, beans, squashes and the various fruits which the country naturally produced. In the winter they subsisted on corn, beans, fish, nuts, groundnuts acorns, and the very gleanings of the grove.

They had no set meals, but, like other wild creatures, ate when they were hungry, and could find any thing to satisfy the cravings of nature. Sometimes they had little or nothing, for several days; but when they had provisions, they feasted. If they fasted, for some time, they were sure at the next meal to make up for all they had lost before. They had but little food from the earth, except what it spontaneously produced. Indian corn, beans, and squashes were the only eatables for which the natives in New England labored. The earth was both their seat and their table. With trenchers, knives, and napkins, they had no acquaintance.

Their household furniture was of small value. Their best bed was a mat or skin; they had neither chair nor stool. They ever sat upon the ground, commonly with their elbows upon their knees. This is the manner in which their great warriors and counselors now sit, even in the most public treaties, with the English. A few wooden and stone vessels and instruments served all the purposes of domestic life. They had no steel nor iron instrument. Their knife was a sharp stone, shell, or kind of reed, which they sharpened in such a manner, as to cut their hair, make their bows and arrows, and served for all the purposes of a knife. They made them axes of stone. These they shaped somewhat similar to our axes; but with this difference, that they were made with a neck instead of an eye, and fastened with a withe, like a blacksmith's chisels. They had mortars, and stone pestles and chissels. Great numbers of these have been found in the country, and kept by the people, as curiosities. They dressed their corn with a clamshell, or with a stick made flat and sharp at one end. These were all the utensils which they had, either for domestic use, or for husbandry.

Their arts and manufactures were confined to a very narrow compass. Their only weapons were bows and arrows, the tomahawk and the wooden sword or spear. Their bows were of the common construction. Their bowstrings were made of the sinews of deer, or of the Indian hemp. Their arrows were constructed of young elder sticks, or of other strait sticks and reeds. These were headed with a sharp flinty stone, or with bones. The arrow was cleft at one end, and the stone or bone was put in, and fastened with a small cord. The tomahawk was a stick of two or three feet in length, with a knob at the end. Sometimes it was a stone hatchet, or a stick with a piece of deer's horn at one end, in the form of a pickaxe. Their spear was a strait piece of wood, sharpened at one end, and hardened in the fire, or headed with bone or stone.

With respect to navigation they had made no improvements beyond the construction and management of the hollow trough or canoe. They made their canoes of the chesnut, whitewood and

pine-trees. As these grew strait to a great length, and were exceedingly large as well as tall, they constructed some, which would carry sixty or eighty men.\* These were first rates; but commonly they were not more than twenty feet in length, and two in breadth. The Pequots had many of these, in which they passed over to the islands, and warred against and plundered the islanders. The Indians upon Long Island had a great number of canoes, of the largest kind.

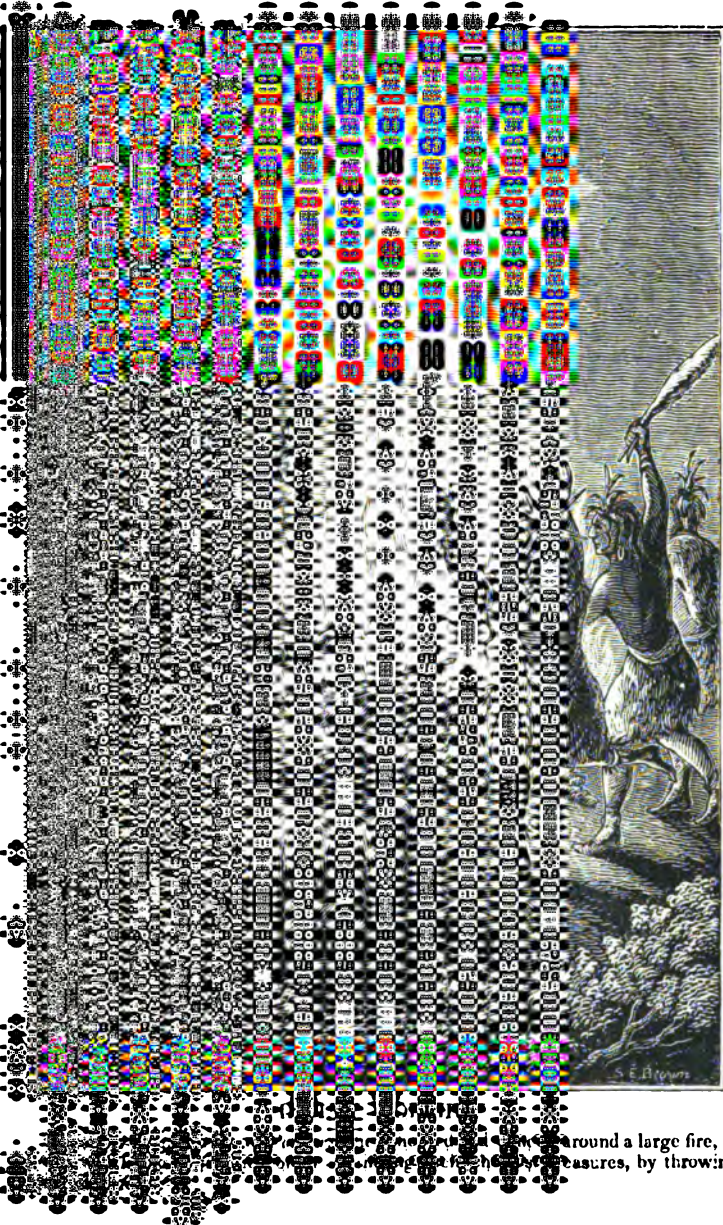
The construction of these, with such miserable tools as the Indians possessed, was a great curiosity. The manner was this. When they had found a tree to their purpose; to fell it they made a fire at the root, and kept burning it and cutting it with their stone axe until it fell. Then they kindled a fire, at such a distance from the butt as they chose, and burned it off again. By burning and working with their axe, and scraping with sharp stones and shells, they made it hollow and smooth. In the same manner they shaped the ends, and finished it to their wishes.

They constructed nets, twenty and thirty feet in length, for fishing; especially for the purpose of catching sturgeon. These were wrought with cords of Indian hemp, twisted by the hands of the women. They had also hooks made of flexible bones, which they used for fishing.

With respect to religion and morals, the Indians in New England were in the most deplorable condition. They believed that there was a great SPIRIT, or GOD, whom they called KITCHTAN. They imagined that he dwelt far away in the southwest, and that he was a good God. But they worshipped a great variety of gods. They paid homage to the fire and water, thunder and lightning, and to whatever they imagined to be superior to themselves, or capable of doing them an injury. They paid their principal homage to Hobbamocko. They imagined that he was an evil spirit, and did them mischief; and so, from fear, they worshipped him, to keep him in good humor. They appeared to have no idea of a sabbath, and not to regard any particular day more than another. But in times of uncommon distress, by reason of pestilence, war, or famine; and upon occasion of great victories and triumph, and after the ingathering of the fruits, they assembled in great numbers, for the celebration of their superstitious rites. The whole country, men, women, and children, came together upon these solemnities. The manner of their devotion was to kindle large fires in their wigwams, or more commonly in the open fields, and to sing and dance round them in a wild and violent manner. Sometimes they would all shout aloud with the most antic and hideous notes. They made rattles of shells which they shook, in

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\* Winthrop's Journal, p. 54.



around a large fire, in  
asures, by throwing





a wild and violent manner, to fill up the confused noise. After the English settled in Connecticut, and they could purchase kettles of brass, they used to strain skins over them and beat upon them to augment their wretched music. They often continued these wild and tumultuous exercises incessantly for four or five hours, until they were worn down and spent with fatigue. Their priests or powaws led in these exercises. They were dressed in the most odd and surprising manner, with skins of odious and frightful creatures about their heads, faces, arms, and bodies. They painted themselves in the most ugly forms, which could be devised. They sometimes sang, and then broke forth into strong invocations, with starts, and strange motions and passions. When these paused, the other Indians groaned, making wild and doleful sounds. At these times they sacrificed their skins, Indian money and the best of their treasures. These were taken, by the powaws, and all cast into the fires and consumed together. After the English came into the country, and they had hatchets and kettles, they sacrificed these in the same manner. The English were also persuaded, that they, at sometimes, sacrificed their children, as well as their most valuable commodities. No Indians in Connecticut were more noted for these superstitions than those of Wopowage, and Machemoodus. Milford people observing an Indian child, nearly at one of these times of their devotion, dressed in an extraordinary manner, with all kinds of Indian finery, had the curiosity to inquire what could be the reason. The Indians answered, that it was to be sacrificed, and the people supposed, that it was given to the devil. The evil spirit, which the New England Indians called Hobbamocko, the Virginia Indians called Okee. So deluded were these unhappy people, that they believed these barbarous sacrifices to be absolutely necessary. They imagined that unless they appeased and conciliated their gods, in this manner, they would neither suffer them to have peace, nor harvests, fish, venison, fat bears, nor turkeys; but would visit them with a general destruction.

With respect to morals they were indeed miserably depraved. Mr. Williams and Mr. Callender, who, at an early period were acquainted with the Indians, in Rhode Island, Mr. Hooker and others have represented them as sunk into the lowest state of moral turpitude, and as the very dregs of human nature.\* Though the character which they gave them was, in some respects exaggerated and absurd, yet it cannot be denied, that they were worshippers of evil spirits, liars, thieves, and murderers. They certainly were insidious and revengeful almost without a parallel; and they wallowed in all the filth of wantonness. Great pains were taken with

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\* Williams's manuscripts, and Mr. Callender's sermon.

the Narragansett and Connecticut Indians to civilize them and teach them Christianity; but the sachems rejected the Gospel with indignation and contempt. They would not suffer it to be preached to their subjects. Indeed, both made it a public interest to oppose its propagation among them. Their policy, religion, and manners were directly opposed to its pure doctrines and morals.

The manner of their courtship and marriages manifested their impurity. When a young Indian wished for marriage, he presented the girl with whom he was enamored, with bracelets, belts and chains of wampum. If she received his presents they cohabited together, for a time upon trial. If they pleased each other, they were joined in marriage: but if, after a few weeks, they were not suited, the man, leaving his presents, quitted the girl and sought another mistress, and she another lover.\* In this manner they courted, until two met who were agreeable to each other. Before marriage the consent of the sachem was obtained, and he always joined the hands of the young pair in wedlock.

The Indians in general kept many concubines, and never thought they had too many women.† This especially was the case with their sachems. They chose their concubines agreeably to their fancy, and put them away at pleasure. When a sachem grew weary of any of his women, he bestowed them upon some of his favorites, or chief men. The Indians however, had one wife, who was the governess of the family, and whom they generally kept during life. In cases of adultery, the husband either put away the guilty wife, or satisfied himself by the infliction of some severe punishment. Husbands and wives, parents and children, lived together in the same wigwams, without any different apartment, and made no great privacy of such actions as the chaster animals keep from open view.

The Indian government generally was absolute monarchy. The will of the sachem was his law. The lives and interests of his subjects were at his disposal. But in all important affairs he consulted his counselors. When they had given their opinions, they deferred the decision of every matter to him. Whatever his determinations were, they applauded his wisdom, and without hesitation obeyed his commands. In council the deportment of the sachems was grave and majestic to admiration. They appeared to be men of great discernment and policy. Their speeches were cautious and politic. The conduct of their counselors and servants was profoundly respectful and submissive.

The counselors of the Indian kings, in New England, were termed the paniese. These were not only the wisest, but largest

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\* Hutchinson, vol. 1, p. 461, 462. † Neal's Hist. N. E. p. 38, 39.

and bravest men to be found among their subjects. They were the immediate guard of their respective sachems, who made neither war nor peace, nor attempted any weighty affair without their advice. In war and all great enterprises, dangers and sufferings, these discovered a boldness, and firmness of mind, exceeding all the other warriors.

To preserve this order among the Indians, great pains were taken. The stoutest and most promising boys were chosen and trained up with peculiar care, in the observation of certain Indian rites and customs. They were kept from all delicious meats, trained to coarse fare, and made to drink the juice of bitter herbs, until it occasioned violent vomitings. They were beaten over their legs and shins, with sticks, and made to run through brambles and thickets, to make them hardy: and, as the Indians said, to render them more acceptable to Hobbamocko.

These paniese, or ministers of state, were in league with the priests, or powaws. To keep the people in awe, they pretended, as well as the priests, to have converse with the invisible world; and, that Hobbamocko often appeared to them.

Among the Indians in New England, the crown was hereditary, always descending to the eldest son. When there was no male issue, the crown descended to the female. The blood royal was held in such veneration, that no one was considered as heir to the crown, but such as were royally descended on both sides. When a female acceded to the crown, she was called the sunk squaw, or queen squaw. There were many petty sachems, tributary to other princes, on whom they were dependent for protection, and without whose consent they made neither peace, war, nor alliances with other nations.

The revenues of the crown consisted in the contributions of the people. They carried corn, and the first fruits of their harvest of all kinds, beans, squashes, roots, berries, and nuts, and presented them to their sachem. They made him presents of flesh, fish, fowl, moose, bear, deer, beaver, and other skins. One of the paniese was commonly appointed to receive the tribute. When the Indians brought it, he gave notice to his sachem, who went out to them, and by good words and some small gifts, expressed his gratitude. By these contributions, his table was supplied; so that he kept open house for all strangers and travelers. Besides, the prince claimed an absolute sovereignty over the seas within his dominion. Whatever was stranded on the coast, all wrecks and whales floating on the sea, and taken, were his.\* In war the spoils of the enemy, and all the women and royalties of the prince conquered, belonged to him, who made the conquest.

The sachem was not only examiner, judge and executioner, in

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\* Magnalia, Book vi. p. 51.

all criminal cases, but in all matters of justice between one man and another. In cases of dishonesty the Indians proportioned the punishment to the number of times in which the delinquent had been found guilty. For the first offence, he was reproached for his villany in the most disgraceful manner; for the second he was beaten with a cudgel upon his naked back. If he still persisted in his dishonest practices and was found guilty a third time, he was sure, besides a sound drubbing, to have his nose slit, that all men might know and avoid him. Murder was in all cases punished with death. The sachem whipped the delinquent and slit his nose in cases which required these punishments; and he killed the murderer, unless he were at a great distance. In this case, in which execution could not be done with his own hands, he sent his knife, by which it was effected. The Indians would not receive any punishment, which was not capital, from the hands of any except their sachems. They would neither be beaten, whipped, nor slit by an officer. But their prince might inflict these punishments to the greatest extremity, and they would neither run, cry, nor flinch. Indeed, neither the crimes nor the punishments are esteemed so infamous, among the Indians, as to groan or shrink under suffering. The sachems were so absolute in their government, that they contemned the limited authority of the English governors.

The Indians had no kind of coin; but they had a sort of money, which they called wampum, or wampumpeag. It consisted of small beads, most curiously wrought out of shells, and perforated in the centre, so that they might be strung on belts, in chains and bracelets. These were of several sorts. The Indians in Connecticut, and in New England in general, made black, blue and white wampum. Six of the white beads passed for a penny, and three of the black, or blue ones, for the same. The Five Nations made another sort, which were of a purple color. The white beads were wrought out of the inside of the great conchs, and the purple out of the inside of the muscle shell. They were made perfectly smooth, and the perforation was done in the neatest manner. Indeed, considering that the Indians had neither knife, drill, nor any steel or iron instrument, the workmanship was admirable. After the English settled in Connecticut, the Indians strung these beads on belts of cloth, in a very curious manner.

The Indians in all parts of New England, made great lamentations at the burial of their dead. Their manner of burial was to dig holes in the ground with stakes which were made broad and sharpened at one end. Sticks were laid across the bottom, and the corpse, which was previously wrapped in skins and mats, was let down upon them. The arms, treasures, utensils, paint, and ornaments of the dead were buried with them, and a mound of

earth was raised upon the whole. In some instances the Indians appear to have used a kind of embalming, by wrapping the corpse in large quantities of a strong scented red powder. In some parts of New England the dead were buried in a sitting posture with their faces towards the east. The women on these occasions painted their faces with oil and charcoal, and while the burial was performing, they, with the relatives of the dead, made the most hideous shrieks, howlings, and lamentations. Their mourning continued, by turns, at night and in the morning, for several days. During this term all the relatives united in bewailing the dead.

When the English began the settlement of Connecticut, all the Indians both east and west of Connecticut river were tributaries except the Pequots, and some few tribes, which were in alliance with them. The Pequots had spread their conquests over all that part of the State east of the river. They had also subjugated the Indians on the sea-coast as far eastward as Guilford. Uncas therefore, after the Pequots were conquered, extended his claims as far as Hammonasset in the eastern part of that township. The Indians in these parts were therefore tributaries to the Pequots.

The Mohawks had not only carried their conquests as far southward as Virginia, but eastward, as far as Connecticut river. The Indians therefore, in the western parts of Connecticut, were their tributaries. Two old Mohawks, every year or two, might be seen issuing their orders, and collecting their tribute, with as much authority and haughtiness as a Roman dictator.

It is indeed difficult to describe the fear of this terrible nation, which had fallen on all the Indians in the western parts of Connecticut. If they neglected to pay their tribute, the Mohawks would come down against them, plunder, destroy, and carry them captive at pleasure. When they made their appearance in the country, the Connecticut Indians would instantly raise a cry from hill to hill, A Mohawk! A Mohawk! and fly like sheep before wolves, without attempting the least resistance.\* The Mohawks would cry out, in the most terrible manner, in their language, importing 'We are come, we are come, to suck your blood.'† When the Connecticut Indians could not escape to their forts, they would immediately flee to the English houses for shelter, and sometimes the Mohawks would pursue them so closely, as to enter with them, and kill them in the presence of the family. If there was time to shut the doors, they never entered by force, nor did they upon any occasion, do the least injury to the English.

When they came into this part of the country for war, they used their utmost art to keep themselves undiscovered. They would conceal themselves in swamps and thickets, watching their oppor-

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\* Colden's History, vol. 1, p. 3

† Wood's prospect of N. England

tunity, and all on a sudden, rise upon their enemy, and kill or captivate them, before they had time to make any resistance.

About the time when the settlement of New Haven commenced, or not many years after, they came into Connecticut, and surprised the Indian fort at Paugusset. To prevent the Connecticut Indians from discovering them, and that not so much as a track of them might be seen, they marched in the most secret manner, and when they came near the fort, traveled wholly in the river. Secreting themselves near the fort they watched their opportunity, and suddenly attacking it, with their dreadful yellings and violence, they soon took it by force, and killed and captivated whom they pleased. Having plundered and destroyed, at their pleasure, they returned to their castles, west of Albany.

As all the Indians in Connecticut were slaughtered and oppressed, either by the Pequots or Mohawks, they were generally friendly to the settlement of the English among them. They expected, by their means, to be defended against their terrible and cruel oppressors. They also found themselves benefitted by trading with them. They furnished themselves with knives, hatchets, axes, hoes, kettles, and various instruments and utensils which highly contributed to their convenience. They could, with these, perform more labor in one hour or day, than they could in many days without them. Besides, they found that they could exchange an old beaver coat, or blanket, for two or three new ones of English manufacture. They found a much better market for their furs, corn, peltry, and all their vendible commodities. The English were also careful to treat them with justice and humanity, and to make such presents to their sachems and great captains, as should please and keep them in good humor. By these means, the English lived in tolerable peace with all the Indians in New England, except the Pequots, for about forty years.

The Indians, at their first settlement, performed many acts of kindness towards them. They instructed them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs, through rivers and waters; and as occasion required, served them instead of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country, and when the English or their children, were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing with hunger or cold, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn, when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses, and prevented them from perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness.”\*

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\* For this account of the Indians [commencing at the 72 page] of New England, the compiler is indebted to the account given by Dr. Trumbull, in his *History of Connecticut*: it is evidently drawn up with care and accuracy

## INDIANS IN NEW YORK.

THE Iroquois, or the confederated tribe, called the *Five Nations*,\* were in possession of the principal part of the territory now comprised within the limits of New York, at the period of Hudson's discovery. Their history before their acquaintance with Europeans, is obscured in the darkness of antiquity. "It is said that their first residence was in the country about Montreal; and that the superior strength of the Adirondacks, whom the French call Algonquins, drove them into their present possessions, lying on the south side of the Mohawk river, and the great lake Ontario. Towards the close of those disputes, which continued for a great series of years, the confederates gained advantages over the Adirondacks, and struck a general terror into all the other Indians. The Hurons, on the north side of lake Erie, and the Cat Indians on the south side, were totally conquered and dispersed. The French, who settled in Canada in 1603, took umbrage at their success, and began a war with them which had well nigh ruined the new colony."†

The confederacy of the Iroquois consisted, originally, of five nations,‡ the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The Mohawks had four towns, and one small village, situated on or near the fertile banks of the river of that name. The position of the first was the confluence of the Schoharie creek and Mohawk river. The others were further to the west.

The Mohawks, from their martial renown, and military spirit, have not unfrequently given their name to the whole confederacy, which was often denominated the Mohawks in the annals of those days. This nation was always held in the greatest veneration by its associates, and they were declared by the other nations, 'the true old heads of the confederacy.'

The Oneidas had their principal seat on the south of the Oneida lake; the Onondagas, near the Onondaga; and the Cayugas, near the Cayuga lake. The principal village of the Senecas was near the Genesee river, about twenty miles from Irondequoit bay.

\* *Maquaas*, was the name given them by the Dutch. In their own language, they gave themselves the name *Agoneaseah*: that is, *The Long House*.

† Smith's History of New York.

‡ The Tuscaroras, a tribe driven by the Carolinians from the frontiers of Virginia, [in 1712,] were received into the Five Nations, upon a supposition that they were originally of the same stock, on account of some similarity of language: after this union the Iroquois were called the *Six Nations*.



Each nation was divided into three tribes: the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. Each village was a distinct republic, and its concerns were managed by its peculiar chiefs. Their exterior relations, general interests, and national affairs, were conducted and superintended by a great council, assembled annually at Onondaga, the central canton, composed of the chiefs of each republic; and eighty sachems were frequently convened at this national assembly.

It took cognizance of the great questions of war and peace, and of the affairs of the tributary nations. All their proceedings were conducted with great deliberation, and were distinguished for order, decorum, and solemnity.

A prominent feature in the character of the confederates, was an exalted spirit of liberty, which revolted with equal indignation at domestic or foreign control. They esteemed themselves as sovereigns, accountable to none, but God alone, whom they called the Great Spirit. They admitted no hereditary distinctions. The office of sachem was the reward of personal merit; of great wisdom; of commanding eloquence; of distinguished services in the cabinet, or in the field.

Whatever superiority the Iroquois might have in war, they never neglected the use of stratagem. The cunning of the fox, the ferocity of the tiger, and the power of the lion, were united in their conduct. They preferred to vanquish their enemy, by taking him off his guard, by involving him in an ambuscade; but when emergencies rendered it necessary for them to face him in the open field, they exhibited a courage and contempt of death, which has never been surpassed."—*Eastman's Hist. N. York.*

The following account of the Five Nations is taken from *Smith's History of New York*, a work written previous to the American Revolution.

"No people in the world perhaps have higher notions than these Indians of military glory. All the surrounding nations have felt the effects of their prowess; and many not only became their tributaries, but were so subjugated to their power, that without their consent, they durst not commence either peace or war.

Though a regular police for the preservation of harmony within, and the defence of the State against invasions from without, is not to be expected from the people of whom I am now writing, yet, perhaps, they have paid more attention to it than is generally allowed. Their government is suited to their condition. A people whose riches consist not so much in abundance, as in a freedom from want;\* who are circumscribed by no boundaries,

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\* An Indian, in answer to his question, what the white people meant by covetousness! was told by another, that it signified, a desire of more than a man had need of. That's strange! said the querist.

who live by hunting, and not by agriculture, must always be free, and therefore subject to no other authority, than such as consists with the liberty necessarily arising from their circumstances. All their affairs, whether respecting peace or war, are under the direction of their sachems, or chief men. Great exploits and public virtue procure the esteem of a people, and qualify a man to advise in council, and execute the plans concerted for the advantage of his country: thus, whoever appears to the Indians in this advantageous light, commences a sachem without any other ceremony.

As there is no other way of arriving at this dignity, so it ceases, unless an uniform zeal and activity for the common good, is uninterruptedly continued. Some have thought it hereditary, but that is a mistake. The son, is indeed, respected for his father's services, but without personal merit, he can never share in the government; which, were it otherwise, must sink into perfect disgrace. The children of such as are distinguished for their patriotism, moved by the consideration of their birth, and the perpetual incitements to virtue constantly inculcated into them, imitate their father's exploits, and thus attain to the same honors and influence; which accounts for the opinion that the title and power of sachem are hereditary. Each of these republics has its own particular chiefs, who hear and determine all complaints in council, and though they have no officers for the execution of justice, yet their decrees are always obeyed, from the general reproach that would follow a contempt of their advice. The condition of this people exempts them from factions, the common disease of popular governments. It is impossible to gain a party amongst them by indirect means; for no man has either honor, riches, or power to bestow.

All affairs which concern the general interest are determined in a great assembly of the chiefs of each canton, usually held at Onondaga, the centre of their country. Upon emergencies they act separately, but nothing can bind the league but the voice of the general convention.

The French, upon the maxim, *divide et impera*, have tried all possible means to divide these republics, and sometimes have even sown great jealousies among them. In consequence of this plan, they have seduced many families to withdraw to Canada, and there settled them in regular towns, under the command of a fort, and the tuition of missionaries.

The manners of these savages are as simple as their government. Their houses are a few crotched stakes thrust into the ground, and overlaid with bark. A fire is kindled in the middle, and an aperture left at the top for the conveyance of the smoke. Whenever a considerable number of those huts are collected, they

have a castle, as it is called, consisting of a square without bastions, surrounded with palisadoes. They have no other fortification; and this is only designed as an asylum for their old men, their wives, and children, while the rest are gone out to war. They live almost entirely without care. While the women, or squaws, cultivate a little spot of ground for corn, the men employ themselves in hunting. As to clothes, they use a blanket girt at the waist, and thrown loosely over their shoulders; some of their women, indeed, have besides this, a sort of a petticoat, and a few of their men wear shirts; but the greater part of them are generally half naked. In winter their legs are covered with stockings of blanket, and their feet with socks of deer skin. Many of them are fond of ornaments, and their taste is very singular. I have seen rings affixed, not only to their ears, but to their noses. Bracelets of silver and brass round their wrists, are very common. The women plait their hair, and tie it up behind in a bag, perhaps in imitation of the French beaux in Canada. Though the Indians are capable of sustaining great hardships, yet they cannot endure much labor, being rather fleet than strong. Their men are taller than the Europeans, rarely corpulent, always beardless,\* straight limbed, of a tawny complexion, and black uncurled hair. In their food they have no manner of delicacy, for though venison is their ordinary diet, yet sometimes they eat dogs, bears, and even snakes. Their cookery is of two kinds, boiled or roasted; to perform the latter, the meat is penetrated by a short sharp stick set in the ground, inclining towards the fire, and turned as occasion requires. They are hospitable to strangers, though few Europeans would relish their highest favors of this kind, for they are very nasty both in their garments and food. Every man has his own wife, whom he takes and leaves at pleasure: a plurality, however, at the same time, is by no means admitted among them.

They are so perfectly free, that unless their children, who generally assist the mother, may be called servants, they have none. The men frequently associate themselves for conversation, by which means they not only preserve the remembrance of their wars, and treaties, but diffuse among their youth incitements to military glory, as well as instruction in all the subtleties of war.

Since they became acquainted with the Europeans, their war-like apparatus is a musket, hatchet,† and a long knife. Their boys still accustom themselves to bows and arrows, and are so dexterous in the use of them, that a lad of sixteen, will strike an English shilling five times in ten at twelve or fourteen yards dis-

\* Because they pluck out the hairs. The French writers, who say they have naturally no beards, are mistaken; and the reasons they assign for it are ridiculous.

† Hence, to take up the hatchet, is, with them, a phrase signifying to declare war; as, on the contrary, to bury it, denotes the establishment of peace.

tance. Their men are excellent marksmen, both with the gun and hatchet ; their dexterity at the latter is very extraordinary, for they rarely miss the object, though at a considerable distance. The hatchet in the flight perpetually turns round, and yet always strikes the mark with the edge.

Before they go out, they have a feast upon dog's flesh, and a great war-dance. At these, the warriors, who are frightfully painted with vermilion, rise up and sing their own exploits, or those of their ancestors, and thereby kindle a military enthusiasm in the whole company. The day after the dance, they march out a few miles in a row, observing a profound silence. The procession being ended, they strip the bark from a large oak, and paint the design of their expedition on the naked trunk. The figure of a canoe, with the number of men in it, determines the strength of their party ; and by a deer, a fox, or some other emblem painted at the head of it, we discover against what nation they are gone out.

The Five Nations being devoted to war, every art is contrived to diffuse a military spirit through the whole body of their people. The ceremonies attending the return of a party, seem calculated in particular for that purpose. The day before they enter the village, two heralds advance, and at a small distance set up a yell, which by its modulation intimates either good or bad news. If the former, the village is alarmed, and an entertainment provided for the conquerors, who in the mean time approach in sight : one of them bears the scalps stretched over a bow, and elevated upon a long pole. The boldest man in the town comes out, and receives it, and instantly flies to the hut where the rest are collected. If he is overtaken, he is beaten unmercifully ; but if he outruns the pursuer, he participates in the honor of the victors, who at their first entrance receive no compliments, nor speak a single word till the end of the feast. Their parents, wives, and children are then admitted, and treat them with the profoundest respect. After these salutations, one of the conquerors is appointed to relate the whole adventure, to which the rest attentively listen, without asking a question, and the whole concludes with a savage dance.

The Indians never fight in the field, or upon equal terms, but always sculk, and attack by surprise in small parties, meeting every night at a place of rendezvous. Scarcely any enemy can escape them, for by the disposition of the grass and leaves, they follow his track with great speed any where but over a rock. Their barbarity is shocking to human nature. Women and children they generally kill and scalp, because they would retard their progress ; but the men they carry into captivity. If any woman has lost a relation, and inclines to receive the prisoner in his stead, he not only escapes a series of the most inhuman tortures

and death itself, but enjoys every immunity they can bestow, and is esteemed a member of the family into which he is adopted. To part with him would be the most ignominious conduct, and considered as selling the blood of the deceased; and for this reason, it is not without the greatest difficulty that a captive is redeemed.

When the Indians incline to peace, a messenger is sent to the enemy with a pipe, the bowl of which is made of soft, red marble; and a long reed, beautifully painted, and adorned with the gay plumage of birds, forms the stem. This is his infallible protection from any assault on the way. The envoy makes his proposals to the enemy, who, if they approve them, ratify the preliminaries to the peace, by smoking through the pipe, and from that instant a general cessation of arms takes place. The French call it a *calumet*. It is used, as far as I can learn, by all the Indian nations upon the continent. The rights of it are esteemed sacred, and have been only invaded by the Flat Heads; in just indignation for which, the confederates maintained a war with them for near thirty years.

As to the language of the Five Nations, the best account I have had of it, is contained in a letter from the Reverend Mr. Spencer, who resided amongst them in the year 1748, being then a missionary from the Scotch society for propagating Christian knowledge. He writes thus:

‘SIR,

‘Though I was very desirous of learning the Indian tongue, yet through my short residence at Onoughquage, and the surly disposition of my interpreter, I confess my proficiency was not great.

Except the Tuscaroras, all the Six Nations speak a language radically the same. It is very masculine and sonorous, abounding with gutturals and strong aspirations, but without labials. Its solemn grave tone is owing to the generosity of its feet, as you will observe in the following translation of the Lord’s prayer, in which I have distinguished the time of every syllable by the common marks used in prosody.

Soũgwâũnehâ, cârounkyâwgâ, tẽhsẽtârõan, saũhsõnyõustâ,  
 esâ, sâwânẽyõu, õkẽttâũhselâ, õhnẽâũwoũng, nâ cârounkyâwgâ,  
 nõghwõnshâũgâ, nẽãttẽwẽhnẽsãlãũgâ, taũgwãunãutõrõnoãntõũgsick,  
 toãntaũgwẽtẽwẽhẽyõustãũng, chẽnẽyẽyũt, chãquãtãũtẽhwẽyõustãũn-  
 uã, toũghsaũ, tãũgwãussãrẽneh, tãwãutõttẽnãũgãlõũghtõũnggã, nãsã-  
 wnẽ, sãchẽãũtãũgwãss, coãntẽhsãlõhãunzãickãw, esâ, sãwãunnẽyõũ,  
 esâ, sãshãutziã, esâ, soũngwãsoũng, chẽnnẽãũhãũngwã, ãuwẽn.

The extraordinary length of Indian words, and the guttural

aspirations necessary in pronouncing them, render the speech extremely rough and difficult. The verbs never change in their terminations, as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but all their variations are prefixed. Besides the singular and plural, they have also the dual number. A strange transposition of syllables of different words, *euphonia gratia*, is very common in the Indian tongue, of which I will give an instance.—*ōgillā* signifies fire, and *cāwāunnā*, great; but instead of joining the adjective and substantive to say *great fire*, *cāwāunnā ōgillā*, both words would be blended into this one, *cō-gillā-wāunnā*. The dialect of the Oneydas, is softer than that of the other nations; and the reason is, because they have more vowels, and often supply the place of harsh letters with liquids. Instead of R, they always use L: *Rebecca* would be pronounced *Lequcca*.

The art of public speaking is in high esteem among the Indians, and much studied. They are extremely fond of method, and displeased with an irregular harangue, because it is difficult to be remembered. When they answer, they repeat the whole, reducing it into strict order. Their speeches are short, and the sense conveyed in strong metaphors. In conversation they are sprightly, but solemn and serious in their messages relating to public affairs. Their speakers deliver themselves with surprising force and great propriety of gesture. The fierceness of their countenances, the flowing blanket, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect stature, with a half circle of auditors seated on the ground, and in the open air, cannot but impress upon the mind, a lively idea of the ancient orators of Greece and Rome.

At the close of every important part of the speech ratifying an old covenant, or creating a new one, a belt is generally given, to perpetuate the remembrance of the transaction. These belts are about four inches wide, and thirty in length. They consist of strings of conch shell beads fastened together.\*

With respect to religion, the Indians may be said to be under the thickest gloom of ignorance. If they have any, which is much to be questioned, those who affirm it, will find it difficult to tell us wherein it consists. They have neither priest nor temple, sacrifice nor altar. Some traces, indeed, appear of the original law written upon their hearts; but they have no system of doctrines, nor any rites and modes of public worship. They are sunk, unspeakably, beneath the polite pagans of antiquity. Some confused notions, indeed, of beings superior to themselves, they have, but of the Deity, and his natural and moral perfections, no proper or tole-

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\* Those beads, which pass for money, are called by the Indians, *wampum*, and by the Dutch *sewant*: six beads were formerly valued at a stiver. There are always several poor families at Albany, who support themselves by coining this cash for the traders.

rable conceptions ; and of his general and particular Providence they know nothing. They profess no obligations to him, nor acknowledge their dependence upon him. Some of them, it is said, are of opinion, that there are two distinct, powerful beings, one able to help, the other to do them harm. The latter they venerate most, and some alledge, that they address him by a kind of prayer. Though there are no public monuments of idolatry to be seen in their country, yet the missionaries have discovered coarse imagery in wooden trinkets, in the hands of their jugglers, which the converts deliver up as detestable. The sight of them would remind a man of letters of the *lares* and *penates* of the ancients, but no certain judgment can be drawn of their use. The Indians sometimes assemble in large numbers, and retire far into the wilderness, where they eat and drink in a profuse manner. These conventions are called *kenticoy*s. Some esteem them to be debauched revels or *Bacchanalia* ; but those, who have privately followed them into these recesses, give such accounts of their conduct, as naturally lead one to imagine, that they pay a joint homage and supplication to some invisible being."

The following extract of a letter to the late Dr. Morse, from the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary among the Six Nations, gives an interesting account of their views of a future state. "The region of pure spirits, the Five Nations call *Eskanane*. The only characters, which, according to their tradition, cannot be admitted to participate of the pleasures and delights of this happy country, are reduced to three, viz : suicides, the disobedient to the councils of the chiefs, and such as put away their wives on account of pregnancy. According to their tradition, there is a gloomy, fathomless gulf, near the borders of the delightful mansions of *Eskanane*, over which all good and brave spirits pass with safety, under the conduct of a faithful and skilful guide appointed for that purpose ; but when a suicide, or any of the above mentioned characters, approaches this gulf, the conductor, who possesses a most penetrating eye, instantly discovers their spiritual features and character, and denies them his aid, assigning his reasons. They will, however, attempt to cross on a small pole, which, before they reach the middle, trembles and shakes, till presently down they fall with horrid shrieks. In this dark and dreary gulf, they suppose resides a great dog, some say a dragon, infected with the itch, which makes him perpetually restless and spiteful. The guilty inhabitants of this miserable region all catch this disease of the great dog, and grope and roam from side to side of their gloomy mansion in perpetual torment. Sometimes they approach so near the happy fields of *Eskanane*, they can hear the songs and dances of their former companions. This only serves to increase their torments, as they can discern no light, nor discover any passage by which they can gain access to them. They suppose idiots and dogs go into the same gulf, but have a more comfortable apartment, where they enjoy some little light."

Mr. Kirkland adds, that several other nations of Indians, with whom he has conversed on the subject, have nearly the same traditionary notions of a future state. They almost universally agree in this, that the departed spirit is ten days in its passage to their happy elysium, after it leaves the body. Some of them suppose its course toward the south ; others, that it ascends from some lofty mountain.

The number of Indians comprised in the Five Nations, at the time of the first European settlements in New York, has been estimated from twenty to twenty-five thousand. This number is supposed to comprise the main body of Indians living in the pres-

ent limits of the state at that period. Their number at present, including those in Canada and elsewhere, is said not to exceed six or seven thousand souls, although for the last fifty years they have been somewhat on the increase.

During the war between the English and French, which commenced in 1755, and ended in 1763, the Mohawks, and some other confederates, joined the English, while the Senecas and others joined the French. Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, accompanied Sir William Johnson to the head of Lake George, near which he fell in a battle with the French. As the French interest declined in Canada, those tribes who aided them came over to the English. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, all the Six Nations, except the Oneidas, took up the hatchet against the United States, being seduced by English agents to make common cause with England against the Americans. In the early part of 1776, a treaty was negotiated with them at Herkimer, in which they engaged to remain neutral. Large presents were made them. Notwithstanding General Schuyler, the American commissioner, in this delicate affair, acted with the utmost prudence and skill, still it was unavailing, for the Indians violated the treaty.

The Mohawks, who had hitherto resided on the Mohawk river, broke up their settlements and retired to Canada. The Oneidas, preferring peace to war, upon the suggestion of the American government, removed from the vicinity of Oneida creek to Schenectady, where they remained till the peace in 1783, being provided by the government with the means of subsistence. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, in the course of the war made numerous inroads into New York and Pennsylvania. In 1778, a large body of these Indians, accompanied by a band of tories or loyalists, fell upon the flourishing settlement at Wyoming, laid it entirely waste, and killed most of the inhabitants. The settlement at Minisink, and of Cherry Valley, were likewise destroyed, and the enemy under *Brandt* an Onondaga, or Mohawk chief, and *Col. John Butler* a royalist, committed many atrocities.

In order to repress these barbarities, Gen. Sullivan was detached in 1779, to march into the Indian country with four thousand men. He proceeded up the Susquehanna and Tioga rivers, and from thence down the Genesee. He destroyed eighteen towns and villages in this vicinity in the course of a few days. By these proceedings, the Indians, though not conquered, were greatly intimidated. Since 1783, the Six Nations do not appear to have acted in unison; the bonds which formerly held them together became loosened, and the several tribes have, in many instances, acted separately. Most of their lands, which are the best in the state, have been purchased, and are now occupied by flourishing settlements.



## INDIANS IN NEW JERSEY.

THE Indians inhabiting New Jersey at the period of its settlement, were of that race called *Mohekanews*, who inhabited the country between the St. Lawrence in Canada, and the Potomac in Virginia. The confederation of the *Lenni Lenape*,\* or *Delawares* as they are usually called, was the most extensive and powerful of the Mohekanew states. Its limits extended from Connecticut river on the northeast, to the Susquehanna river and the head of the Chesapeak bay on the southwest. The tribes which composed the confederacy were subdivided into numerous clans, and this circumstance has been the source of much confusion among writers.

The Delawares, who were numerous on the river and bay of that name, were conquered by the Five Nations, about the time the English began the settlement of Virginia. The war between these Indians raged with great fury at the time Capt. Smith, the founder of Virginia, was exploring Chesapeak bay. The Delawares were so enfeebled and exhausted by this war, that the Dutch and English settlers in their vicinity had but little to fear from them, and experienced few difficulties. They received some addition to their numbers by the Indian war in New England, when the remains of several of the vanquished tribes retired westerly, and crossed the Hudson. During the Revolutionary War, a portion of the Delawares took up arms against the United States. Since this period they removed to Ohio, where they continued upwards of fifty years. They have since removed farther westward, and at present but few of this tribe remain.

The following account of the Indians in New Jersey, is taken from Smith's history of this state. "When they bury their dead, it was customary to put family utensils, bows and arrows, and sometimes money, (wampum) into the grave with them, as tokens of their affection. When a person of note died far from the place of his own residence, they would carry his bones to be buried there; they washed and perfumed the dead, painted the face, and followed singly; left the dead in a sitting posture, and covered the grave pyramidically. They were very careful in preserving and repairing the graves of their dead, and pensively visited them; did not love to be asked their judgment twice about the same thing. They generally delighted in mirth; were very studious in observ-

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\* These words are said to mean "*the original people*," whereby they expressed they were an unmixed race, who had never changed their character since the creation.—*Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*.

ing the virtues of roots and herbs, by which they usually cured themselves of many bodily distempers, both by outward and inward applications. They besides frequently used sweating, and the cold bath. They had an aversion to beards, and would not suffer them to grow ; but plucked the hair out by the roots. The hair of their heads was black, and generally shone with bear's fat, particularly that of the women, who tied it up behind in a large knot ; sometimes in a bag.

They were very loving to one another ; if several of them came to a christian's house, and the master of it gave one of them victuals, and none to the rest, he would divide it into equal shares amongst his companions ; if the christians visited them, they would give them the first cut of their victuals ; they would not eat the hollow of the thigh of any thing they killed.

The Indians would not allow of mentioning the name of a friend after death. They sometimes streaked their faces with black, when in mourning ; but when their affairs went well, they painted red. They were great observers of the weather by the moon ; delighted in fine clothes ; were punctual in their bargains, and observed this so much in others, that it was very difficult for a person who had once failed herein, to get any dealings with them afterwards. In their councils they seldom or never interrupted or contradicted one another, till two of them had made an end of their discourse ; for if ever so many were in company, only two must speak to each other, and the rest be silent till their turn. Their language was high, lofty, and sententious. Their way of counting was by tens, that is to say, two tens, three tens, four tens, &c., when the number got out of their reach, they pointed to the stars, or the hair of their heads.

They lived chiefly on maize, or Indian corn roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, called hommony ; they also made an agreeable cake of their pounded corn ; and raised beans and pease ; but the woods and rivers afforded them the chief of their provisions. They pointed their arrows with a sharpened flinty stone, and of a larger sort, with withes for handles, cut their wood ; both of these sharpened stones are often found in the fields. Their times of eating were commonly morning and evening ; their seats and tables the ground. They were naturally reserved, apt to resent, to conceal their resentments, and retain them long ; they were liberal and generous, kind and affable to the English. They were observed to be uneasy and impatient in sickness for a present remedy, to which they commonly drank a decoction of roots in spring water, forbearing flesh, which if they then eat at all, it was of the female. They took remarkable care of one another in sickness, while hopes of life remained ; but when that was gone, some of them were apt to neglect the patient.

Their government was monarchical and successive, and mostly of the mother's side, to prevent a spurious issue.\* They commonly washed their children in cold water as soon as born ; and to make their limbs straight, tied them to a board, and hung it to their backs when they traveled ; they usually walked at 9 months old. Their young men married at 16 or 17 years of age, if by that time they had given sufficient proof of their manhood, by a large return of skins. The girls married about 13 or 14, but stayed at home with their mothers to hoe the ground, and to bear burdens, &c. for some years after marriage. The women, in traveling, generally carried the luggage. The marriage ceremony was sometimes thus ; the relations and friends being present, the bridegroom delivered a bone to the bride, she an ear of Indian corn to him, meaning that he was to provide meat, she bread. It was not unusual, notwithstanding, to change their mates upon disagreement ; the children went with the party that loved them best, the expense being of no moment to either ; in case of difference on this head, the man was allowed the first choice, if the children were divided, or there was but one.

Very little can be said as to their religion ; much pains were taken by the early christian settlers, and frequently since, to inform their judgments respecting the use and benefit of the Christian Revelation, and to fix restraints ; but generally with unpromising success, though instances have now and then happened to the contrary. They are thought to have believed in a God and immortality, and seemed to aim at public worship ; when they did this, they sometimes sat in several circles one within another ; the action consisted of singing, jumping, shouting and dancing ; but mostly performed rather as something handed down from their ancestors, than from any knowledge or inquiry into the serious parts of its origin. They said that the great king that made them, dwelt in a glorious country to the southward, and that the spirits of the best should go there and live again. Their most solemn worship was the sacrifice of the first fruits, in which they burnt the first and fattest buck, and feasted together upon what else they had collected ; but in this sacrifice broke no bones of any creature they ate ; when done, they gathered and buried them very carefully ; these have since been frequently ploughed up. They distinguished between a good and evil man-etta, or spirit ; worshipped the first for the good they hoped : and some of them are said to have been slavishly dark in praying to the last for deprecation of evils they feared ; but if this be generally true, some of the tribes much concealed it from our settlers.

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\* That is, the children of him now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the male children of her daughters) were to reign ; for no woman inherited.

They did justice upon one another for crimes among themselves, in a way of their own ; even murder might be atoned for by feasts, and presents of wampum ; the price of a woman killed was double, and the reason, because *she bred children, which men could not do*. If sober they rarely quarrelled among themselves. They lived to 60, 70, 80 years, and more, before rum was introduced, but rarely since. Some tribes were commendably careful of their aged and decrepit, endeavouring to make the remains of life as comfortable as they could, except in desperate decays, then they were apt to neglect them.

Strict observers of property, yet to the last degree, thoughtless and inactive in acquiring or keeping it. None could excel them in liberality of the little they had, for nothing was thought too good for a friend ; a knife, gun, or any such thing given to one, frequently passed through many hands. Their houses or wigwams were sometimes together in towns, but mostly movable, and occasionally fixed near a spring, or other water, according to the conveniences for hunting, fishing, basket-making, or other business of that sort, and built with poles laid on forked sticks in the ground, with bark, flags, or bushes on the top and sides, with an opening to the south, their fire in the middle. At night they slept on the ground with their feet towards it. Their clothing was a coarse blanket or skin thrown over the shoulder, which covered to the knee, and a piece of the same tied round their legs, with part of a deer skin sewed round their feet for shoes. As they had learned to live upon little, they seldom expected or wanted to lay up much. They were also moderate in asking a price for any thing they had for sale. When a company traveled together, they generally followed each other in silence, scarcely ever two were seen by the side of one another. In roads, the man went before with his bow and arrow, the woman after, not uncommonly with a child at her back, and other burdens besides : but when these were too heavy, the man assisted. To know their walks again, in unfrequented woods, they heaped stones or marked trees.

In person they were upright, and straight in their limbs, beyond the usual proportion in most nations. Their bodies were strong, but of a strength rather fitted to endure hardships, than to sustain much bodily labor, very seldom crooked or deformed : their features regular : their countenances sometimes fierce, in common rather resembling a Jew than Christain : the color of their skin a tawny reddish brown. The whole fashion of their lives of apiece ; hardy, poor and squalid. When they began to drink, they commonly continued it as long as the means of procuring it lasted. While intoxicated, they often lay exposed to all the inclemencies of weather, which introduced a train of new disorders among them. They were grave, even to sadness, upon any common, and

more so upon serious occasions ; observant of those in company, and respectful to the old ; of a temper cool and deliberate ; never in haste to speak, but waited for a certainty, that the person who spoke before them had finished all he had to say. They seemed to hold European vivacity in contempt, because they found such as came among them, apt to interrupt each other, and frequently speak all together.

Their behavior in public councils, was strictly decent and instructive, every one in his turn was heard, according to rank of years or wisdom, or services to his country. Not a word, a whisper, or a murmur, while any one spoke ; no interruption to commend or condemn ; the younger sort were totally silent. They got fire by rubbing wood of particular sorts, (as the ancients did out of the ivy and bays) by turning the end of a hard piece upon the side of one that was soft and dry. To forward the heat they put dry rotten wood and leaves ; with the help of fire and their stone axes, they would fall large trees, and afterwards scoop them into bowls, &c. From their infancy they were formed with care to endure hardships, to bear derision, and even blows patiently ; at least with a composed countenance. Though they were not easily provoked, they were hard to be appeased.

Liberty in its fullest extent, was their ruling passion ; to this every other consideration was subservient. Their children were trained up so as to cherish this disposition to the utmost ; they were indulged to a great degree, seldom chastised with blows, and rarely chided ; their faults were left for their reason and habits of the family to correct : they said these could not be great before their reason commenced ; and they seemed to abhor a slavish motive to action, as inconsistent with their notions of freedom and independence. Even strong persuasion was industriously avoided, as bordering too much on dependence, and a kind of violence offered to the will. They dreaded slavery more than death. They laid no fines for crimes ; for they had no way of exacting them. The atonement was voluntary. Every tribe had particular persons in whom they reposed a confidence, and unless they did something unworthy of it, they were held in respect. Their kings were distinguished sachems ; the respect paid them was voluntary, and not exacted or looked for, or the omission of it regarded. The sachems directed in their councils, and had the chief disposition of lands. To help their memories in treaties, they had belts of black and white wampum ; with these closed their periods in speeches, delivering more or less according to the importance of the matter treated of ; this ceremony omitted, all they said passed for nothing. They treasured these belts when delivered to them in treaties, kept them as the records of the nation, to have recourse to upon future contests. Governed by customs and not by laws,

they greatly revered those of their ancestors, and followed them implicitly. They long remembered kindnesses, families, or individuals that had laid themselves out to deal with, entertain and treat them hospitably, or even fairly in dealings, if no great kindness was received, were sure of their trade. This also must undoubtedly be allowed, that the original and more uncorrupt, very seldom forgot to be grateful, where real benefits had been received."

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## ANECDOTES, TRADITIONS, &c.

### ILLUSTRATING

## INDIAN HISTORY.

THE Delaware Indians, (according to the tradition handed down by their ancestors), resided many hundred years ago, in a very distant country in the western part of the American continent.\* Having determined on migrating to the eastward, they set out in a body, and after a very long journey they arrived on the banks of the Mississippi river, where they fell in with the *Mengwe*, now called the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who had likewise emigrated from a distant country, and had struck upon this river somewhat higher up. The Delawares by their spies had before their arrival discovered that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, who had many large towns built on the great rivers flowing through their land. These people were called the *Alligewi*, and from them, it is supposed, the name of the Alleghany river and mountains is derived.

When the Delawares arrived on the Mississippi, they sent a message to the Alligewi to request permission to settle in their neighborhood. This was refused; but they granted them leave to pass through the country and seek a settlement farther to the eastward. They accordingly began to cross the Mississippi, when the Alligewi seeing that their numbers were very great, made an attack on those that had crossed, and threatened they would destroy all those who should venture to cross the river. The Delawares, indignant at such conduct, consulted with the Iroquois, (who had thus far only been spectators), who offered to join them in attempting the conquest of the country. Having united their forces, they declared war against the Alligewi, and

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\* These traditionary accounts respecting the Delawares and Iroquois, were drawn from the Rev. Mr. *Heckewelder's* account of the Indian Nations, published in Vol. i. of the Hist. and Lit. Trans. of the American Phil. Soc., Philadelphia, 1819. Mr. Heckewelder was for a long period, a missionary among the Indians.



great battles were fought, in which many fell on both sides. The enemy fortified their large towns, and erected fortifications, especially on large rivers near the lakes, where they were attacked and sometimes stormed by the allies. The Alligewi at last finding that they would all be destroyed if they remained, abandoned the country, and fled down the Mississippi river, from whence they never returned.

After the conquest of the Alligewi, the Delawares and the Iroquois divided their country between them; the Iroquois made choice of the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes, and the Delawares took possession of the countries to the south. For a long period of time, some say two hundred years, the two nations resided peaceably in this country, and increased very fast; some of their enterprising men crossed the mountains, and falling on the streams running eastward, followed them to the *Great Salt-water Lake*, or ocean. Satisfied with what they had seen, they (or some of them) after a long absence, returned to their nation, and described the country they had discovered as abounding with game and various kinds of fruits; and the rivers and bays with fish, tortoises, &c. together with abundance of water-fowl, and no enemy to be dreaded. Concluding this to be the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, they began to emigrate thither, but only in small bodies, so as not to be straitened for want of provisions by the way, some even laying by for a whole year. They at last settled on the four great rivers, the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehanna, and the Potomac, making the Delaware the centre of their possessions.

The Delawares say that the whole of their nation did not reach this part of the country, that many remained behind to assist the great body of their people who did not cross the Mississippi, but retreated into the interior of the country on the west side of that river, on account of the hostilities with the Alligewi. Their nation finally became divided into three bodies; the larger body, which they suppose to have been one half of the whole, were settled on the Atlantic, and the other half was again divided into two parts, one of which the strongest they suppose, remained beyond the Mississippi, and the remainder where they left them on this side of that river.

Those of the Delawares who fixed their abode on the shores of the Atlantic, divided themselves into three tribes. Two of them chose that part of the country which lay nearest the sea. As they multiplied, their settlements extended from Hudson river to beyond the Potomac. The third tribe, called the *Minsi* or *Munsees*, chose to live back of the other tribes, and formed a kind of bulwark for their protection against the Iroquois. They extended their settlements from the *Minisink*, a place named af-

ter them, where they had their council-seat or fire, to the Hudson on the east, and to the southwest far beyond the boundaries of the Susquehanna. From the above tribes sprung many others, who, having for their convenience chosen detached places to settle in, gave themselves names or received them from others. These various tribes did not deny their origin, but retained their affection for the parent tribe, of which they were proud to be called the grandchildren.—This was the case with the *Mahican-ni* or Mohicans, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own; choosing to live by themselves, they crossed the Hudson, and spread themselves all over the country now composing the eastern States. New tribes again sprung from them, who also assumed distinct names, still, however, acknowledging the Delawares their grandfathers.

The Iroquois, settled along the river St. Lawrence, soon became neighbors of the Delawares, upon whom they began to look with a jealous eye, being fearful of being dispossessed by them of the lands which they occupied. To meet this evil in time, they sought to embroil the Delawares in quarrels with distant tribes, and with each other. As the different nations or tribes have a particular mark on their war-clubs, different from each other, the Iroquois having purposely committed a murder in the Cherokee country, left a Delaware war-club near the dead body. This stratagem took effect, and a bloody war soon took place between the Cherokees and Delawares. The treachery of the Iroquois was after a while discovered, and the Delawares determined on taking exemplary revenge, by exterminating their deceitful enemies.

The Iroquois tribes, who had previous to this period lived in a manner independent of each other, now saw the necessity of coming under some general union for their common preservation. This confederation, it is said, took place somewhere between the 15th and 16th centuries: the most bloody wars were afterwards carried on for a great length of time, in which the Delawares say they generally came off victorious. During this warfare, the French landed in Canada, but the Iroquois, not willing they should establish themselves in that country, made war upon them. The Iroquois now finding themselves between two fires, and despairing of conquering the Delawares by force of arms, had recourse to a stratagem to secure a peace with them, in order to put forth their whole strength against the French.

The plan was deeply laid, and was calculated to deprive the Delawares of their power and military fame by which they were distinguished. In the language of the Indians, they were to become *women*. It must be understood, that among these Indians,



wars are never brought to an end, but by the interference of the weaker sex. The men, however tired of fighting, are fearful of being thought cowards should they show a desire for peace. The women on these occasions would by their moving speeches persuade the enraged combatants to bury their hatchets and be at peace with each other. They would lament with great feeling the losses on each side; they would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and above all bereaved mothers. They would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless children, lay aside their deadly weapons and smoke together the pipe of peace. Speeches of this nature seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women by becoming peacemakers were placed in a dignified situation.

The artful Iroquois urged that it would not be a disgrace to assume the part and the situation of the *woman*, but on the contrary it would be an honor to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage to assume that station, by which they would be the means of preserving the general peace, and save the Indian race from utter extirpation. As men they had been dreaded, as women they would be respected and honored, and would have a right to interfere in the quarrels of other nations and to stop the effusion of Indian blood. They intreated them therefore to lay down their arms and to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments. By these representations the Delawares were induced to become women. The Iroquois, notwithstanding their fair speeches, sought to injure them by secretly embroiling distant tribes against them, and in some cases joined the forces of their enemies in disguise. This treachery when found out roused the Delawares, who resolved to destroy their perfidious enemies. This, they say, they might easily have done, as they were numerous as grasshoppers at particular seasons, and as destructive to their enemies as these insects are to the fruits of the earth; while they described the Iroquois as frogs in a pond who make a great noise when all is quiet, but at the mere rustling of a leaf plunge into the water and are silent. But at this period the attention of the Indians was now directed to other scenes. The whites were landing in great numbers on their coast in the east and south. They were lost in admiration at what they saw, and they consulted together on what they should do. By these occurrences warfare among themselves was suspended.

The following is the Indian account of the first arrival of the Dutch, at New York island. This relation Mr. Heckewelder states was taken down from the mouth of an intelligent Delaware

Indian, and may be considered as a correct account of the tradition existing among them of this momentous event.

"A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some, Indians who were out a fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon, which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion that it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded, that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal, or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands, of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen, to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay, concluded it to be a remarkably large house, in which the Mannitto, (the Great or Supreme Being) himself was present; and that he was probably coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York Island, and deliberating in what manner they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols or images were examined and put in order, and a great dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what this phenomenon portended. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children, were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do; a dance however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it to be a large house of various colors, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain, that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game such as he had not given them before, but other runners soon after arrive, declare that it is positively

a house full of human beings, of quite different color from the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of the country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visitor, who may find them out and destroy them. The house (some say canoe), at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore, with the red man and some others in it. Some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men assembled in council, form themselves in a large circle towards which the man in red clothes approaches, with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat, all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto; but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile a large Hachhack\* is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured into a small glass or cup, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks—has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents, and passes it to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto that they should drink of it, as he himself had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath, and bring destruction upon them. And since the orator believed it to be for the good of the nation, that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might; it was better for one man to die than that the whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan

\* Hachhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

his fate; he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt so happy as after he had drunk that cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated. After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted, the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit next year, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes, and hoes, they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings they made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut down trees before their eyes; hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw to be an inferior Mannitto, attendant on the Supreme Deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, and at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden spot, as they said the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass; which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife, and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up into a rope not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap; they then took the rope at one end and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out in a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for

more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

The Indians are fond of metaphorical expressions in their language: the following examples are given in Mr. Heckewelder's work.

1. "*The sky is overcast with dark blustering clouds.*"

We shall have troublesome times; we shall have war.

2. "*A black cloud has arisen yonder.*"

War is threatened from that quarter or from that nation.

3. "*Two black clouds are drawing towards each other.*"

Two powerful enemies are in march against each other.

4. "*The path is already shut up.*"

Hostilities have commenced. The war is begun.

5. "*The rivers run with blood.*"

War rages in the country.

6. "*To bury the hatchet.*"

To make, or conclude a peace.

7. "*To lay down the hatchet, or to slip the hatchet under the bedstead.*"

To cease fighting for a while, during a truce; or to place the hatchet, so that it may be taken up again at a moment's warning.

8. "*The hatchet you gave me to strike your enemies, proved to be very dull, or not to be sharp.*"

You supplied me so scantily with the articles I stood in need of, that I wanted strength to execute your orders. The presents you gave me, were not sufficient for the task you imposed upon me, therefore I did little.

9. "*The hatchet you gave me was very sharp*"

As you have satisfied me, I have done the same for you; I have killed many of your enemies.

10. "*You did not make me strong.*"  
You gave me nothing or but little.

11. "*Make me very strong.*"  
Give me much, pay me well.

12. "*The stronger you make me, the more you will see.*"

The more you give me, the more I will do for you.

13. "*I did as you bid me, but see nothing.*"

I have performed my part, but you have not rewarded me; or, I did my part but you have not kept your word!

14. "*You have spoken with your lips only, not from the HEART.*"  
You endeavor to deceive me; you do not intend to do as you say!

15. "*You now speak from the heart!*"

Now you mean what you say!

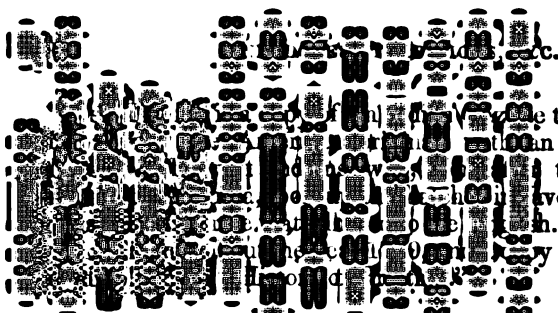
16. "*You keep me in the dark!*"  
You wish to deceive me! you conceal your intentions from me! you keep me in ignorance!

17. "*You stopped my ears.*"  
You kept the thing a secret from me; you did not wish me to know it.

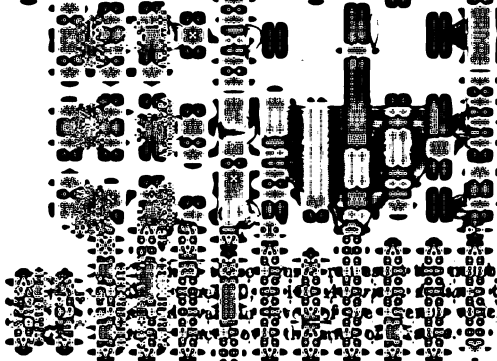
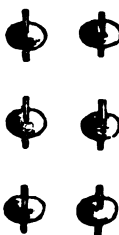
18. "*Singing birds.*"  
Tale bearers—story tellers—liars.

19. "*Don't listen to the singing of the birds which fly by!*"

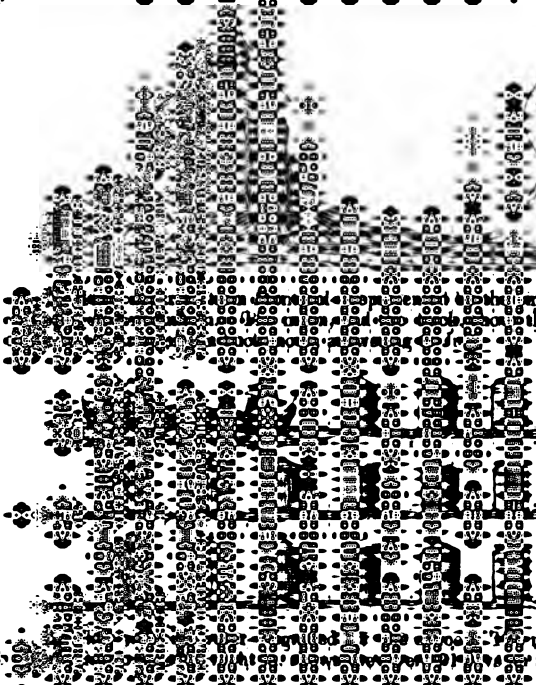
- Don't believe what stragglers tell you.
20. "*What bird was it that sung that song?*"  
Who was it told that story; that lie?
21. (To a chief). "*Have you heard the news?*"  
Have you been officially informed.
22. "*I have not heard any thing.*"  
I have no official information.
23. "*To kindle a council fire at such a place.*"  
To appoint a place where the national business is to be transacted; to establish the seat of government there.
24. "*The council fire has been extinguished.*"  
Blood has been shed by an enemy at the seat of government; which has put the fire out; the place has been polluted.
25. "*I have not room to spread my blanket.*"  
I am too much crowded upon.
26. "*I will place you under my wings.*"  
(Meaning under my armpits).  
I will protect you at all hazards! You shall be perfectly safe; nobody shall molest you!
27. "*Suffer no grass to grow on the war path.*"  
Carry on the war with vigor.
28. "*Never suffer grass to grow on this war path.*"  
Be at perpetual war with the nation this path leads to; never conclude a peace with them.
29. "*To open a path from one nation to another, by removing the logs, brush and briars out of the way.*"  
To invite the nation to which this path leads, to a friendly
- intercourse; to prepare the way to live on friendly terms with them.
30. "*The path to that nation is again open.*"  
We are again on friendly terms; the path may again be traveled with safety.
31. "*I wipe the tears from your eyes, cleanse your ears; and place your aching heart, which bears you down to one side, in its proper position.*"  
I condole with you; dispel all sorrow; prepare yourself for business: (N. B. This is said when condoling with a nation on the death of a chief).
32. "*I have covered yon spot with fresh earth: I have raked leaves, and planted trees thereon*" means literally.  
"I have hidden the grave from your eyes;" and figuratively, "you must now be cheerful again."
33. "*I am much too heavy to rise at this present time.*"  
I have too much property, (corn, vegetables), &c.
34. "*I will pass one night yet at this place.*"  
I will stay one year yet at this place.
35. "*We have concluded a peace which is to last as long as the sun shall shine, and the rivers flow with water.*"  
The peace we have made is to continue as long as the world stands, or to the end of time.
36. "*To bury the hatchet beneath the root of a tree.*"  
To put it quite out of sight.
37. "*To bury deep in the earth.*"  
(An injury done). To consign it to oblivion.



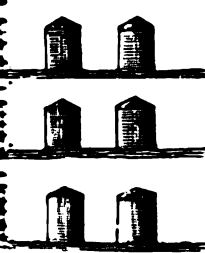
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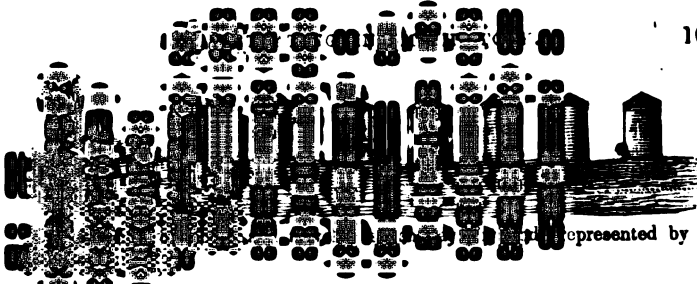
number ten—They all signify  
took up the hatchet, or  
each is represented by the



and just taking wing, from  
the time to have been in



number of huts, such as  
their passage.



represented by the



sunrise—shown by  
its daily course;  
and the three huts.

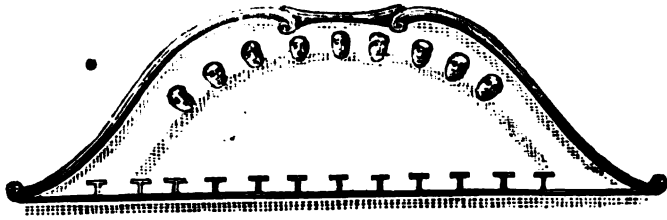


times 10, or 120—  
in the top of the  
their habitations in that

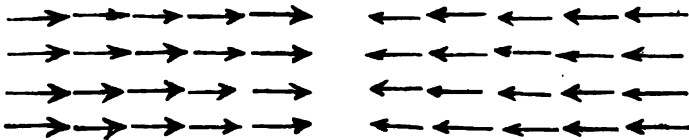


took five prisoners—  
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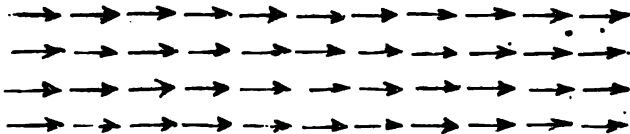




8. They lost nine of their own men in the action—represented by the nine heads within the bow, which is the emblem of honor among the Americans; but had none taken prisoners—a circumstance they lay great weight on, shown by all the pedestals being empty.



9 The heads of the arrows, pointing opposite ways, represent the battle.



10. The heads of the arrows all pointing the same way, signify the flight of the enemy.

The following is a song of the Delawares which they use when they go out to war, as translated by Mr. Heckewelder. They sing it as here given, in short sentences, not always the whole at a time, but generally in detached parts, as their feelings prompt them. Their accent is very pathetic, and the whole, in their language, produces considerable effect.

O poor me !  
Whom am going out to fight the  
enemy,  
And know not whether I shall re-  
turn again  
To enjoy the embraces of my  
children  
And my wife.  
O poor creature !  
Whose life is not in his own  
hands,  
Who has no power over his own  
body,

But tries to do his duty  
For the welfare of his nation  
O thou Great Spirit above !  
Take pity on my children  
And on my wife !  
Prevent their mourning on my  
account !  
Grant that I may be successful in  
this attempt,  
That I may slay my enemy,  
And bring home the trophies of  
war.  
To my dear family and friends,

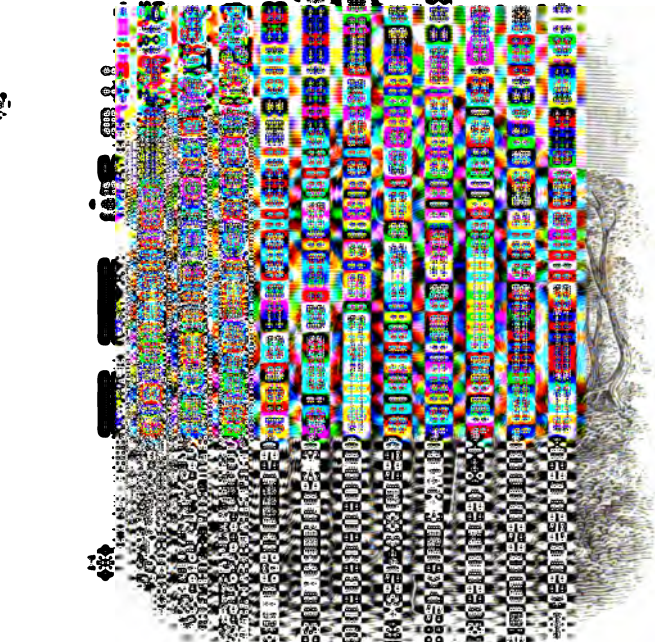
That we may rejoice together.	To my wife
O! take pity on me!	And to my relations!
Give me strength and courage to	Take pity on me and preserve my
meet my enemy	life
Suffer me to return again to my	And I will make to thee a sacri-
children,	fice. .

The following speech illustrative of Indian eloquence was spoken by Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, to the British commandant at Detroit. The Delawares were on the side of the French during the war in 1756; after the peace of 1763, they were obliged to submit to the government of Great Britain. During the Revolutionary War, Capt. Pipe was compelled rather reluctantly to take up arms against the Americans. On his return from an expedition, he was invited to the council house to give an account of his past transactions to the British officers present. He was seated in front of his Indians, and held in his left hand a short stick, to which was fastened a scalp. After a pause of some minutes he rose, and addressed the governor as follows.

"*Father*, [then he stooped a little, and, turning towards the audience, with a countenance full of great expression, and a sarcastic look, said, in a lower tone of voice], "*I have said FATHER, although, indeed, I do not know WHY I am to call HIM so, having never known any other father than the French, and considering the English only as BROTHERS. But as this name is also imposed upon us, I shall make use of it, and say, [at the same time fixing his eyes upon the commandant], Father, some time ago you put a war hatchet into my hands, saying, 'Take this weapon and try it on the heads of my enemies, the Long-Knives, and let me afterwards know if it was sharp and good.' Father, at the time when you gave me this weapon, I had neither cause nor inclination to go to war against a people who had done me no injury; yet in obedience to you, who say you are my father, and call me your child, I received the hatchet; well knowing, that if I did not obey, you would withhold from me the necessaries of life, without which I could not subsist, and which are not elsewhere to be procured, but at the house of my father. You may perhaps think me a fool, for risking my life at your bidding, in a cause too, by which I have no prospect of gaining any thing; for it is your cause and not mine. It is your concern to fight the Long-Knives; you have raised a quarrel amongst yourselves, and you ought yourselves to fight it out. You should not compel your children, the Indians, to expose themselves to danger, for your sakes. Father, many lives have already been lost on your account!—Nations have suffered, and been weakened! children have lost parents, brothers, and relatives!—wives have lost husbands!—It is not known how many more may perish before your war will be at an end!—Father, I have said, that you may, perhaps, think me a fool, for thus thoughtlessly rushing on your enemy!—Do not believe this, father: Think not that I want sense to convince me, that*

although you now pretend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the Long-Knives, you may before long conclude a peace with them. Father, you say you love your children, the Indians. This you have often told them, and indeed it is your interest to say so to them, that you may have them at your service. But, father, who of us can believe that you can love a people of a different color from your own, better than those who have a white skin like yourselves? Father, pay attention to what I am going to say. While you, father, are setting me [meaning the Indians in general] on your enemy, much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on the game; while I am in the act of rushing on that enemy of yours, with the bloody destructive weapon you gave me, I may, perchance, happen to look back to the place from whence you started me; and what shall I see? Perhaps I may see my father shaking hands with the Long-Knives; yes, with these very people he now calls his enemies. I may then see him laugh at my folly for having obeyed his orders; and yet I am now risking my life at his command! Father, keep what I have said in remembrance. Now, father, here is what has been done with the hatchet you gave me. [With these words he handed the stick to the commandant, with the scalp upon it, above mentioned]. I have done with the hatchet what you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Nevertheless, I did not do all that I might have done. No, I did not. My heart failed within me. I felt compassion for your enemy. Innocence [helpless women and children] had no part in your quarrels; therefore I distinguished—I spared. I took some live flesh, which, while I was bringing to you, I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for you. In a few days you will recover this flesh, and find that the skin is of the same color with your own. Father, I hope you will not destroy what I have saved. You, father, have the means of preserving that which with me would perish for want. The warrior is poor, and his cabin is always empty; but your house, father, is always full."

*Matrimony.*—"An aged Indian, who for many years had spent much time among the white people, observed that the Indians had not only a much easier way of getting a wife than the whites, but also a more certain way of getting a good one. 'For,' said he in broken English, 'white man court—court—may be one whole year!—may be two years before he marry! Well—may be then he get very good wife—but may be not—may be very cross! Well, now suppose cross! scold so soon as get awake in the morning! scold all day!—scold until sleep!—all one—he must keep him!—White people have law forbidding throw away wife he be every so cross—must keep him always! Well, how does Indian do? Indian, when he see industrious squaw he go him, place his two forefingers close aside each other, make two like one—then look squaw in the face—she him smile—this is all one he say yes!—so he take him home—no danger he be cross! No, no—squaw know too well what Indian do if he cross! throw him away and take another!—Squaw love to eat meat—no husband no meat. Squaw do every thing to please husband. he do every thing to please squaw—live happy.'"



Seneca chief,  
 his Indian name  
 "keeps awake."  
 from Buffalo.  
 council, and of  
 he honored any  
 stand the temp-  
 eriod of his life,  
 uction of chris-  
 limited.  
 ces of men and  
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 er will serve for  
 1755, a most  
 committed by a  
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 dian, who hap-  
 king himself in

any danger. He was a great friend to the whites, was loved and esteemed by them, and in testimony of their regard had received from them the name of Duke Holland, by which he was generally known. This Indian, satisfied that his nation was incapable of committing such a foul murder, in a time of profound peace, told the enraged settlers, that he was sure that the Delawares were not in any manner concerned in it; and that it was the act of some wicked Mingoes or Iroquois, whose custom it was to involve other nations in wars with each other, by clandestinely committing murders, so that they might be laid to the charge of others rather than themselves. But all his representations were vain; he could not convince exasperated men, whose minds were fully bent upon revenge. At last he offered that if they would give him a party to accompany him, he would go with them in quest of the murderers, and was sure he could discover them by the prints of their feet and other marks well known to him, by which he would convince them that the real perpetrators of the crime belonged to the Six Nations. His proposal was accepted, he marched at the head of a party of whites, and led them into the tracks. They soon found themselves in the most rocky parts of a mountain, where not one of those who accompanied him, was able to discover a single track, nor would they believe that man had ever trodden upon this ground, as they had to jump over a number of crevices between the rocks, and in some instances to crawl over them. Now they began to believe that the Indian had led them across these rugged mountains in order to give the enemy time to escape, and threatened him with instant death the moment they should be fully convinced of his fraud. The Indian, true to his promise, would take pains to make them perceive that an enemy had passed along through the places which he was leading them, here he would show them that the moss on the rock had been trodden by the weight of an human foot, there it had been torn or dragged forward from its place; further he would point out to them that pebbles, or small stones on the rocks had been removed from their beds, by the foot hitting against them; that dry sticks by being trodden upon were broken, and even that in a particular place an Indian's blanket had dragged over the rocks, and removed or loosened the leaves lying there; all of which the Indian could perceive, as he walked along without ever stopping. At last arriving at the foot of the mountain on soft ground, where the tracks were deep, he found out that the enemy were eight in number, and from the freshness of the foot-prints, he concluded that they must be encamped at no great distance. This proved to be the exact truth, for, after gaining the eminence on the other side of the valley, the Indians were seen encamped, some having already laid down to sleep, while others were drawing off their

leggings for the same purpose, and the scalps they had taken were hanging up to dry. "See!" said Duke Holland to his astonished companions, "there is the enemy! not of my nation but Mingoes as I truly told you. They are in our power; in less than half an hour they will be all fast asleep. We need not fire a gun, but go up and tomahawk them. We are nearly two to one and need apprehend no danger. Come on, and you will now have your full revenge!" But the whites overcome with fear did not choose to follow the Indian's advice, and urged him to take them back by the nearest and best way, which he did, and when they arrived home late at night, they reported the number of the Iroquois to have been so great, that they durst not venture to attack them."

*Tamany* and *St. Tammany*, is a name which has often appeared in print. It is applied to an Indian chief or saint, who is supposed to have been alive as late as the year 1680. Mr. Heckewelder, in his *Historical Account*, states that all that is known of him is "that he was a Delaware chief, who never had his equal."

"It is said that when, about 1776, Colonel George Morgan, of Princeton, New Jersey, visited the western Indians by direction of congress, the Delawares conferred on him the name of Tamany, "in honor and remembrance of their ancient chief, and as the greatest mark of respect which they could show to that gentleman, who they said had the same address, affability, and meekness, as their honored chief."

"The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the revolutionary war, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of St. Tammany, the patron saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with buck's tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town, which they called the *wigwam*; where, after a *long talk*, or Indian speech had been delivered, and the calumet of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth. After dinner, Indian dances were performed on the green in front of the wigwam, the calumet was again smoked, and the company separated."

It was not until some years after the peace that these yearly doings were broken up, which would doubtless have lasted longer but for the misfortune of the owner of the ground where they were held. Since that time, Philadelphia, New York, and perhaps

other places, have had their Tamany societies, Tamany halls, &c. In their meetings, these societies make but an odd figure in imitating the Indian manner of doing business, as well as in appropriating their names upon one another.

Among the multitude of poems and odes to Tamany, the following is selected, to give the reader an idea of the acts said to have been achieved by him :—

<p>"Immortal <i>Tamany</i>, of Indian race, Great in the field, and foremost in the chase ! No puny saint was he with fasting pale ; He climbed the mountain, and he swept the vale, Rushed through the torrent with unequal- led might ; Your ancient saints would tremble at the sight ; Caught the swift boar, and swifter deer with ease, And worked a thousand miracles like these. To public views he added private ends,</p>	<p>And loved his country most, and next his friends ; With courage long he strove to ward the blow ; (Courage we all respect, ev'n in a foe) ; And when each effort he in vain had tried, Kindled the flame in which he bravely died ! To <i>Tamany</i> let the full horn go round ; His fame let every honest tongue re- sound ; With him let every gen'rous patriot vie, To live in freedom or with honor die."</p>
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"*Insanity* is not common among the Indians ; yet I have known several who were afflicted with mental derangement. Men in this situation are always considered as objects of pity. Every one young and old feels compassion for their misfortune ; to laugh or scoff at them would be considered as a crime, much more so to insult or molest them. The nation, or color of the unfortunate object makes no difference ; the charity of the Indians extends to all, and no distinction is made in such a lamentable case. About the commencement of the Indian war, in 1763, a trading Jew, named Chapman, who was going up the Detroit river with a batteau load of goods, which he had brought from Albany, was taken by some Indians of the Chippeway nation, and destined to be put to death. A Frenchman impelled by motives of friendship and humanity, found means to steal the prisoner, and kept him so concealed for some time, that although the most diligent search was made, the place of his confinement could not be discovered. At last, however, the unfortunate was betrayed by some false friend, and again fell into the power of the Indians, who took him across the river to be burned and tortured. Tied to the stake and the fire burning by his side, his thirst from the great heat became intolerable, and he begged that some drink might be given to him. It is a custom with the Indians previous to a prisoner being put to death, to give him what they call his last meal ; a bowl of pottage or broth was given him for that purpose. Eager to quench his thirst ; he put the bowl immediately to his lips, and the liquor being very hot he was dreadfully scalded. Being a man of a very quick temper, the moment he felt his mouth

burned, he threw the bowl with its contents full in the face of the man who had handed it to him. 'He is mad! he is mad!' resounded from all quarters. The bystanders considered his conduct as an act of insanity, and immediately untied the cords with which he was bound, and let him go where he pleased."

"*Shrewdness.*—As Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts was superintending some of his workmen, he took notice of an able-bodied Indian, who, half naked, would come and look on, as a pastime, to see his men work. The governor took occasion one day to ask him *why he did not work, and get some clothes, wherewith to cover himself.* The Indian answered by asking him *why he did not work.* The governor, pointing with his finger to his head, said, '*I work head work,* and so have no need to work with my hands as you should.' The Indian then said he would work if any one would employ him. The governor told him he wanted a calf killed, and that, if he would go and do it, he would give him a shilling. He accepted the offer, and went immediately and killed the calf, and then went sauntering about as before. The governor, on observing what he had done, asked him why he did not dress the calf before he left it. The Indian answered, '*No, no, Coponok*; that was not in the bargain: I was to have a shilling for killing him. *Am he no dead, Coponok?*' (governor). The governor, seeing himself thus outwitted, told him to dress it, and he would give him another shilling.

This done, and in possession of two shillings, the Indian goes directly to a grog-shop for rum. After a short stay, he returned to the governor, and told him he had given him a bad shilling piece, and presented a brass one to be exchanged. The governor, thinking possibly it might have been the case, gave him another.

It was not long before he returned a second time with another brass shilling to be exchanged; the governor was now convinced of his knavery, but, not caring to make words at the time, gave him another; and thus the fellow got four shillings for one.

The governor determined to have the rogue corrected for his abuse, and, meeting with him soon after, told him he must take a letter to Boston for him, (and gave him half a crown for the service). The letter was directed to the keeper of bridewell, ordering him to give the bearer so many lashes; but, mistrusting that all was not exactly agreeable, and meeting a servant of the governor on the road, ordered him, in the name of his master, to carry the letter immediately, as he was in haste to return. The consequence was, this servant got egregiously whipped. When the governor learned what had taken place, he felt not little chagrin at being thus twice outwitted by the Indian.

He did not see the fellow for sometime after this, but at length, falling in with him, asked him by what means he had cheated and



deceived him so many times. Taking the governor again in his own play, he answered, pointing with his finger to his head, '*Head work, Coponoh, head work!*' The governor was now so well pleased that he forgave the whole offence."

*Justice*—"A white trader sold a quantity of powder to an Indian, and imposed upon him by making him believe it was a grain which grew like wheat by sowing it upon the ground. He was greatly elated by the prospect, not only of raising his own powder, but of being able to supply others, and thereby becoming immensely rich. Having prepared his ground with great care, he sowed his powder with the utmost exactness in the spring. Month after month passed away, but his powder did not even sprout, and winter came before he was satisfied that he had been deceived. He said nothing; but some time after, when the trader had forgotten the trick, the same Indian succeeded in getting credit of him to a large amount. The time set for payment having expired, he sought out the Indian at his residence, and demanded payment for his goods. The Indian heard his demand with great complaisance; then, looking him shrewdly in the eye, said '*Me pay you when my powder grow.*' This was enough. The guilty white man quickly retraced his steps, satisfied, we apprehend, to balance his account with the chagrin he had received."—*Drake's Book of the Indians.*"

*Characters contrasted.*—"An Indian of the Kennebeck tribe, remarkable for his good conduct, received a grant of land from the state, and fixed himself in a new township where a number of families were settled. Though not ill treated, yet the common prejudice against Indians prevented any sympathy with him. This was shown at the death of his only child, when none of the people came near him. Shortly afterwards he went to some of the inhabitants and said to them, '*When white man's child die, Indian man he sorry—he help bury him,—When my child die, no one speak to me—I make his grave alone. I can no live here.*' He gave up his farm, dug up the body of his child, and carried it with him 200 miles through the forests, to join the Canada Indians!"

*Singular application of Scripture.*—A certain clergyman on a particular occasion, had for his text, the following words, "*vow, and pay unto the Lord thy vows.*" An Indian happened to be present, who, when the sermon was finished, stepped up to the preacher, and said to him, "Now me *vow* me go home with you, Mr. Minister." The preacher taken somewhat by surprise, and being at a loss how to oppose the Indian's determination, said, "you must go then." When he had arrived at the home of the minister, the Indian vowed again, saying, "Now me *vow* me have supper." When this was finished, he said, "me *vow* me stay all

night." The clergyman by this time, thinking himself sufficiently taxed, replied, "It may be so, but *I vow* you shall go in the morning." The Indian judging from the tone of his host, that more *vows* would be useless, departed in the morning without ceremony.

*Dreaming Match.*—"Soon after Sir William Johnson entered upon his duties as superintendent of Indian affairs in North America, he received from England some richly embroidered suits of clothes. Hendrick was present when they were received, and could not help expressing a great desire for a share in them. He went away very thoughtful, but returned not long after, and called upon Sir William, and told him he had dreamed a dream. Sir William very concernedly desired to know what it was. Hendrick very readily told him he had dreamed that Sir William Johnson had presented him with one of his new suits of uniform. Sir William could not refuse it, and one of the elegant suits was forthwith presented to Hendrick, who went away to show his present to his countrymen, and left Sir William to tell the joke to his friends. Some time after, the general met Hendrick, and told him he had dreamed a dream. Whether the sachem mistrusted that he was now to be taken in his own net, or not, is not certain; but he seriously desired to know what it was, as Sir William had done before. The general said he dreamed that Hendrick had presented him with a certain tract of land, which he described, (consisting of about 500 acres of the most valuable land in the valley of the Mohawk River). Hendrick answered, '*it is yours*;' but, shaking his head said, 'Sir William Johnson, I will never dream with you again, you dream too hard for me.'"

It is stated that the Indian includes all savage beasts among the number of his enemies, in a literal sense; this will appear, from the following anecdotes related by Mr. Heckewelder.

"A Delaware hunter once shot a huge bear, and broke its back bone. The animal fell and set up a most plaintive cry, something like that of a panther when he is hungry. The hunter, instead of giving him another shot, stood up close to him and addressed him in these words: 'Hark ye! bear; you are a coward and no warrior as you pretend to be. Were you a warrior you would show it by your firmness, and not cry and whimper like an old woman. You know bear that our tribes are at war with each other, and that yours was the aggressor.\* You have found the Indians too powerful for you, and you have gone sneaking about in the woods, stealing their hogs; perhaps at this time you have

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\* Probably alluding to a tradition which the Indians have, of a very ferocious kind of bear, called the naked bear, which they say once existed, but was totally destroyed by their ancestors. The last was killed in the New York state, at a place they called Hoosick, which means the Basin or more properly, The Kettle.

hog's flesh in your belly. Had you conquered me, I would have borne it with courage, and died like a brave warrior; but you, bear, sit here and cry, and disgrace your tribe by your cowardly conduct.' I was present at the delivery of this curious invective; when the hunter had despatched the bear, I asked him how he thought that poor animal could understand what he said to it? 'Oh!' said he in answer, 'the bear understood me very well; did you not observe how ashamed he looked while I was upbraiding him?'

Another time I witnessed a similar scene between the falls of the Ohio and the river Wabash. A young white man named William Wells, who had been when a boy taken prisoner by a tribe of the Wabash Indians, by whom he was brought up, and had imbibed all their notions, had so wounded a large bear that he could not move from the spot, and the animal cried piteously like the one I have just mentioned. The young man went up to him, and with seemingly great earnestness, addressed him in the Wabash language, now and then giving him a slight stroke on the nose with his ramrod. I asked him when he had done, what he had been saying to this bear. 'I have,' said he, 'upbraided him for acting the part of a coward; I told him that he knew the fortune of war, that one or the other of us must have fallen; that it was his fate to be conquered, and he ought to die like a man, like a hero, and not like an old woman; that if the case had been reversed, and I had fallen into the power of my enemy, I would not have disgraced my nation, but would have died with firmness and courage, as became a true warrior.'"

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## DISCOVERIES, SETTLEMENTS, &c.

### *Discovery of Hudson River by Henry Hudson.*

HUDSON, the discoverer of the Bay of New York and the river called by his name, was at the time in the service of the celebrated Dutch East India Company. A small ship called the *Half-Moon* was equipped and intrusted to his command. He left Amsterdam, April 4th, 1609, and once more encountered the northern seas, having in two former voyages attempted a northern passage to India. His progress being again intercepted by the ice, he determined upon the design of visiting America. He arrived off the coast of Maine, and landed at or near the place where Portland now stands on the 18th of July. After continuing for about six days, he proceeded southward. Hudson came to Cape Cod about the 3d of August. From this place he pro-

ceeded southward as far as Virginia, and then turned to the northward. On the 2d of September, he espied the Highlands of Neversink, passed Sandy Hook on the 3d, and on the following day is said to have made his first landing on Long Island, opposite Gravesend.

On the 6th of September, Hudson sent a boat manned with six hands to explore what appeared to be the mouth of a river, at about the distance of four leagues from the ship. This was the strait between Long and Staten Island called the *Narrows*. In exploring the bay and adjacent waters, the boat's crew spent the whole day. On their return to the ship they were attacked by the natives in two canoes, the one carrying 14, and the other 12 men. One of Hudson's men, *John Colman*, was killed by an arrow, and two more wounded. Colman was buried on a point of land which they named Colman's Point, probably the same that is now called Sandy Hook. On the 12th he entered the river called by his name. The following, relative to his voyage up the river, is extracted from a Journal of his voyage in *Purchas' Pilgrim*, 1625; which was kept by *Robert Juet*, the mate of the ship, evidently with a good deal of care and accuracy.

"The twelfth, very faire and hot. In the afternoone at two of the clocke wee weighed, the winde being variable, betweene the North and the Northwest. So we turned into the Riuer two leagues and Anchored. This morning at our first rode in the Riuer, there came eight and twenty Canoes full of men, women and children to betray vs: but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard of vs. At twelue of the clocke they departed. They brought with them Oysters and Beanes, whereof wee bought some. They haue great Tabacco pipes of yellow Copper, and Pots of Earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth South-east by South within.

The thirteenth, faire weather, the wind Northerly. At seuen of the clocke in the morning, as the flood came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the Riuer. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure Canoes aboard: but we suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good Oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 13 degrees. In the afternoone we weighed, and turned in with the floude, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night, and had five fathoms soft Ozie ground, and had an high point of Land, which shewed out to vs, bearing North by East five leagues off vs.

The fourteenth, in the morning being very faire weather, the wind South-east, we sayld vp the Riuer twelue leagues, and had five fathoms, and five fathoms and a quarter lesse; and came to a Streight betweene two Points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms: and it trended North-east by North, one league: and wee had twelue, thirteene and fourteene fathomes. The Riuer is a mile broad: there is very high Land on both sides. Then wee went vp North-west, a

league and an halfe deepe water. Then North-east by North five miles; then North-west by North two leagues, and anchored. The Land grew very high and Mountainous. The Riuer is full of fish.

The fifteenth, in the morning was misty vntill the Sunne arose: then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at South, and ran vp into the Riuer twentie leagues, passing by high Mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathoms, and great store of Salmons in the Riuer. This morning our two Sauages got out of a Port and swam away. After we were vnder sayle, they called to vs in scorne. At night we came to other Mountaines, which lie from the Riuers side. There wee found very louing people, and very old men: where wee were well rsed. Our Boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

The sixteenth, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our Boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their Canoes had beene there all night. This morning the people came aboard, and brought vs eares of *Indian* Corne, and Pompions, and Tabacco: which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoald water: so wee anchored till day.

The seuenteenth, faire Sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soone as the Sun was vp, we set sayle, and ran vp sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small Ilands, but seuen fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded: so we layed out our small anchor, and heaued off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe; while the floud ran we heaued off againe, and anchored all night.

The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noon our Master's Mate went on land with an old Sauage, a Gouvernor of the Countrey; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather: at the floud being neere eleuen of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher vp two leagues aboue the Shoalds, and had no lesse water than five fathoms: wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboard, and brought vs Grapes, and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought us Beuers skinnies, and Otters skinnies, which wee bought for Beades, Kniues, and Hatchets. So we rode there all night.

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Master's Mate with foure men more went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer, and found two leagues aboue vs but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow; and aboue that place seuen or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned: and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly: we determined yet once more to go farther vp into the Riuer, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare; but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a Fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some

of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they tooke them downe into the Cabbin, and gave them so much wine and *Aqua vite*, that they were all merrie: and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end, one of them was drunke, which had beene aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there: and that was strange to them; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades: some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten; and gaue him. So he slept all night quietly.

The two and twentieth, was faire weather: in the morning our Master's Mate and foure more of the companie went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer higher vp. The people of the Countrey came not aboard till noone: but when they came, and saw the Sauages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboard, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gaue them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eate with them: then they made him reuerence, and departed all saue the old man that lay aboard. This night at ten of the clocke, our Boate returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the Riuer; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had been vp eight or nine leagues, and found but seuen foot water, and vnconstant soundings.

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelue of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little wind, whereby the tide layed vs vpon it. So, there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the floud came. Then wee had a little gale of wind at the West. So wee got our ship into deepe water, and rode all night very well.

The foure and twentieth was faire weather: the winde at the North-west, wee weighed, and went downe the Riuer seuen or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe we came on ground on a banke of Oze in the middle of the Riuer, and sate there till the floud. Then wee went on Land, and gathered good store of Chest-nuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored."

It appears from this account that Hudson himself sailed a little above where the city of Hudson now stands. It is evident that a boat with the mate and four hands went up as far as Albany. On the passage down, Hudson's men frequently went on shore, and had several friendly interviews with the natives. But when the ship came below the highlands, the Indians appeared to be of a different character, and were extremely troublesome; especially those who were on the western side of the river.

They attempted to rob the ship, and repeatedly shot at the crew, with bows and arrows; none of the ship's crew, however, appeared to have been injured. During these attacks, Hudson's men fired upon the Indians and killed ten or twelve of their number. The land on the eastern side of the river, near its mouth, was called "*Manna-hata*." On Oct. 4th, (just one month from the day on which he landed within Sandy Hook), Hudson came out of the river which bears his name,\* and without anchoring in the bay, stood out to sea. He steered directly for Europe, and on Nov. 7th, "arrived," as the writer of the journal expresses it, "in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire."

The next year, 1610, Hudson undertook a fourth voyage in quest of a northwest passage to India. He left England in April, and reached the American coast early in the summer. He soon discovered the great northern Bay which bears his name. There, after an unwise delay, he was compelled to pass a distressing and dangerous winter. In the spring, in addition to all his other misfortunes, he found a spirit of dissatisfaction and mutiny growing among his crew, and, at length, manifesting itself in open violence. This proceeded so far, that on the twenty-second of June, 1611, a majority of the crew rose, took the command of the ship, put Hudson, his son, and seven others, most of whom were sick or lame, into a boat, turned them adrift in the ocean, and abandoned them to their fate. They never were heard of afterwards.

#### *Dutch Settlements at New York and Albany.*

"The States' General of the Netherlands, in the early part of the year 1614, granted a patent to sundry merchants for an exclusive trade on Hudson's river. In the grant the country was styled New Netherlands. The company the same year built a fort and trading house on an island in the river, about half a mile below where the city of Albany now stands. Henry Christiaens was entrusted with the command. This seems to have been the first establishment formed by the Dutch in the New Netherlands. It was judiciously selected for defence against savages. The island at present is called Dunn's island, and contains about seventy acres of land. It is near the west side of the river. It is alluvial and very fertile, being mostly subject to annual inunda-

\* Hudson did not give his own name to the river he discovered. He styled it emphatically, the "*Great River*," or the "*Great River of the Mountains*," probably from the extraordinary circumstance of such a body of water flowing through the mountains without a cataract. At an early period it was familiarly called *Hudson's river* in some of the public documents of the Dutch Colonial government, but more frequently the *North River*, to distinguish it from the Delaware, which being within the territory claimed by the Dutch, was called by them the *South River*.

tions. The land was cleared and under cultivation. The Mohawks every year planted it with corn. On this island they had a small village. Dunn's island now contains one house.

Towards the latter part of the same year, the company erected another small fort and a trading house at the southerly end of Manhattan island. The fort occupied a part of the battery, and some of the grounds adjoining it on the north. To this establishment they gave the name of New Amsterdam. Both were inclosed with pallisadoes, and mounted with some small pieces of cannon. The Mohawks, Mohiccons, &c. gave to the Dutch a very friendly reception. They sold them furs and provisions, and treated them like brethren. They imagined that the residence of these strangers would be only temporary. Adrian Block, in 1614, sailed from the fort and trading house at the south end of Manhattan island, through the Sound to Cape Cod, and visited the intermediate coasts and islands. He was the first European who ever passed through Hell Gate.

In 1615 the company constructed a small fort at the mouth of Norman's Kill, about a mile and a half southerly of the fort on Dunn's island. The place where the city of Albany stands, and the adjoining parts, the Mohawks called Schaunaughtada, that is, a place beyond, on the other side, or over the plains. The designation was, in respect to Ohnowalagantle, on the river Mohawk or Canneogahakalononitade. At the time the Dutch arrived, several small bands of Mohawks resided on the west bank of the Hudson, and on the islands in that stream. The eastern bank of that river was occupied by the bands of the Maheakanneews. The river was the boundary between those hostile tribes. Violent disputes then existed between the members living on its banks in relation to the islands. The Hudson was called by the Mohawks Cahohatatea, and by the Lenni Lenape, Mahackaneghtuck. To Schaunaughtada the Dutch first bestowed the appellation of Aurania, and then Beverwyck.

The company in 1618 built a redoubt at Kingston landing, and established a post at Esopus, now Kingston, in the county of Ulster. This place is on the south side of Esopus creek, and two miles west of the landing. The banks of the Hudson below Catskill, and those of Walkill and Rundout rivers, and of Esopus creek, were inhabited by bands of the Mohiccons and Mohickanders, or Wabingas. The Mohiccons and Wabingas belonged to the confederacy of the Lenni Lenape, and were kindred tribes.

Between the years 1616 and 1620, about twenty persons belonging to the company went from the fort on Dunn's island, below Albany, to Ohnowalagantle, now Schenectady, where they entered into a compact with the Mohawks, from whom they



bought some land on which they erected a trading house. This they surrounded with pickets and fortified. Then Ohnowalagantle was a considerable town, and contained several villages and hamlets. The principal village stood within the bounds of the present city. The rich and beautiful intervale lands on the Mohawk, around the city, were mostly cleared and cultivated. On these the Mohawks grew corn, beans, and squashes, which in part afforded them subsistence. According to tradition, the village of Ohnowalagantle occupied the site of Connughariegugharie, the ancient capital of the Mohawks. The same tradition informs us that it was abandoned some ages anterior to the colonization, and that Icanderago, at the mouth of Schoharie creek, was selected for the new capital. We have no certain information in respect to the number of the Mohawks residing at Ohnowalagantle when the Dutch came to it. According to some accounts there were eight hundred fighting men, and according to others, less. The same accounts inform us that three hundred warriors lived upon the lands which have since been included in one farm. Without attempting to reconcile these jarring accounts, we may reasonably infer that the numbers were considerable.

The company in 1618 erected an establishment at Bergen, in the state of New Jersey. The Wabingas called this place Scheyichbi; and the flat country, south and southeast of the mountains, comprising parts of the latter state and Pennsylvania, Tulpahocking.

The States' General of the Netherlands, in the year 1621, made a grant of the whole country to the Dutch West India company. In 1623 this company formed two new establishments, the one on the west side of Delaware bay, and the other on the west side of Connecticut river, where the city of Hartford has since been built. Forts and trading houses were erected at both places. To the former they gave the name of Nassau, and to the latter that of Good Hope. Johannes de la Montagne was the first deputy governor at the last place. The same year they built fort Orange on the west side of the Hudson, about half a mile above Dunn's island. A village soon rose in its vicinity. Fort Orange stood in the southeasterly quarter of the city of Albany."—*Macauley's Hist. N. Y.*

The following cut shows the principal buildings standing on the present site of the city of New York in 1659. The following description of New York at about that period, is copied from "*Ogilby's America*," a large folio volume illustrated by engravings, published in London in 1671. This work contains a view of *Novum Amsterodamum*, (as it is called), similar to the engraving from which the following cut is copied



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them within the Command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best Pieces of Defence in the North parts of America. It is built most of Brick and Stone and cover'd with Red and Black Tyle, and the Land being high, it gives at a distance a most pleasing prospect to the Spectators. The inhabitants consist most of English and Dutch, and have a considerable trade with Indians for Beaver, Otter and Rackoon Skins with other Furrs; as also for Bear, Deer, and Elke-Skins; and are supply'd with Venison and Fowl in the winter, and Fish in the Summer by the Indians, which they buy at an easie Rate; and having the Countrey round about them, and are continually furnish'd with all such provisions as are needful for the Life of Man, not onely by the English and Dutch within their own, but likewise by the adjacent Colonies.

The Manhattans, or Great River being the chiefest, having with two wide Mouths wash'd the mighty Island Watonwaha, falls into the Ocean. The Southern Mouth is call'd Port May, or Godyns Bay. In the middle thereof lies an Island call'd 'The States Island; and a little higher the Manhattans, so call'd from the Natives which on the East side of the River dwell on the Main Continent. They are a cruel people, and Enemies to the Hollanders, as also of the Sanhikans which reside on the Western Shore. Farther up are the Mackwaes and Mahikans which continually War, one against another. In like manner all the Inhabitants on the West Side of the River Manhattan, are commonly at enmity with those that possess the Eastern Shore; who also us'd to be at variance with the Hollanders, when as the other People at the Westward kept good correspondency with them. On a small Island near the Shore of the Mackwaes, lay formerly a Fort, provided with two Drakes and eleven Stone Guns, yet was at last deserted."

"The settlement and fort continued to bear the name of Nieuw Amsterdam, by the Dutch, down to the time of the surrender by Governor Stuyvesant to the English, in 1664. Then for ten years under the rule of Cols. Nicolls and Lovelace, acting for the Duke of York, it was called *New York*; but in August, 1673, a Dutch fleet, in time of war, re-captured it from the British, and while exercising their rule for their High Mightinesses of Holland, to the time of the peace in 1674, they called the place *New-Orange*, in compliment to the Prince of Orange, and the fort they called Willem Hendrick.

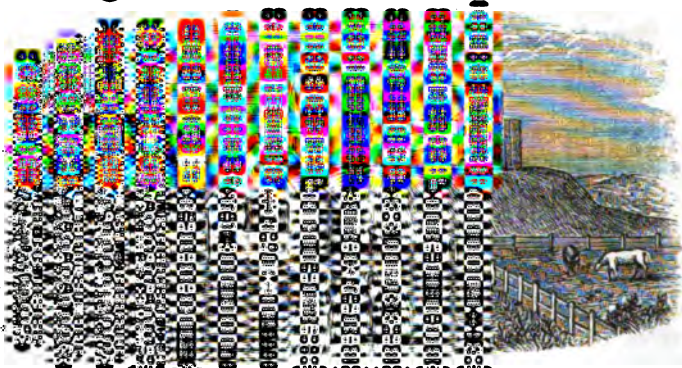
The city being restored to the British by the treaty, was redelivered to the British in October, 1674. The fort then took the name of Fort James, being built of quadrangular form, having four bastions, two gates, and 42 cannon. The city again took the name of New York, once and forever.





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The letters here inserted, with many other of the like nature, are to be found in the 2d vol. of *Hazard's Historical Collections*.

"The Commissioners of Connecticut complayned of several insolencies and iniuries with an high hand lately committed and mayntained by the Dutch agent, and some of his family to the Disturbance of the peace there; and a protest lately sent by the Dutch Governoure against New Haven, with the answer returned were read. The Protest was written in Latine, the contents in English was as followeth.

'We William Kieft generall Director, and the Senate of New-Netherlands for the high and mighty Lords the States of the Vnited Belgicke Provinces, for his Excellency the Prince of Orange, and for the most noble Lords, the Administrators of the West India Company to thee Theophilus Eaton Governoure of this place, by vs called the Red Hills in New Netherland, but by the English called New Haven, we give notice that some years past, yours (without any occasion given by vs, and without any necessity imposed vpon them, but with an unsatiable desire of possessing that which is ours, against our protestations, against the law of Nations, and the auncient league the Kings Majesty of greate Britaine, and our superiours) haue indirectly entered the limitt of New Netherland, vsurped diuerse places in them, and haue bene very injurious vnto vs, neither haue they given satisfaction though oft required: And because you and yours haue of late determined to fasten your foote neare Mauritius River in this Proviuce, and there not onely to disturb our trade (of noe man hitherto questioned) and to draw it to yourselues, but vtterly to destroy it, were compeled againe to Protest, and by these presents doe protest against you as against breakers of the peace, and disturbers of the publicke quiet, That if you do not restore the places you haue vsurped, and repaire the losse we haue suffered, we shall by such meanes as God affords, manfully recover them. Neither doe we thincke this crossesteth your publicke peace but shall cast the cause of the ensuinge euill vpon you. Given in Amsterdam forte August 3, 1646, Newstile.

WILLIAM KIEFT.

The Answer was returned in Latine to the said protest the Contents as followeth.

*To the Right Worshipfull WILLIAM KIEFT Gouvernoure of the Dutch in NEW NETHERLAND.*

SIR,

BY some of yours I haue receaued a Potest vnder your hand Dat. Aug. 3. 1646 wherein you pretend we haue indirectly entered the limits of New Netherland, vsurped diuerse places in them, and haue offered you many injuries, Thus in generall, and in reference to some yeare past, more particularly that to the disturbance, nay to the vtter destruction of your trade, we haue lately set foote neare Mauritius Riuer in that province &c.

We doe truly professe we know noe such River, nor can conceiue what Riuer you intend by that name vnlesse it be that which

the English haue longe and still doe call, Hudson's Riuer. Nor haue we at any time formerly or lately entred vpon any place to which you had, or haue any knowne title, nor in any other respect beene injurious to you. It is true we haue lately vpon Pawgussett Riuer, which falls into the sea in the midst of the English Plantations, built a small house within our owne limits, many miles nay leagues from the Manhattoes from your tradinge house and from any porte of Hudson's River, at which we expect little trade but can compell none, the Indians beinge free to trade with you, vs, Connecticute, Mattachusets, or with any others: nor did we build there till we had first purchased a due title from the true proprietors: what injuries and outrages in our persons and estates at the Manhattoes in Delawar River &c. we haue receiued from you, our former letters and protest doe both declare and proue to all which you have hitherto given very vnsatisfyinge answers: But whatever our losses and sufferinge haue beene, we conceiue we haue neither done, nor returned any thinge euen vnto this day, but what doth agree with the law of God, the law of Nations, and with that ancient confederation and amity betwixt our Superiours at home, soe that we shall readily refer all questions and difference betwixt you and vs euen from first to last to any due examination and iudgement, either heere or in Europe and by these presents doe refer them, being well assured that his Majesty our soueraigne Lord Charles Kinge of great Britaine and the Parliament of England now assembled will maintaine their owne right and our iust liberties against any who by vnjust encroachment shall wronge them or theirs, and that your owne Principalls vpon a due and mature consideration will also see and approue the righteousnes of our proceedings. T. E.

*New Haven in New England August 12th 1646. old stile.*

The premisses being duly considered both in reference to Hartford and New Hauen the Commissioners thought fit to expresse their apprehensions in writinge to the Dutch Gouvernor in latine but the Contents as followeth.

*To the Right Worshipful WILLIAM KIEFT, Gouvernor &c.*

SIR,

VPON a due consideration how peace (a choice blessinge) may be continued, we are carefull to enquire and search into those differences and offences soe long continued betwixt some of our confederates and your selues: it is neare 3 yeares since the Governor of Mattachusets by consent and advice of the Counsell of that Colony, did particularly propounde to your consideration sundry injurious and vnworthy passages done by your Agent vpon the fresh Riuer, and some of his family vpon our brethren at Hartford to all which you returned an Ignoramus with an offensive addicon which we leaue to a Review and better consideration, what inquiry and order you after made and tooke to suppress such miscarriages for the future, we haue not heard, but certainly your Agent, and his company are now growne to a strange and vnsufferable bouldnes (we hope without commission) An Indian



Captive liable to publicke punishment fled from her Master at Hartford, is entertayned in your house at Hartford, and though required by the magistrate is vnder the hands of your Agent there denyed, and we heare she is either marryed, or abused by one of your men: Such a servant is parte of her master's estate, and a more considerable parte then a beast, our children will not longe be secure if this be suffered: your Agent himselfe in height of disorder and contempt of authority, resists the watch at Hartford, drawes and breakes his rapier vpon their weapons and by flight escapes, had he bene slaine in this proude affront, his blood had bene vpon his owne head: Lastly to passe by other particulars, some of your horses being powned for damage done in the English Corné, your Agent and 4 more made an assault, and stroke him who legally sought justice, and in an hostile way tooke away his teame and laden.

We have also seene a Protest of yours Dat. Aug. 3. 1646 New stile, against our Confederates of New Haven with their Answer Dat. Aug. 12th, and deliuered to leiftenant Baxtey your messenger: vpon our most serious consideration of the contents together with their title heere held forth, we conceiue their Answere sayre and just; and hope it will cleare their proceedings, and giue you full satisfaction, yet to prevent all inconveniences which may grow by any part of the premises, we haue sent this bearer, by whome we desire such a returne as may testify your concurrence with vs to embrace and pursue righteousness and peace.

Vpon information that the Dutch Governor in a letter to the Governor of the Mattachusetts chargeth Mr. Whitinge, one of the Magistrates of Connecticut that at the Manhattoes he should say The English were fooles to suffer the Dutch to liue there, Mr. Whitinge vpon other occasions beinge nowe at New Haven the Commissioners enquired of him what had passed betwixt him and the Dutch Governoure or him and others at the Manhattoes, end therevpon in English wrote another letter to the Dutch Governoure as followeth:

SIR,

SINCE your former dated the fifth of this present we haue spoken with Mr. Whitinge concerninge words you chardge him with in your letter to the Governoure of the Mattachusetts, he professeth he neither remembereth nor knoweth any such words spoken by him, and we could wish that all such provokinge and threatninge language might be forborne on both parts, as contrary to that peace and neighbourly correspondency which we desire sincerely to preserue betwixt the 2 nations. Mr. Whitinge complains of a sentence lately passed against him in his absence at the Manatoes, when he had noe agent there to pleade to his cause, or to giue in his evidence, and that demandinge a just debt long since due from some of yours, he receiued neither that help of justice from your selfe nor soe fair an answer as the cause required and he expected, we are assured you will both grante him a review in the former and free passage for recoveringe debts as all the Colonies will readily doe to any of yours in our Courts, y<sup>t</sup> in

your answers to our former you will please to adde a word or two concerning the premises, it may settle a right understanding betwixt vs, we rest yours, &c.

*September 7th. 1646. old stile.*

Both those letters were sent by Leiftenant Godfrey a messenger to the Dutch Governoure the same day.

September 15th leiftenant Godfrey returned Manattchoes and brought 2 letters from the dutch Governoure, the one in latine, the other in English, the latine translated hath these contents.

*To the most noble and worthy Commissioners of the federated English met together at the Red Mounte, or Newhaven in New Netherlands, Wm. Kest Director and the Senate of New Netherland doe send many salutations.*

YOURS dated the 5th September, old style, we receaued the 21. new style, by your messenger to which we thincke sufficient to giue this short answer.

That the Inhabitants of Hartford haue deceived you with false accusations as were easy to be euenced by us if it were now seasonable to produce our allegations which we can proue to be true by diuerse attestations as well of your owne Country men, as ours, together with other authenticke writings, but that we may not seeme to be willing to evade you with vaine words, we shall at this time present you a few particulars, out of soe greate an heap, as by the claw you may iudge of the talants of the lyon, and therefore passinge by their vsurpinge of our iurisdiccon, and of our proper grounde against possession solemnly taken by us, and our protestacons formerly made, we doe say, that the bloud of our Country men wrongfully shed by the inhabitants of Hartford, and the sellinge of our domesticke beasts by them, doe sufficiently testify the equity of their proceedings and therefore your prejudgement supported by this Oath Creto Coxtius, as if you should say Amen, Amen, seemes wonderful to vs, and done contrary to the modesty requisite in such an Assemblie, who should allwaies keepe one eare for the other party.

Soe far as concerne the Barbarian handmaide although it be apprehended by some that she is no slaue but a free woman, because she was neither taken in war nor bought with price, but was in former time placed with me by her parents for education, yet we will not suffer her to be wrongfully detayned, but wither he shall pay the damadge to her Mr. or she shal be restored to him we will not suffer him that desires her for his wife to marry her, vntill she be lawfully baptised. Concerning the breaking in of our Agent vpon the watch at Hartford we truly conceiue that watches are appointed for the defence of townes against the violence of enemies, and not for the hinderinge of friends returne to their owne houses, and therefore least mischeifes happen, it were good to committ such a trust to skillfull men, and not to ignorant boyes who when they opce finde themselves loaden with armes, thinke they may alsoe lawfully cry out *etiam nos poma natamus.*

Certainely when we heare the Inhabitants of Hartford complayninge of vs, we seeme to heare Esops wolfe complayninge of the lamb, or the admonition of the younge man who cryed out to his mother chideinge with her neighbour, oh mother revile her, least she first take vp that practise against you : But being taught by precedent passages we received such an answer to our Protest from the inhabitants of Newhaven as we expected, the Eagle allwaies despiseth the Beetle fly, yet notwithstandinge we doe vndauntedly continue in our purpose of pursueinge our owne right by just armes and righteous meanes, and do hope without scruple to execute the expresse commands of our superiours.

To conclude we protest against all you Commissioners mett at the Red Mounte as against breakers of the common league, and alsoe infringers of the speciall right of the Lords, the States our superiours, in that ye have dared without expresse Commission to hould your generall meetinge within the limits of New Netherlande, these things are spoken from the Duty of our place, in other respects we are yours.

WILLIAM KEIFT,

By commande of the Lord

Director and Senate,

CORNE: TMHAVEIUS.

*Amsterdam fort in New Netherland  
the 22. Sept. 1646.*

The following is an extract from the letter wrote in English. "Whereas likewise you mention Mr. Whitinge's complaint concerning a sentence of Corte passed here against him in his absence and without any Attorney to pleade for him, I cannot but apprehend it as a greate injury to myselfe in particular, but chiefly to you gentlemen that he should seee misinforme you, for in the first place he left Mr. Dolling, for his Agent, who pleaded his cause for him, and what process was then and there awarded with the reasons and grounds inducing vs., if he had produced the Copy of the Sentence of Corte vnder our Secretary's hand, I suppose you would haue beene very well satisfyed. Yet if he can further cleare the said cause by better Evidence I shall willingly graunte a review, and doe that which is just according to that light God giues me. Concerninge debts due to him from any here, I shall according to justice and the law of our country doe him right."

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River, in the bottom of the Massachuset Bay. But shortly after this, Mr. White brought the aforesaid honourable persons into an acquaintance with several other persons of quality about London; as, namely Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samnel Adderly, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchings, William Vassal, William Pinchon, and George Foxcraft. These persons being associated unto the former, and having bought of them all their interest in New England aforesaid, now consulted about settling a plantation in that country, whither such as were then called *Non-conformists*, might with the grace and leave of the King make a peaceable secession, and enjoy the liberty and the exercise of their own perswasions, about the worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchased with a new patent, he granted them one, bearing date from the year 1628, which gave them a right unto the soil, holding their titles of lands, as of the manner of East Greenwich in Kent, and in common *socage*. By this Charter they were empowered yearly to elect their own governour, deputy-governour and magistrates; as also to make such laws as they should think suitable for the plantation: but as an acknowledgment of their dependance upon England, they might not make any laws repugnant unto those of the kingdom; and the fifth part of all the oar of gold or silver found in the territory, belonged unto the crown. So, soon after Mr. Cradock being by the company chosen governour, they sent over Mr. Endicott in the year 1628, to carry on the plantation, which the Dorchester agents had lookt out for them, which was at a place called *Nakumkeick*.

The report of the charter granted unto the governour and company of the Massachuset Bay, and the entertainment and encouragement, which planters began to find in that Bay, came with a,—*Patrias age, desere Sedes*, and caused many very deserving persons to transplant themselves and their families into New England. Gentlemen of ancient and worshipful families, and ministers of the gospel, then of great fame at home, and merchants, husbandmen, artificers to the number of some thousands, did for twelve years together carry on this transplantation. It was indeed a banishment rather than a removal, which was undergone by this glorious generation, and you may be sure sufficiently afflictive to men of estate, breeding and conversation. As the hazard which they ran in this undertaking was of such *extraordinariness*, that nothing less than a strange and strong impression from Heaven could have thereunto moved the hearts of such as were in it; so the expense with which they carried on the undertaking was truly extraordinary. By computation, the passage of the persons that peopled New England, cost at least ninety-five thousand pounds: the transportation of their first small stock of cattle great and small, cost no less than twelve thousand pound, beside the price of the cattle themselves: the provisions laid in for subsistence, till tillage might produce more, cost forty-five thousand pounds; the materials for

their first cottages cost eighteen thousand pounds ; their arms ammunition and great artillery, cost twenty-two thousand pounds ; besides which hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds, the adventurers laid out in England, what was not inconsiderable. About and *hundred and ninety-eight ships* were employed in passing the perils of the seas, in the accomplishment of this renowned settlement ; whereof, by the way, but *one* miscarried in those perils.

The Governour and Company of the Massachuset Bay then in London, did in the year 1629, after exact and mature debates, conclude, that it was most convenient for the government, with the charter of the plantation, to be transferred into the plantation itself ; and an order of court being drawn up for that end, there was then chosen a new governour, and a new deputy-governour, that were willing to remove themselves with their families thither on the first occasion. The governour was John Winthrop, Esq ; a gentleman of that wisdom and virtue, and those manifold accomplishments, that after generations must reckon him no less a *glory*, than he was a *patriot* of the country. The deputy-governour was Thomas Dudley, Esq ; a gentleman, whose natural and acquired abilities, joined with his excellent moral qualities, entitled him to all the great respects with which his country on all opportunities treated him. Several most worthy assistants were at the same time chosen to be in this transportation ; moreover, several other gentlemen of prime note, and several famous ministers of the gospel, now likewise embarked themselves with these honourable adventurers : who equipped a fleet, consisting of ten or eleven ships, whereof the admiral was, *The Arabella* (so called in honour of the right honourable the lady Arabella Johnson, at this time on board) a ship of three hundred and fifty tons ; and in some of the said ships there were two hundred passengers ; all of which arrived before the middle of July, in the year 1630, safe in the harbours of New England. There was a time when the British sea was by Clements, and the other ancients, called *the unpassable ocean*. What then was to be thought of the vast Atlantick sea, on the westward of Britain ? but this ocean must now be passed ! An heart of stone must have dissolved into tears at the affectionate farewell which the governour and other eminent persons took of their friends, at a *feast* which the governour made for them, a little before their going off ; however they were acted by principles that could carry them through *tears* and *oceans* ; yea, through *oceans* of *tears* ; principles that enabled them to leave.

Being happily arrived at New England, our new planters found the difficulties of a rough and hard wilderness presently assailing them : of which the worst was the sickliness which many of them had contracted by their other difficulties. Of those who soon dyed after their first arrival, not the least considerable was the lady Arabella, who left an earthly paradise in the family of an *Earldom*, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a *pure worship* in the house of God ; and then immediately left that wilderness for the Heavenly paradise, whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her. We have read concerning a noble woman

of *Bohemia*, who forsook her friends, her plate, her house and all ; and because the gates of the city were guarded, crept through the common sewer, that she might enjoy the institutions of our Lord at another place where they might be had. The spirit which acted that noble woman, we may suppose carried this blessed lady thus to and through the hardships of an American desert. But as for her virtuous husband, Isaac Johnson, Esq ;

—————*He try'd*  
*To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.*

His mourning for the death of his honorable consort was too bitter to be extended a year ; about a month after *her* death *his* ensued, unto the extream loss of the whole plantation. But at the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only *peace* but *joy* ; and his *joy* particularly expressed itself that God had kept his eyes open so long as to see *one church* of the Lord Jesus Christ gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to Heaven. The mortality thus threatening of this new Plantation so enlivened the devotions of this good people, that they set themselves by *fasting* and *prayer* to obtain from God the removal of it ; and their brethren at Plymouth also attended the like duties on their behalf ; the *issue* whereof was, that in a little time they not only had health restored, but they likewise enjoyed the special directions and assistance of God in the further prosecution of their undertakings.

But there were two terrible distresses more, besides that of sickness, whereto this people were exposed in the beginning of their settlement : though a most seasonable and almost unexpected mercy from Heaven still rescued them out of those distresses. One thing that sometimes extreamly exercised them, was a scarcity of provisions ; in which 'twas wonderful to see their dependance upon God, and God's mindfulness of them. When the parching droughts of the summer divers times threatened them with an utter and a total consumption of the fruits of the earth, it was their manner, with heart melting and I may say, Heaven melting devotions, to fast and pray before God ; and on the very days, when they poured out the water of their tears before him, he would shower down the water of his rain upon their fields ; *while they were yet speaking he would hear them* ; in-somuch that the salvages themselves would on that occasion admire the *Englishman's God* ! But the Englishmen themselves would celebrate their days of Thanksgiving to him. When their stock was likewise wasted so far, which divers times it was, that they were come to the last meal in the barrel, just then, unlooked for, arrived several ships from other parts of the world laden with supplies ; among which, one was by the lord deputy of Ireland sent hither although he did not know the necessities of the country, to which he sent her ; and if he had known them, would have been thought as unlikely as any man living to have helpt them : in these extremities, 'twas marvellous to see how helpful these good people were to one another, following the example of their most liberal governour

Winthrop, who made an equal distribution of what he had in his own stores among the poor, *taking no thought for to-morrow!* And how content they were; when an honest man, as I have heard, inviting his friends to a dish of *clams*, at the table gave thanks to Heaven, who *had given them to suck the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sands!*

Another thing that gave them no little exercise, was the fear of the Indians, by whom they were sometimes alarmed. But this fear was wonderfully prevented, not only by intestine wars happening then to fall out among those barbarians, but chiefly by the small-pox, which proved a great plague unto them, and particularly to one of the Princes in the Massachuset Bay, who yet seemed hopefully to be christianized before he dyed. This distemper getting in, I know not how, among them, swept them away with a most prodigious desolation, insomuch that although the English gave them all the assistances of humanity in their calamities, yet there was, it may be, not *one* in *ten* among them left alive; of those few that lived, many also fled from the infection, leaving the country a meer Golgotha of unburied carcasses; and as for the rest, the English treated them with all the civility imaginable; among the instances of which civility, let this be reckoned for *one*, that notwithstanding the patent which they had for the country, they fairly purchased of the natives the several tracts of land which they afterwards possessed.

The people in the fleet that arrived at New England, in the year 1630, left the fleet almost, as the family of Noah did the ark, having a whole world before them to be peopled. Sa'om was already supplied with a competent number of inhabitants; and therefore the governour, with most of the gentlemen that accompanied him in his voyage, took their first opportunity to prosecute further settlements about the bottom of the Massachuset Bay: but where ever they sat down, they were so mindful of their errand into the wilderness, that still one of their *first works* was to gather a church into the covenant and order of the gospel. First, there was a church thus gathered at Charlestown, on the north side of Charles' river; where keeping a solemn fast on August 27, 1630, to implore the conduct and blessing of Heaven on their ecclesiastical proceedings, they chose Mr. Wilson, a most holy and zealous man, formerly a minister of Sudbury, in the county of Suffolk, to be their teacher; and although he now submitted unto an ordination, with an imposition of such hands as were by the church invited so to pronounce the benediction of Heaven upon him; yet it was done with a protestation by all, that it should be only as a sign of his election to the charge of his new flock, without any intention that he should thereby renounce the ministry he had received in England. After the gathering of the church at Charlestown, there quickly followed another at the town of Dorchester.

And after Dorchester there followed another at the town of Boston, which issued out of Charlestown; one Mr. James took the care of the Church at Charlestown, and Mr. Wilson went over to Boston, where they that formerly belonged unto Charlestown, with universal



- 7 approbation became a distinct church of themselves. To Boston soon succeeded a church at Roxbury; to Roxbury, one at Lynn; to Lynn one at Watertown; so that in one or two years' time there were to be seen seven churches in this neighbourhood, all of them attending to what the spirit in the scripture said unto them; all of them *golden candlesticks*, illustrated with a very sensible presence of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It was for a matter of twelve years together, that persons of all ranks, well affected unto church reformation, kept sometimes dropping, and sometimes flocking into New England, though some that were coming into New England were not suffered so to do. The persecutors of those Puritans, as they were called, who were now retiring into that cold country from the heat of that persecution, did all that was possible to hinder as many as was possible from enjoying of that retirement. There were many countermands given to the passage of people that were now steering of this *western course*; and there was a sort of uproar made among no small part of the nation, that this people should not be let go. Among those bound for New England, that were so stopt, there were especially three famous persons, whom I suppose their adversaries would not have so studiously detained at home, if they had foreseen events; those were Oliver Cromwell, and Mr. Hamden, and Sir Arthur Haslerig: nevertheless, this is not the only instance of persecuting church-mens not having the *spirit of prophecy*. But many others were diverted from an intended voyage hither by the pure providence of God, which had provided other improvements for them; and of this take one instance instead of many. Before the woful wars which broke forth in the three kingdoms, there were divers gentlemen in Scotland, who being uneasie under the ecclesiastical burdens of the times, wrote unto New England their enquiries, whether they might be there suffered freely to exercise their *Presbyterian church government*? And it was freely answered, *That they might*. Hereupon they sent over an agent, who pitched upon a tract of land near the mouth of Merimack river, whither they intended then to transplant themselves: but although they had so far proceeded in their voyage, as to be *half-seas* thorough; the manifold crosses they met withal, made them give over their intentions; and the providence of God so ordered it, that some of those very gentlemen were afterwards the revivers of that well known *solemn league and covenant*, which had so great an influence upon the following circumstances of the nations. However, the number of those who did actually arrive at New England before the year 1640, have been computed about *four thousand*; since which time far more have gone out of the country than have come to it; and yet the God of Heaven so smiled upon the Plantation, while under an easie and equal government, the design of Christianity in well formed churches have been carried on, that no history can parallel it. That saying of Eutropius about Rome, which hath been sometimes applied unto the church, is capable of some application to this little part of the church: *Nec Minor ab Exordio, nec major Incrementis ulla*. Never was any plantation brought unto such a considerableness, in a space of time

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nor assist any more of their friends, who might come over to them. He insisted that the planting of towns so near together was a fundamental error in their policy. He pleaded the fertility and happy accommodations of Connecticut: that settlements upon the river were necessary to prevent the Dutch and others from possessing themselves of so fruitful and important a part of the country; and that the minds of the people were strongly inclined to plant themselves there, in preference to every other place, which had come to their knowledge.

On the other side it was insisted, that in point of conscience they ought not to depart, as they were united to the Massachusetts as one body, and bound by oath to seek the good of that commonwealth; and that on principle of policy it could not, by any means, be granted. It was pleaded, that as the settlements in the Massachusetts were new and weak, they were in danger of an assault from their enemies: that the departure of Mr. Hooker and the people of these towns, would not only draw off many from the Massachusetts, but prevent others from settling in the colony. Besides, it was said, that the removing of a candlestick was a great judgment: that by suffering it they should expose their brethren to great danger, both from the Dutch and Indians. Indeed, it was affirmed that they might be accommodated by the enlargements offered them by the other towns.

After a long and warm debate, the governor, two assistants and a majority of the representatives were for granting liberty for Mr. Hooker and the people to transplant themselves to Connecticut. The deputy governor however and six of the assistants were in the negative, and so no vote could be obtained. This made a considerable ferment not only in the general court, but in the colony, so that Mr. Cotton was desired to preach on the subject to quiet the court and the people of the colony. This also retarded the commencement of the settlements upon the river. Individuals, however, were determined to prosecute the business, and made preparations effectually to carry it into execution.

It appears, that some of the Watertown people came in 1634 to Connecticut, and erected a few huts at Pyquag, now Wethersfield, in which a small number of men made a shift to winter.

While the colonists were thus prosecuting the business of settlement, in New England, the right honorable James, Marquis of Hamilton, obtained a grant from the council of Plymouth, April 20th, 1635, of all that tract of country which lies between Connecticut river and Narraganset river and harbor, and from the mouths of each of said rivers northward sixty miles into the country. However, by reason of its interference with the grant to the Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, &c. or for some other reason,

the deed was never executed. The Marquis made no settlement upon the land and the claim became obsolete.

The next May the Newtown people determining to settle at Connecticut, renewed their application to the general court, and obtained liberty to remove to any place which they should choose, with this proviso, that they should continue under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts. A number of Mr. Warham's people came this summer into Connecticut, and made preparations to bring their families and make a permanent settlement on the river. The Watertown people gradually removed and prosecuted their settlement at Wethersfield. At the same time the planters at Newtown began to make preparations for removing to Hartford the next spring.

Meanwhile twenty men arrived in Massachusetts, sent over by Sir Richard Saltonstall, to take possession of a great quantity of land in Connecticut, and to make settlements under the patent of Lord Say and Seal, with whom he was a principal associate. The vessel in which they came over, on her return to England, in the fall, was cast away on the isle Sable.

As the Dorchester men had now set down at Connecticut, near the Plimouth trading house, governor Bradford wrote to them complaining of their conduct, as injurious to the people of Plimouth, who had made a fair purchase of the Indians, and taken a prior possession. The Dutch also alarmed by the settlements making in Connecticut, wrote to Holland for instructions and aid to drive the English from their settlements upon the river.

The people at Connecticut having made such preparations, as were judged necessary to effect a permanent settlement, began to remove their families and property. On the 15th of October about sixty men, women and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine commenced their journey from the Massachusetts, through the wilderness, to Connecticut river. After a tedious and difficult journey through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough grounds, which were passed with great difficulty and fatigue, they arrived safely at the places of their respective destination. They were so long on their journey and so much time and pains were spent in passing the river, and in getting over their cattle, that after all their exertions, winter came upon them before they were prepared. This was an occasion of great distress and damage to the plantations.

Nearly at the same time, Mr. John Winthrop, son of governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, arrived at Boston, with a commission from Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and other noblemen and gentlemen interested in the Connecticut patent, to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river. Their lordships sent over men, ordinance, ammunition, and £2,000 sterling for the accomplish-

extreme degree. After all the help they were able to obtain, by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt, and grains.

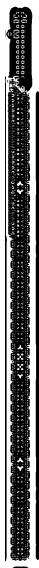
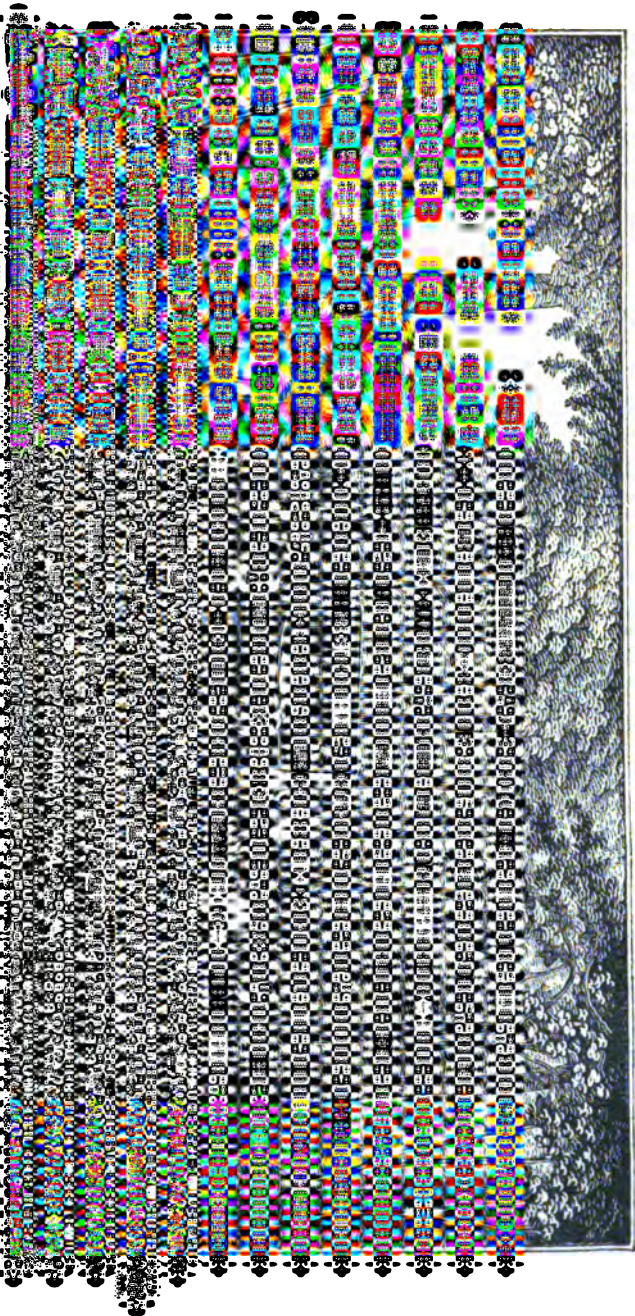
Numbers of the cattle which could not be got over the river before winter, lived through without any thing but what they found in the woods and meadows. They wintered as well, or better than those which were brought over, and for which all the provision was made, and pains taken of which the owners were capable. However, a great number of cattle perished. The Dorchester, or Windsor people, lost in this single article about two hundred pounds sterling. Their other losses were very considerable.

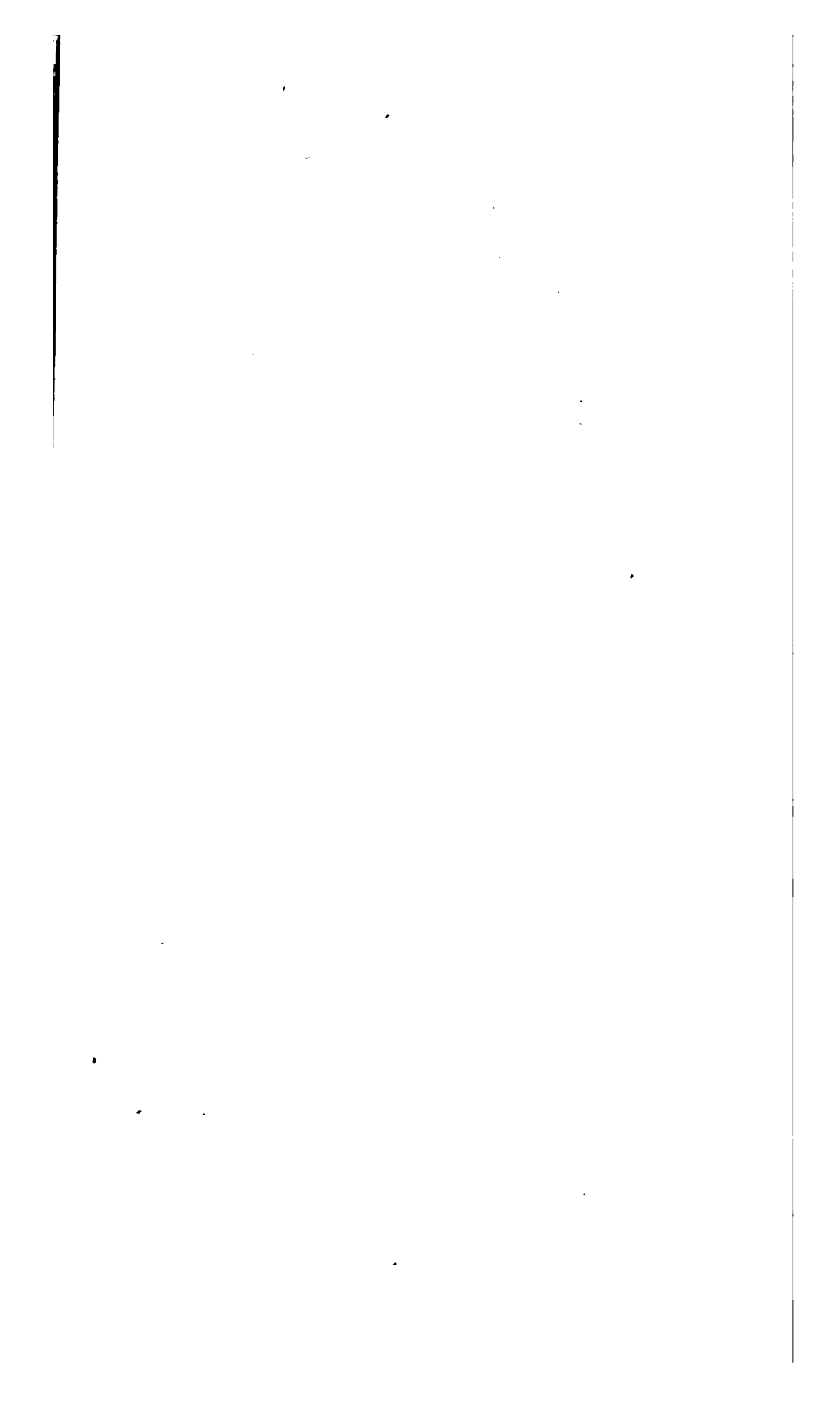
It is difficult to describe or even to conceive the apprehensions and distresses of a people, in the circumstances of our venerable ancestors, during this doleful winter. All the horrors of a dreary wilderness spread themselves around them. They were compassed with numerous, fierce and cruel tribes of wild and savage men, who could have swallowed up parents and children, at pleasure, in their feeble and distressed condition. They had neither bread for themselves, nor children, neither habitations nor clothing convenient for them. Whatever emergency might happen they were cut off, both by land and water, from any succor or retreat. What self-denial, firmness, and magnanimity are necessary for such enterprises? How distressful, in the beginning, was the condition of those now fair and opulent towns on Connecticut river!

For a few years after the settlements on the river commenced, they bore the same name with the towns in the Massachusetts whence the first settlers came.

The Connecticut planters, at first settled under the general government of the Massachusetts, but they held courts of their own, which consisted of two principal men from each town; and, on great and extraordinary occasions, these were joined with committees, as they were called, consisting of three men from each town. These courts had power to transact all the common affairs of the colony, and with their committees, had the power of making war and peace, and treaties of alliance and friendship with the natives within the colony.

The first court in Connecticut was holden at Newtown, April 26th, 1636. It consisted of Roger Ludlow, Esq., Mr. John Steel, Mr. William Swain, Mr. William Phelps, Mr. William Westwood, and Mr. Andrew Ward. Mr. Ludlow had been one of the magistrates of Massachusetts in 1630, and in 1631 had been chosen lieutenant governor of that colony. At this court it was ordered, that the inhabitants should not sell arms or ammunition to the Indians. Various other affairs were also transacted





relative to the good order, settlement and defence of these infant towns.

Several of the principal gentlemen interested in the settlement of Connecticut, Mr. John Haynes, who at this time was governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Henry Wolcott, Mr. Welles, the ministers of the churches, and others had not yet removed into the colony. As soon as the spring advanced and the traveling would admit, the hardy men began to return from the Massachusetts to their habitations on the river. No sooner were buds, leaves and grass so grown, that cattle could live in the woods, and obstructions removed from the river, so that vessels could go up with provisions and furniture, than the people began to return, in large companies, to Connecticut. Many, who had not removed the last year, prepared, with all convenient dispatch, for a journey to the new settlements upon the river.

About the beginning of June, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone and about a hundred men, women and children took their departure from Cambridge and traveled more than a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets and rivers, which were not passable, but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them a hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way, subsisted on the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey. This adventure was the more remarkable, as many of this company were persons of figure, who had lived, in England, in honor, affluence and delicacy, and were entire strangers to fatigue and danger.

The famous Mr. Thomas Shepard, who, with his people, came into New England the last summer, succeeded Mr. Hooker at Cambridge. The people of his congregation purchased the lands which Mr. Hooker and his company had previously possessed. The removal of Dorchester people to Windsor is said to have been disagreeable to their ministers, but as their whole church and congregation removed, it was necessary that they should go with them. However, Mr. Maverick died in March, before preparations were made for his removal. He expired in the 60th year of his age. He was characterized as a man of great meekness, and as laborious and faithful in promoting the welfare both of the church and commonwealth.

Mr. Warham removed to Windsor in September, but he did not judge it expedient to bring his family until better accommodations could be made for their reception. Soon after the remo-



val of Mr. Warham from Dorchester, a new church was gathered in that town, and Mr. Mather was ordained their pastor. Mr. Phillips, pastor of the church at Watertown, did not remove to Wethersfield. Whether it was against his inclination, or whether the people did not invite him does not appear. They chose Mr. Henry Smith for their minister, who came from England in office.

The colony of New Plimouth professed themselves to be greatly aggrieved at the conduct of the Dorchester people, in settling on the lands, where they had made a purchase, and where they had defended themselves and that part of the country against the Dutch. They represented that it had been a hard matter that the Dutch and Indians had given them so much trouble as they had done, but that it was still more grievous to be supplanted by their professed friends. Mr. Winslow of Plimouth made a journey to Boston, in the spring, before governor Haynes and some other principal characters removed to Connecticut, with a view to obtain compensation for the injury done to the Plimouth men, who had built the trading house upon the river. The Plimouth people demanded a sixteenth part of the lands and £100 as a compensation; but the Dorchester people would not comply with their demands. There however appeared to be so much justice, in making them some compensation, for the purchase they had made, and the good services which they had done, that sometime after, the freeholders of Windsor gave them £50, forty acres of meadow and a large tract of upland for their satisfaction.

At a court holden at Dorchester it was ordered, that every town should keep a watch, and be well supplied with ammunition. The constables were directed to warn the watches in their turns and to make it their care, that they should be kept according to the direction of the court. They also were required to take care, that the inhabitants were well furnished with arms and ammunition, and kept in a constant state of defence. As these infant settlements were filled and surrounded with numerous savages, the people conceived themselves in danger when they lay down and when they rose up, when they went out and when they came in. Their circumstances were such, that it was judged necessary for every man to be a soldier.

At a third court therefore, holden at Watertown, an order was given, that the inhabitants of the several towns should train once a month, and the officers were authorized to train those who appeared very unskilful more frequently as circumstances should require. The courts were holden at each town by rotation, according to its turn.

A settlement was made, this year, at Springfield, by Mr. Pyncheon and his company from Roxbury. This for about two years was united in government with the towns in Connecticut. In

November, Mr. Pyncheon for the first time appears among the members of the court. All the powers of government, for nearly three years, seem to have been in the magistrates, of whom two were appointed in each town. These gave all orders, and directed all the affairs of the plantation. The freemen appear to have had no voice in making the laws, or in any part of the government, except in some instances of general and uncommon concern. In these instances committees were sent from the several towns. During this term it seems that juries were not employed in any case.

This was a summer and year of great and various labors, demanding the utmost exertion and diligence. Many of the planters had to remove themselves and effects from a distant colony. At the same time it was absolutely necessary that they should turn the wilderness into gardens and fields, that they should plant and cultivate the earth, and obtain some tolerable harvest, unless they would again experience the distresses and losses of the preceding year. These were too great, and too fresh in their memories, not to rouse all their exertion and forethought. It was necessary to erect and fortify their houses, and to make better preparations for the feeding and covering of their cattle. It was of equal importance to the planters not only to make roads for their particular convenience, but from town to town; that, on any emergency, they might fly immediately to each other's relief. It was with great difficulty that these businesses could be at first accomplished. The planters had not been accustomed to felling the groves, to clearing and cultivating new lands. They were strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with the soil, and produce the greatest profits, nor had they any experience how the ground must be cultivated, that it might yield a plentiful crop. They had few oxen, or instruments for husbandry. Every thing was to be prepared, or brought from a great distance, and procured at a dear rate. Besides all these labors and difficulties, much time was taken up in constant watchings, trainings and preparations for the defence of themselves and children. The Pequots had already murdered a number of the English; some of the Indians, in Connecticut, were their allies; and they had maintained a great influence over them all. They were a treacherous and designing people; so that there could be no safety but in a constant preparation for any emergency.

Some of the principal characters, who undertook this great work of settling Connecticut, and were the civil and religious fathers of the colony, were Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Warham, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Welles, Mr. Wylls, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Webster, and captain Mason. These were of the first class of settlers, and all except the minis-

ters were chosen magistrates or governors of the colony. Mr. Swain, Mr. Talcott, Mr. Steel, Mr. Mitchel, and others were capital men. Mr. John Haynes, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Stone, Mr. George Wyllys, Mr. Welles, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Thomas Webster, and Mr. John Talcott, were all from Hartford. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Henry Wolcott, Mr. Warham, Mr. William Phelps, and captain John Mason, were some of the principal planters of Windsor. Mr. William Swain, Mr. Thurston Reyner, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Andrew Ward, Mr. Mitchel and Mr. John Deming, were some of the chief men, who settled the town of Wethersfield. These were the civil and religious fathers of the colony. They formed its free and happy constitution, were its legislators, and some of the chief pillars of the church and commonwealth. They, with many others of the same excellent character, employed their abilities and their estates for the prosperity of the colony.

While the three plantations on the river were making the utmost exertions for a permanent settlement, Mr. Winthrop was no less active in erecting fortifications and convenient buildings at its entrance. Though he had, the last year, sent on one company after another, yet the season was so far advanced, and the winter set in so early, and with such severity, that little more could be done than just to keep the station. When the spring advanced the works were therefore pressed on with engagedness. Mr. Winthrop and his people were induced, not only in faithfulness to their trust, but from fears of a visit from the Dutch, and from the state of that warlike people, the Pequots in the vicinity, to hasten and complete them, with the utmost dispatch. A good fort was erected and a number of houses were built. Some cattle were brought from the Massachusetts for the use of the garrison. Small parcels of ground were improved, and preparations made for a comfortable subsistence and good defence.

There were, at the close of this year, about two hundred and fifty men in the three towns on the river, and there were twenty men in the garrison at the entrance of it under the command of lieutenant Gardiner. The whole consisted, probably, of about 800 persons, or of a hundred and sixty or seventy families."

"While the planters of Connecticut were thus exerting themselves in prosecuting and regulating the affairs of that colony, another was projected and settled at Quinnipiack, afterwards called New Haven. On the 26th of July 1637, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Theophilus Eaton, and Edward Hopkins, Esquires, Mr. Thomas Gregson and many others of good characters and fortunes arrived at Boston. Mr Davenport had been a famous minister in the city of London, and was a distinguished character for piety, learning and good conduct. Many of his con-

gregation, on the account of the esteem which they had for his person and ministry, followed him into New England. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins had been merchants in London, possessed great estates, and were men of eminence for their abilities and integrity. The fame of Mr. Davenport, the reputation and good estates of the principal gentlemen of this company, made the people of the Massachusetts exceedingly desirous of their settlement in that commonwealth. Great pains were taken not only by particular persons and towns, but by the general court, to fix them in the colony. Charlestown made them large offers; and Newbury proposed to give up the whole town to them. The general court offered them any place which they should choose. But they were determined to plant a distinct colony. By the pursuit of the Pequots to the westward, the English became acquainted with that fine tract along the shore, from Saybrook to Fairfield, and with its several harbours. It was represented as fruitful, and happily situated for navigation and commerce. The company therefore projected a settlement in that part of the country.

In the fall of 1637, Mr. Eaton and others, who were of the company, made a journey to Connecticut, to explore the lands and harbours on the sea-coast. They pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settlement. They erected a poor hut in which a few men subsisted through the winter.

On the 30th of March 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden and Mr. Samuel Eaton, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, with the people of their company sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack. In about a fortnight they arrived at their desired port. On the 18th of April they kept their first Sabbath in the place. The people assembled under a large spreading oak, and Mr. Davenport preached to them from Matthew [iv] vi. 1. He insisted on the temptations of the wilderness, made such observations, and gave such directions and exhortations as were pertinent to the then present state of his hearers. He left this remark, that he enjoyed a good day.

One of the principal reasons, which these colonists assigned for their removing from Massachusetts, was that they should be more out of the way and trouble of a general Governor of New England, who at this time, was an object of great fear in all the plantations. What foundation there was for the hope of exemption from the control of a general governor, by this removal, had one been sent, does not appear.

Soon after they arrived at Quinnipiack, in the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they entered into what they termed a plantation covenant. In this they solemnly bound themselves, 'That as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order; as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing

allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules, which the scripture held forth to them.' This was adopted as a general agreement, until there should be time for the people to become more intimately acquainted with each other's religious views, sentiments and moral conduct; which was supposed to be necessary to prepare the way for their covenanting together, as christians, in church state.

The aspects of providence on the country, about this time, were very gloomy; and especially unfavorable to new plantations. The spring, after a long and severe winter, was unusually backward. Scarcely any thing grew for several weeks. The planting season was so cold, that the corn rotted in the ground, and the people were obliged to replant two or three times. This distressed man and beast, retarded all the affairs of the plantations. It rendered the gloom and horrors of the wilderness still more horrible. The colonists had terrible apprehensions of scarcity and famine. But at length the warm season came on, and vegetation exceeded all their expectations.

The planters at Quinnipiack determined to make an extensive settlement; and, if possible, to maintain perpetual peace and friendship with the Indians. They therefore paid an early attention to the making of such purchases and amicable treaties, as might most effectually answer their designs.

On the 24th of November, 1638, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Mr. Davenport and other English planters, entered into an agreement with Momauguin, sachem of that part of the country, and his counsellors, respecting the lands. The articles of agreement are to this effect.

That Momauguin is the sole sachem of Quinnipiack, and had an absolute power to aliene and dispose of the same: That in consequence of the protection which he had tasted, by the English, from the Pequots and Mohawks,\* he yielded up all his right, title and interest to all the land, rivers, ponds and trees, with all the liberties and appurtenances belonging to the same, unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others, their heirs and assigns forever. He covenanted that neither he nor his Indians would terrify nor disturb the English, nor injure them in any of their interests; but that, in every respect, they would keep true faith with them.

The English covenanted to protect Momauguin and his Indians, when unreasonably assaulted and terrified, by other Indians: and that they should always have a sufficient quantity of land to

\* The Indians of Quinnipiack, in this treaty, declared, "That they still remembered the heavy taxes of the Pequots and Mohawks; and that, by reason of their fear of them, they could not stay in their own country; but had been obliged to flee. By these powerful enemies they had been reduced to about forty men.

plant on, upon the east side of the harbor, between that and Saybrook fort. They also covenanted, that by way of free and thankful retribution, they gave unto the said sachem and his council and company, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors.

This agreement was signed and legally executed, by Momauquin and his council on the one part, and Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport on the other. Thomas Stanton, who was the interpreter, declared in the presence of God, That he had faithfully acquainted the Indians with the said articles, and returned their answers.

In December following they made another purchase of a large tract, which lay principally north of the former. This was of Montowese, son of the great sachem at Mattabeseck. This tract was ten miles in length, north and south, and thirteen miles in breadth. It extended eight miles east of the river Quinnipiack, and five miles west of it towards Hudson's river. It included all the lands within the ancient limits of the old towns of New Haven, Branford and Wallingford, and almost the whole contained in the present limits of those towns, and of the towns East Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hamden and North Haven.\* These have since been made out of the three old towns.

The New Haven adventurers were the most opulent company, which came into New England; and they designed to plant a capital colony. They laid out their town plat in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city. In the centre was a large beautiful square. This was compassed with others, making nine in the whole. The first principal settlers were Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. Thomas Gregson, Mr. Robert Newman, Mr. Matthew Gilbert, Mr. Nathaniel Turner, Mr. Thomas Fugill, Mr. Francis Newman, Mr. Stephen Goodyear, and Mr. Joshua Atwater.

Mr. Eaton had been deputy governor of the East India company, was three years himself in the East Indies. He served the company so well, that he received from them presents of great value. He had been on an embassy from the court of England to the king of Denmark. He was a London merchant who had for many years traded to the East Indies, had obtained a great estate, and brought over a large sum of money into New England.†

\* For this last tract of ten miles north and south, and thirteen east and west, the English gave thirteen coats, and allowed the Indians ground to plant, and liberty to hunt within the lands. Records of New Haven.

† The tradition is that he brought to New Haven a very great estate, in plate and money. The East India company made his wife a present of a bason and ewer double gilt, and curiously wrought with gold, weighing more than sixty pounds.

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Here he probably hoped, he might live in peace. He was soon joined by several friends, if they did not at first accompany him. His wife and children were still at Salem.

But Seekonk was not to be his home. In a short time, to use his own language, 'I received a letter from my ancient friend Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, professing his own and other's love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove to the other side of the water, and there, he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together.'

This advice was apparently prudent and friendly, prompted by a desire of peace, and by a kind regard to Mr. Williams. It does not seem to deserve the harsh comments which have sometimes been made on it. Mr. Williams himself does not speak of it in a tone of reproach. He immediately resolved to comply with the advice. He accordingly embarked in a canoe, with five others,\* and proceeded down the stream. As they approached the little cove, near Tockwotten, now India Point, they were saluted by a company of Indians, with the friendly interrogation, '*What cheer?*' a common English phrase, which they had learned from the colonists.† At this spot, they probably went on shore, but they did not long remain there.‡ They passed round India Point and Fox Point, and proceeded up the river on the west side of the peninsula, to a spot near the mouth of the Moshassuck river. Tradition reports, that Mr. Williams landed near a spring, which remains till this day.§ At this spot, the settlement of Rhode Island commenced. To the town here founded, Mr. Williams, with his habitual piety, and in grateful remembrance of 'God's merciful Providence to him in his distress,' gave the name of PROVIDENCE.

The spot where Mr. Williams and his companions landed was within the jurisdiction of the Narraganset Indians. The sachems of this tribe were Canonicus, and his nephew Miantinomo. The former was an old man, and he probably associated with him his young nephew, as better fitted to sustain the toils and cares of royalty. Their residence is said by Gookin to have been about Narraganset Bay, and on the island of Canonicut.

The first object of Mr. Williams would naturally be, to obtain from the sachems a grant of land for his new colony. He proba-

\* William Harris, John Smith, (miller), Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell, and Francis Wickes. R. I. Register, 1828, article written by Moses Brown.

† Equivalent to the modern *How do you do!*

‡ The lands adjacent to this spot were called *Whatcheer*, in memory of the occurrence.

§ "Tradition has uniformly stated the place where they landed, to be at the spring southwest of the Episcopal church, at which a house has recently been built by Mr. Nehemiah Dodge." Moses Brown.

bly visited them, and received a verbal cession of the territory, which, two years afterwards, was formally conveyed to him by a deed. This instrument may properly be quoted here.

'At Narraganset, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of the plantation or planting at Moshassuck, or Providence ; Memorandum, that we, Canonicus and Miantinomo, the two chief sachems of Narraganset, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket, do now, by these presents, establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the river and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill of Notaquoncanot, on the northwest, and the town of Mashapaug, on the west. We also, in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both with our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Connecticut, and Apaum or Plymouth, we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pawtuxet river, as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtuxet river. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands.'

The lands thus ceded to Mr. Williams, he conveyed to twelve men, who accompanied, or soon joined him, reserving to himself an equal part only. In answer to a question which was raised in the early times of the colony, Mr. Williams asserts in the first place "'It is not true, that I was employed by any, was supplied by any, or desired any to come with me into these parts. My soul's desire was, to do the natives good, and to that end to learn their language, (which I afterwards printed) and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company.' He adds that 'out of pity, he gave leave to several persons to come along in his company.' He makes the same statement in his deed of 1661 :—'I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience. I then considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, (whom he names) who then desired to take shelter here with me.'

It seems, then, that his original design was to come alone, probably to dwell among the Indians, and do them good ; but he altered his plan, and resolved to establish a refuge for those who might flee from persecution. The project was his own, and worthy of his generous and liberal mind. He certainly was not employed as an agent, to purchase lands for others. He uses another argument : 'I mortgaged my house in Salem (worth some hundreds) for supplies to go through, and, therefore, was it a single business.'

Having thus shown that he acted for himself, and on his own responsibility, he states, that the lands were procured from the sachems by his influence alone. He enumerates several advantages which he enjoyed in this negotiation : '1. A constant, zeal-

ous desire to dive into the native's language. 2. God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, (even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gain their tongue. 3. I spared no cost towards them, and in gifts to Ousamequin, yea, and all his, and to Canonicus, and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narraganset, and when I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath. 4. I was known by all the Wampanoags and the Narragansets to be a public speaker at Plymouth and Salem, and, therefore, with them, held as a sachem. 5. I could debate with them (in a great measure) in their own language. 6. I had the favor and countenance of that noble soul, Mr. Winthrop, whom all Indians respected.'

He proceeds to state, respecting Canonicus, that 'it was not thousands nor tens of thousands of money could have bought of him an English entrance into this Bay.'

In the deed, already quoted, he says, 'By God's merciful assistance, I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous, that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favor with the natives, and other advantages, which it pleased God to give me; and also bore the charges, and venture of all the gratuities, which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighbourhood with them, to my great charge and travel.'\*

It is probable, that Mrs. Williams and her two children came from Salem to Providence, in the summer of 1636, in company with several persons, who wished to join their exiled pastor.†

"The family of Mr. Williams was now dependent on his exertions for support. No supplies could be derived from Massachusetts. The natives were unable to afford much aid. It is probable, that Mr. Williams had nearly expended all his funds, in the support of his family during his absence, and in the negotiations with the Indians. Of his poverty,‡ there is evidence, in a touching incident, mentioned in his letter to Major Mason. It is alike honorable to all the parties: 'It pleased the Father of Spirits to touch many hearts, dear to him, with many relents; amongst which, that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply.'

\* Backus, vol. i. p. 94.

† Throckmorton, Olney and Westcott, three of the first proprietors, were members of the Salem church. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 371.

‡ Hubbard repeatedly alludes, in a somewhat taunting tone, to the poverty of Roger Williams.—pp. 205, 350

In a deed, which was enrolled January 29, 1667, Mr. Williams says, that he planted, with his own hands, at his first coming, the two Indian fields, Whatcheer and Saxifrax Hill, which he had purchased of the natives. Thus was he forced, as at many other times, to resort to manual labor for his subsistence. In his reply to Mr. Cotton he says : 'It is not unknown to many witnesses, in Plymouth, Salem and Providence, that the discussor's time had not been spent (though as much as any others whosoever) altogether in spiritual labors and public exercises of the word ; but day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar for bread.' But he sustained all his labors and hardships with a patient spirit, and with a steadfast adherence to his principles.

His house was, undoubtedly, erected near the spot where he landed, and a few rods eastward of the celebrated spring. Here the wanderer found a resting place. This was his home, for more than forty years. Here he died, and near the site of his dwelling his ashes were deposited.

The community, thus formed, were invested with the power of admitting others to the privileges of citizenship. Their number was soon increased, by emigrants from Massachusetts, and from Europe.\* It was the design of Mr. Williams, that his colony should be open to all persons who might choose to reside there, without regard to their religious opinions. He was careful, nevertheless, to provide for the maintenance of the civil peace. Every inhabitant was required to subscribe the following covenant :

'We, whose names are here under-written, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*'

This simple instrument, which combines the principles of a pure democracy, and of unrestricted religious liberty, was the basis of the first government in Providence. It was undoubtedly drawn up by Roger Williams. It bears the impress of his character, and it was the germ of those free institutions, under which Rhode Island has flourished till the present day."

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\* Among these, were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams (brother of Roger) Richard Scott, William Reynolds, John Warner, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor and Thomas Hopkins. Backus, vol. i. p. 93.

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to last were carried on in a confused manner. There have been six or seven several grants of the lands between Merrimack and Kennebeck. In the year 1630 Captain Neale with three others came over to Piscataqua to superintend the affairs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Mason, and the rest, but principally to discover a new country to which they gave the name of Laconia, and which in Gorges's history is very pompously described. Champlain many years before this had given his own name to Lake Iroquois, and the English, it may be, were informed by the Indians something of the geography of the country and of other lakes on the back of New England, and no doubt the rumor was carried over to England. Neale spent three years in searching out his new country, but could not find it and so returned. Nothing else memorable is mentioned of Neale, except that he forbade Wiggan settling a point of land betwixt Dover and Exeter. Wiggan went on and determined to defend his right by the sword. The other threatened as high, and from what might have happened, the disputed land took the name of Bloody Point, which it retains to this day. The Lords Say and Brooke also made Wiggan their agent for the term of seven years, during which time the interest was not greatly advanced, the whole being sold to him at the expiration of the term for six hundred pounds.

Soon after the year 1631 one Mr. Williams came over from England, sent also by Gorges and Mason to take care of their salt works. Mr. Chadburne\* with several other planters and traders came over with him. These began the settlement of Strawberry bank (Portsmouth), and after Neale went away they are supposed either to have entered into an agreement and to have chosen Williams for their governor, who is said to have been a discreet sensible man and a gentleman, or else he was appointed by the company in England. There was a grant of a sum of money for building a parsonage house and a chapel, and for a glebe of 50 acres of land to be annexed, made by the inhabitants of Strawberry bank to Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburn church wardens and their successors, &c. and this was signed by Francis Williams governor, Ambrose Gibbons assistant, and 18 inhabitants, dated May 25, 1640. Williams soon after removed to Barbadoes. The first who enterprised the settlement of Piscataqua had some religious as well as civil views, and a puritan minister Mr. Leveridge a worthy man came over with Capt. Wiggan in 1633, but not being supported he removed to the southward and was succeeded by Mr. Burdet, who has not left so good a character.

\* Mr. Chadburne had the direction of the artificers who built what was called the great house at Strawberry bank. His posterity are settled on the other side the river in the province of Maine.

About the same time, viz. in 1638, Mr. Wheelwright the minister who had been banished from the Massachusetts, with a number of persons who adhered to him, began a plantation on the south side of the great bay up Piscataqua river, to which they gave the name of Exeter. They thought it necessary likewise to form themselves into a body politic, in order to enable them to carry on the affairs of their plantation.

Captain Underhill an enthusiast who obtained his assurance, as he expressed himself before the church of Boston, while he was taking a pipe of the good creature tobacco,\* and who was at the same time a very immoral man, and for adultery had been excommunicated, joined Mr. Wheelwright's company and played his card so well that he obtained the place of governor over them, and also over the other company at Dover, they having quarreled with Burdet the minister, who removed to York. There was a strong party against Underhill which caused great disturbance and confusion. At the same time they were as much divided in their ecclesiastical affairs. They at Dover had one Mr. Knolles for their minister, but Mr. Larkham arriving there from Northam near Barnstable in England, many people were taken with him and determined to dismiss Knolles, but his party stood by him and he and his company excommunicated Larkham. He in return laid violent hands on Knolles. The magistrates took part some on one side and some on the other, but Larkham's party being weakest sent to Williams the governor below for assistance, who came up with a company of armed men, beset Knolles's house, where Underhill the governor then was, called him to account, set a fine upon him and some others who had been concerned in the riot, and obliged them to remove from the plantation. Knolles was a rigid antinomian, his practice was agreeable to his principles. He was charged with being too familiar with some of his female domestics and found it necessary to depart. Larkham a zealous churchman soon followed him for an offence of the same nature."

#### *Establishment of Dartmouth College.*

One of the most marked events during the period of the early settlement of the towns in the western part of New Hampshire, was the establishment of Dartmouth College in Hanover, on Connecticut river. This institution originated from Rev. Dr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon, Con. The first design of the Indian School was conceived by Mr. John Sergeant, missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, Mass., at which place, after procuring benefactions in America and England, he began a school for the education of Indian youths, but his death prevented him

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\* Hubbard &c.

from accomplishing his plan. Dr. Wheelock 'conceived that if he could educate Indian youth for missionaries, there would be more prospect of success from their labors, than from the exertions of the whites.' With these views he undertook himself the care and expense of educating two Indian lads in 1754; but the design was so benevolent that a number of gentlemen soon united with him. His pupils increased, and after receiving numerous benefactions, the largest of which was the donation of Mr. Joshua Moor of Mansfield, he called his institution 'Moor's school.' In 1762 he had more than twenty youth under his care. To enlarge the power of doing good, contributions were solicited not only in various parts of this country, but also in England and Scotland. The money collected in England, was put into the hands of a board of trustees, of whom the earl of Dartmouth was at the head. From this circumstance, when Dr. Wheelock was invited by the government of New Hampshire to remove to Hanover and establish a college in that place, it was called Dartmouth college. This seminary was incorporated in 1769, and Dr. Wheelock was declared its founder and president with the right of appointing his successor. He lived for some time at Hanover in a log hut. In 1770 he removed his school. The number of his scholars, destined for missionaries, was at this time twenty-four, of whom eighteen were whites and only six Indians. This alteration of his plan was the result of experience. He had found, that of forty Indian youth, who had been under his care, twenty had returned to the vices of savage life. The first commencement was held in 1771, when the degree of bachelor of arts was conferred on four students, one of whom was John Wheelock, the son and successor of the founder."

The following account relative to the establishment of Dartmouth College, is from the memoirs of Wheelock by Drs. M'Clure and Parish.

"In the month of August, 1770, entrusting the care of their removal to Mr. Woodward, who then officiated as tutor, he set out for Hanover to provide the necessary accommodation for his family and school. They soon followed him. A part of his family travelled in a coach, presented him by a very respectable friend in London; his pupils performed the journey on foot. The roads as they advanced northward were found in a very unfinished state, and in many places it was with difficulty they passed. On their arrival he welcomed them to the spot where he was to begin his labors, and where he expected to terminate his days. It was an extensive plain shaded by lofty pines, with no accommodations except two or three small huts composed of logs, and no house on that side of the river within two miles through one continued dreary wood. The Doctor like a venerable patri-



arch surrounded by his affectionate family and pupils, looked around him, and the serenity of his countenance dispelled the gloom. His mind rose to the level of the difficulties before him, and with the activity and enterprise of youth he laid out plans of buildings, selected their sites, and with his presence and advice animated the laborers, hastened the operations, that his dependents might be sheltered against the approaching severity of the season. The number of souls there with him was about seventy. A few acres of pines had been felled before his arrival. Log houses were soon constructed, and a small framed house was begun, designed for the reception of Dr. Wheelock and his family. The frame of a college, eighty feet in length and two stories in height, was soon after raised and partially covered; a hall and two or three rooms in it were considerably advanced when the autumnal storms, setting in earlier than usual, put a stop to the work of the builders. The sufferings of this little colony and its worthy founder, were not inconsiderable during several months from their arrival and even to the following spring. Their removal proved too late in the season, and preparations for their reception, from various circumstances, were far from that state of forwardness which was intended. Failing to obtain water by digging wells near where their first house was erected, he was compelled to change its situation after the arrival of his family. Many were necessitated to sleep several nights on the ground, with boughs of trees for beds, and sheltered from the nightly dews and rains by a few boards raised over them on poles. The country all around was new, and the few dispersed inhabitants poor.

Upon a circular area of about six acres, the pines were soon felled and in all directions covered the ground to the height of about six feet. Paths of communication were cut through them. The lofty tops of the surrounding forests were often seen bending before the northern tempest, while the air below was still and piercing. The snow lay four feet in depth between four and five months. The sun was invisible by reason of the trees until risen many degrees above the horizon. In this secluded retreat and in these humble dwellings, this enterprising colony passed a long and dreary winter. The students pursued their studies with diligence; contentment and peace were not interrupted by murmurs. The venerable president directed the attention of his pupils to the signal smiles of heaven upon the institution, which were witnessed by its rapidly increasing prosperity from a small beginning, through seemingly insurmountable discouragements. He observed to them that the cause, he doubted not, was the cause of God; that he would own and succeed it, and that his great concern in the whole business was, to follow the pointings of His providence. He derived support from the example of the pro-



THE SAGE.

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The next year colonies were sent out by the two companies. One was fixed at Jamestown, of which Gosnold 'was the prime mover,' and Capt. Smith an active member; the other was established at Sagadahock, or the mouth of the Kennebec, led by Captains George Popham, brother to the Chief Justice, and Raleigh Gilbert. This colony consisted of 108 men;—whether accompanied by their families, we are not informed. They arrived on the coast near the island of Monheagan, a few leagues east of the Kennebec, in the month of August, and soon after entered the mouth of that river, where, on the eastern side, on an island now forming a part of Georgetown, they commenced preparations for a permanent settlement without delay. Monheagan was agreed upon as a place of rendezvous for the ships before leaving England, and although we are not directly told that the destination of the colony was determined before their arrival, there is no doubt of the fact. The great patron of the enterprise, Chief Justice Popham, obtained an accurate survey of the coast the year before, and doubtless selected the mouth of that 'fair and navigable river,' as the Kennebec is styled by Smith, as a favorable location for the seat of the colony.

The lateness of the season scarcely allowed the colonists time to erect a fort and the necessary places of shelter before the approach of winter, which proved excessively rigorous. More than half their number returned with the ships to England in December, in consequence of the severity of the cold and the scantiness of their supplies. Soon after those who had remained had the misfortune to lose the greater part of their buildings and stores by fire. Capt. Popham died in the course of the winter, and an arrival in the spring brought news of the death of the Chief Justice. Raleigh Gilbert, who succeeded Popham as president of the colony, was under the necessity of returning to England on account of the decease of his brother, of which intelligence was received by another arrival, and the colonists, discouraged by so many adverse circumstances, resolved to abandon the country and return with him. Thus in less than one year from the time the settlement was commenced, the northern colony was broken up; the country was denounced as uninhabitable, and no further attempts were made for many years to promote its settlement by the Company to whom it was assigned by the patent of King James.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a conspicuous member of the Plymouth Company, alone remained undiscouraged. The attention of this gentleman appears to have been first turned to this part of America in the year 1605, when Capt. Weymouth arrived in the harbor of Plymouth where he resided, on his return from a voyage for the discovery of the northwest passage. Falling short of his course, Weymouth had accidentally discovered the river Penobscot, from



whence he carried to England five of the natives, 'three of whom,' says Gorges, 'I seized upon; they were all of one nation, but of several parts and several families. This accident must be acknowledged the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations. He retained these Indians in his family three years, and obtained from them much information respecting their native shores: they were afterwards sent back. Gorges henceforth took a deep interest in schemes for the settlement of North Virginia, and was rather chagrined than discouraged by the return of the Sagadahock colonists, and the unfavorable reports which they spread concerning the country. 'He had too much experience in the world,' he said, 'to be frightened with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated and by many degrees colder, were plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities than these afforded, if like industry, art and labor be used.' Unable, however, to persuade the company to undertake the planting of a second colony, Gorges engaged in private enterprises to this coast, which began to be much resorted to by English ships for purposes of trade with the natives, and of fishing. In the year 1616, he sent hither a party commanded by Richard Vines, for the express object of exploring the country with a view to form a settlement. He contracted with them to remain during the winter, with the hope of removing the prejudice excited by the Sagadahock colonists against the character of the climate.

They arrived during the prevalence of a destructive disease among the natives, which spread throughout New England, commencing its ravages in the west. This pestilence is noticed by all the writers on the early history of New England, with some difference of opinion as to the precise year of its occurrence. A late and highly respectable writer supposes it to have prevailed in different places at different times, but a few years previous to the arrival of the Plymouth pilgrims. It was regarded by those pious colonists as a special interposition of divine providence in their favor, so great was the havoc it made among the tribes in that quarter. 'Thus,' says old Morton, 'God made way for his people by removing the heathen and planting them in the land.'

Mr. Vines and his companions penetrated into the interior, visiting the Indians in their villages and wigwams, who received them with great kindness and hospitality. Beside the ravages of sickness, they were at this time thrown into confusion by the death of the Bashaba or chief sachem, whom the Tarrantines, living east of the Penobscot, had attacked by surprise and destroyed with his family the preceding year. Great dissensions had immediately followed among the different tribes, who were engaged in a destructive war with each other when the pestilence made its ap-

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previous consideration having been paid by West. The lease which is partly in the latin language, was executed, 1638. Another deed from Vines requires the lessee to yield and pay an acknowledgement and rent-charge of 5s., two days work, and one fat goose yearly. In this manner were all the planters rendered tenants to the proprietor, none of them holding their estates in fee simple.

Fishing was the most common occupation, as it was both easy and profitable to barter the products of this business for corn from Virginia, and other stores from England. The trade with the planters of Massachusetts soon became considerable. In 1636, Mr. Vines had a consignment of bread and beef from that quarter. Jocelyn remarks that 'Winter Harbor is a noted place for fishers.' He describes this mode of pursuing the business in the following manner: 'The fisherman take yearly on the coast many hundred quintals of cod, hake, haddock, pollock, &c. and dry them at their stages, making three voyages in a year. They make merchantable and refuse fish, which they sell to Massachusetts merchants; the first for 32 ryals (\$4) per quintal; the refuse for 9 and 10 shillings (\$2, and 2,25). The merchant sends the first to Lisbon, Bilboa, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulon, and other cities of France; to Canaries, pipe-staves and clapboards; the refuse fish to the W. Indies for the negroes. To every shallop belong four fishermen, a master or steersman, a midshipman, and a shoreman, who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles pitched upon stakes breast high, and tends their cookery. They often get in one voyage 8 or 9 barrels a share per man. The merchant buys of the planters beef, pork, peas, wheat, Indian corn, and sells it to the fishermen.'

The expense of each planter to provision himself was quite small, if we may judge from an estimate furnished by Mr. Jocelyn for the information of proposed emigrants. A similar estimate had been previously made by Capt. Smith with reference to Virginia. 'Victuals to last one man a year; 8 bushels of meal, £2: two bushels of peas, 6 shillings: two bushels of oatmeal, 9 shillings: one gallon of aqua vitæ, (brandy), 2s. 6d.: one gallon of oil, 3s. 6d.: two gallons of vinegar, 2s.:' total, £3 3s., equal to \$14.

A considerable traffic was carried on with the natives by many of the planters, some of them visiting remote parts of the coast, or traveling into the interior for this purpose. English and French goods were bartered for valuable furs, particularly beaver "



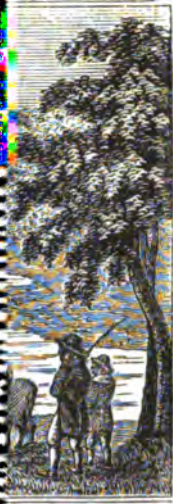
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territory now comprising the State of Vermont, owing to its distance from English settlements on the sea-coasts, and from the St. Lawrence, prevented its settlement by either nation at an early period. "In 1716, a tract of land was granted by the general court of Massachusetts, in the southeast corner of the state, containing about one hundred thousand acres. But it was not till the year 1724, that any settlement was made in Vermont: the governor of Connecticut, upon Connecticut's claim within Massachusetts, Hampshire, and is the present any civilized nation on either side of the state, to complain, and in 1731, the first settlement on the east side of the state became of course the cause of the depredations of the Indians, which was dangerous and

the protection of Canada, the New Hampshire, and New Hampshire, the French, or to the prospect was that the territory would afford quiet and security to the settlers, who might with safety establish settlements. On such accounts the territory was valued at a new value, and was purchased by speculators and

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pectations, for a royal decision had been made, which was understood to have decisively assigned these lands to that province.

The provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had a long and tedious controversy, respecting their divisional line. This was not settled until March 5, 1740; when George the second determined, 'that the northern boundary of the province of Massachusetts be, a similar curve line, pursuing the course of Merrimack river, at three miles distance, on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic ocean, and ending at a point due north of Patucket falls; and a straight line drawn from thence, due west, until it meets with his Majesty's other governments.' This line was run in 1741, and has ever since been admitted as the boundary line between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. By this decision, and the establishment of this line, the government of New Hampshire concluded, that their jurisdiction extended as far west, as Massachusetts had claimed and exercised; that is, within twenty miles of Hudson's river. The king of Great Britain, had repeatedly recommended to the assembly of New Hampshire, to make provision for the support of fort Dummer; as a fortress, which had now fallen within their jurisdiction, and was known to stand on the west side of Connecticut river. From these circumstances, it was not doubted either in Britain, or in America, but that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire extended to the west of Connecticut river; but how far to the west, had never been examined, or called into question. Benning Wentworth was at that time governor of New Hampshire. In 1749, he made a grant of a township, six miles square. It was situated twenty miles east of Hudson's river, and six miles north of Massachusetts line. In allusion to his own name, he gave to this township the name of Bennington. For the space of four or five years, he made several other grants, on the west side of Connecticut river. In 1754, hostilities commenced between the English and the French in America, which put a stop to the applications and grants, and issued in a war between the two crowns. In 1760, the operations of the war, in this part of America, were terminated, by the surrender of Montreal, and the entire conquest of Canada. During the progress of the war, the New England troops cut a road from Charlestown in New Hampshire, to Crown Point, and were frequently passing through these lands; and their fertility and value became generally known. Upon the cessation of hostilities, they were eagerly sought after, by adventurers and speculators. By the advice of his council, the governor of New Hampshire directed a survey to be made of Connecticut river, for sixty miles; and three lines of townships to be laid out on each side. The applications for lands constantly increased, and new surveys were made."

A great proportion of the first settlers were from Connecticut. Following the course of the Connecticut river, they established themselves along its banks, and afterwards in other parts of the state. Brattleborough may be considered as the oldest town, as within its limits the settlement at fort Dummer was commenced in 1724. Bennington was first settled in 1761, Windsor in 1764. Rutland was settled about 1770, Burlington about 1783. Montpelier, the capital of the state, was first settled in the spring of 1786.

"So rapid was the progress, that during the year 1761, not less than sixty townships, of six miles square, were granted on the west of Connecticut river. The whole number of grants, in one or two years more, amounted to one hundred and thirty-eight; and their extent, was from Connecticut river, to what was esteemed twenty miles east of Hudson's river, so far as that extended to the northward; and after that as far west as the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. The cultivation of the country, and the number of the settlers, increased with a surprising rapidity; and Wentworth had an opportunity to accumulate a large fortune, by the fees and donations which attended the business, and by a reserve of five hundred acres, which he made in every township for himself.

The government of New York, wishing to have the profits, and intending to have the disposal of the lands, was alarmed at these proceedings. Charles the second, in 1664 and 1674, made an extraordinary grant to his brother, the duke of York; containing among other parts of America, 'all the lands from the west side of Connecticut river, to the east side of Delaware bay.' This grant was inconsistent with the charters, which had before been granted to Massachusetts and Connecticut; and neither of them admitted it to have any effect, with regard to the lands which they had settled, or claimed to the west of Connecticut river."

This and other royal grants occasioned a good deal of difficulty between New York and the parties concerned. The grants made by New Hampshire, were considered by New York as illegal and of no authority, and endeavored in some instances to enforce submission to her jurisdiction by force of arms. "The main body of the settlers at that time, consisted of a brave, hardy, intrepid, but uncultivated set of men. Without many of the advantages of education, without any other property than what hard labor and hard living had procured, destitute of the conveniences and elegances of life, and having nothing to soften or refine their manners; roughness, excess, and violence, would naturally mark their proceedings. To deny such people justice, was to prejudice and arm them against it, to confirm all their suspicions and prejudices against their rulers, and to give them an excuse and plea to proceed to outrage and violence.

When the government of New York gave to their proceedings the names of mobs and riots, abuse and outrage to their officers, it is probable the expressions conveyed pretty just ideas, of the appearance of their conduct, and opposition to the laws. But when they called their opposition, felony, treason, and rebellion against lawful authority, the people of the adjacent provinces seem to have believed, that the government of New York was much more blamable, in making and executing such laws as called their titles to their lands in question, than the settlers were, in acting in open and avowed opposition to them.

"In this scene of violence, and opposition to the proceedings of New York, Ethan Allen placed himself at the head of the opposition. Bold, enterprising, ambitious, with great confidence in his own abilities, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the inhabitants. He wrote and dispersed several pamphlets to display the injustice, and designs, of the New York proceedings: and so oppressive were those measures, that although Allen was a very indifferent writer, his pamphlets were much read, and regarded; and had a great influence upon the minds and conduct of the people. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners, seems to have assisted him, in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land jobbers: and where all was a scene of violence and abuse, such a method of writing, did not greatly differ from the feelings of the settlers, or from the style of the pamphlets that came from New York. But though he wrote with asperity, a degree of generosity attended his conduct; and he carefully avoided bloodshed, and protested against every thing that had the appearance of meanness, injustice, cruelty, or abuse, to those who fell into his power. Next to him, Seth Warner seems to have been the most distinguished, in those times. Warner was cool, firm, steady, resolute, and fully determined that the laws of New York respecting the settlers, never should be carried into execution. When an officer came to take him as a rioter, he considered it as an affair of open hostility; defended himself, attacked, wounded and disarmed the officer; but, with the spirit of a soldier, spared his life."<sup>\*</sup>

These controversies continued till the Revolution, when the attention of all parties was turned to a more important conflict than that which related to titles and grants of territory. In 1777, the people of Vermont declared themselves independent, and organized a government for themselves. In 1790 all controversy with New York was amicably adjusted, and in 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Federal Union.

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<sup>\*</sup> Williams' History of Vermont, vol. 2.

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About an hour after, Mr. Allerton came aboard us in a shallop as he was sailing to Penaquid. As we stood towards the harbour we saw another shallop coming to us, so we stood in to meet her, and passed thro the narrow streight between Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the Island.

After Mr. Pierce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endicott, who came to us about 2 of the clock, and with him Mr. Shelton and Capt. Levett. We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our Captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck,\* where we supped on a good venison pastry and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind. In the morning the rest of the people went on shore upon the land off Cape Anne, which lay very near us, to gather store of strawberries. An Indian came aboard us and lay here all night.

*June 17.* We went to Mattachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down. We went up Mistick river about six miles. We lay at Mr. Maverick's, and returned home on Saturday. As we came home, we came by Nataaskott and sent for Capt. Squibb ashore. He had brought the West-country people, viz. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Rosseter, Mr. Maverick, and ended a difference between him and the passengers, whereupon he sent his boat to his ship (the Mary and John) and at our firing gave us five pieces. At our return we found the Ambrose in the harbour at Salem.

*Sept. 20.* About 2 in the morning, Mr. Isaac Johnson died; his wife the lady Arabella of the house of Lincoln, being dead about one month before. He was a holy man, and wise, and died in sweet peace, leaving some part of his substance to the colony.

*Oct. 25.* The Governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so it grew by little and little to disuse.

*Dec. 26.* The rivers are frozen up, and they of Charlestown could not come to the sermon at Boston till the afternoon at high water. Many of our cows and goats were forced to be still aboard for want of houses.

Richard Garner a shoe-maker of Boston, and one of the congregation there, with one of his daughters a young maid and four others went towards Plimouth in a shallop, against the advice of their friends, and about the Gurnett's nose the wind overblew so much at N. W. as they were forced to come to a hillock at 20 fathom, but their boat drove and shook out the stern and they were put to sea, and the boat took in much water, which did freeze so hard as they could not free her, so they gave themselves up for lost, and commending themselves to God, they disposed themselves to die, but one of their company espying land near Cape Cod, they made shift to hoist up part of their sail, and by God's special providence were carried thro the rock to

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\* Salem.

the shore, when some got on land, but some had their legs frozen into the ice, so as they were forced to be cut out. Being come on shore they kindled a fire, but having no hatchet, they could get little wood, and were forced to lie in the open air all night, being extremely cold. In the morning two of their company went towards Plimouth, supposing it had been within seven or eight miles, whereas it was near fifty miles from them. By the way they met with two Indian squaws, who coming home, told their husbands that they had met two Englishmen : they thinking (as it was) that they had been shipwrecked, made after them, and brought them back to their wigwam, and entertained them kindly, and one of them went with them the next day to Plimouth, and the other went to find out their boat and the rest of their company, which were seven miles off, and having found them, he helped them what he could, and returned to his wigwam, and fetched them a hatchet, and built them a wigwam and covered it, and got them wood, for they were so weak and frozen, as they could not stir, and Garner died about two days after his landing, and the ground being so frozen as they could not dig his grave, the Indian hewed a hole about half a yard deep, with his hatchet, and having lain the corpse in it, he laid over it a great heap of wood to keep it from the wolves. By this time the Governor of Plimouth had sent three men to them with provisions, who being come, and not able to launch their boat, (which with the strong N. W. wind was driven up to the high water mark) the Indian returned to Plimouth and fetched three more, but before they came they had launched their boat, and with a fair Southerly wind were gotten to Plimouth where another of their company died, his flesh being mortified with the frost ; and the two who went towards Plimouth died also, one of them being not able to get hither, and the other had his feet so frozen as he died of it after. The girl escaped best, and one Harmer, a godly man of the congregation of B. lay long under the surgeon's hands, and it was above six weeks before he could get the boat from Plimouth ; and in their return they were much distressed, yet their boat was very well manned, the want whereof before was the cause of their loss.

Feb. 10, 1631. The frost broke up, and after that tho we had many storms and sharp frost, yet they continued not, neither were the waters frozen up as before. And it hath been observed ever since this bay was planted by the English, viz, seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year. The poorer sort of people who lay long in tents, &c. were much afflicted with the scurvy, and many died, especially at Boston and Charlestown ; but when this ship came and brought us good stores of juice of lemons, many recovered speedily. It hath been always observed, that such as fell into discontent, and lingered after their former condition in England, fell into the scurvy and died.

Feb. 18. Captain Weldon, a hopeful young gentlemen and an experienced soldier, died at Charlestown of a consumption, and was buried at Boston, with a military funeral.

Of the elder planters and such as came the year before, there were



but two, and those servants, which had the scurvy in all the country. At Plimouth not one had it, nor out of those who came this year (whereof there were above sixty). Whereas at their first planting time near half of their people died of it.

Of those which went back in the ships this summer, for fear of death or famine, &c. many died by the way and after they were landed, and others fell very sick and lean, &c.

The provision which came to us this year, came at excessive rates, in regard of the dearness of corn in England, so as every bushel of wheat meal stood us in fourteen shillings, pease eleven and six pence, &c.

*March 23.* Chickatabot came with his sannops and squaws, and presented the Governor with a bushel of Indian corn. After they had all dined and had each a small cup of sacke and beer, and the men tobacco, he sent away all his men and women, tho the Governor would have stayed them, in regard to the rain and thunder; himself and one squaw and one sannop stayed all night, and being in English clothes, the Gov. set them at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly, &c. as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned here, the Governor giving him cheese and pease and a mug and some other small things.

*March 29.* About 10 of the clock Mr. Coddington and Mr. Wilson and divers of the congregation met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilson praying and exhorting the congregation to love &c. commended to them the exercise of prophecy in his absence and designed those whom he thought most fit for it (viz) the Governor, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Newell the elder; then he desired the Governor to commit himself and the rest to God by prayer, which being done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charleston to go by land to the ship.

*April 12.* At a court holden at Boston (upon information to the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of a teacher) a letter was written from the court to Mr. Endicott to this effect; that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the churches at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they tarried there; and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the sabbath nor any other offence that was a breach of the first table; and therefore they marvelled they would chose him without advising with the council, and withal desiring him that he would forbear to proceed until they had considered about it.

*April 13.* Chickatabot came to the governor, and desired to buy some English cloths for himself. The Governor told him that English Sagamores did not use to truck, but he called his taylor and gave him order to make him a suit of clothes, whereupon he gave the governor two large skins of coat beaver, and after he and his men had dined he departed, and said he would come again three days after for his suit.

*April 15.* Chickatabot came to the governor again, and he put him into a very good new suit from head to foot, and after he sat meat before him, but he would not eat till the Governor had given thanks, and after meat he desired him to do the like, and so departed.

*June 14.* At a court Jo. Sagamore and Chickatabot being told at last court of some injuries that their men did to our cattle, and giving consent to make satisfaction &c. now one of their men was complained of for shooting a pig, for which Chickatabot was ordered to pay a small skin of beaver, which he presently paid.

At this court one Philip Ratlif a servant of Mr. Cradock, being convict ore tenus of most foul scandalous invectives against our churches and government, was censured to be whipped, lose his ears, and be banished the plantation, which was presently executed.

*July 13.* Canonicus, son to the great Sachem of Naraganset, came to the Governor's house with Jo. Sagamore, after they had dined he gave the Governor a skin, and the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot, which he took very thankfully and stayed all night.

*July 30.* Mr. Ludlow in digging the foundation of his house at Dorchester, found two pieces of French money, one was coined in 1596, they were in several places above a foot within the firm ground.

*Sept. 27.* At a court one Josias Playstone and two of his servants were censured for stealing corn from Chickatabot and his men, who were present, the master to restore two fold, and to be degraded from the title of a gentleman, and fined five pounds, and his men to be whipped.

*Oct. 11.* The Governor being at his farm house at Mistick, walked out after supper and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves, &c.) and being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as in coming home he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty; there he stayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket (for he always carried about his match and compass, and in the former there spake need) he made a good fire and warmed the house, and lay down upon some old mats which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (thro God's mercy) a weary night, but a little before day it began to rain, and having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning there came thither an Indian squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out, yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servant having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces and halloed in the night, but he heard them not.

*Oct. 25.* The Governor, with Capt. Underhill and other of the officers went on foot to Sagus, and next day to Salem, where they were bountifully entertained by Capt. Endicott, &c. and the 28th

they returned to Boston by the fort at Sagus river, and so over to Mistick.

*Nov. 2.* The ship Lyon Wm. Pierce, master, arrived at Natascot there came in her the Governor's wife, and other of his children, and Mr. Eliot, a minister, and other families, being in all about 60 persons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea, and lost none of their company but two children, whereof one was the Governor's daughter Anne, about one year and half old, who died about a week after they came to sea.

*Nov. 4.* The Governor, his wife and children went on shore with Mr. Pierce in his ship boat, the ship gave them six or seven pieces. At their landing the Captains with their companies in arms entertained them with a guard and divers vollies of shot, and three drakes ;—and divers of the assistants and most of the people of the near plantations, came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c. so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England : it was a great marvel that so much people and store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours warning.

*Feb. 17, 1632.* The Governor and assistants called before them at Boston divers of Watertown ; the pastors and elder by letter, and the others by warrant. The occasion was for that a warrant being sent to Watertown for levying of 8l. part of a rate of 60l. ordered for the fortifying the new town ; the pastor and elder, &c. assembled the people and deliver'd their opinion, that it was not safe to pay money after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves into bondage, being come before the governor and council, after much debate they acknowledged their fault, confessing freely that they were in an error, and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were enjoyned to read it in the assembly the next Lord's day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and aldermen, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people ; but understanding that this government was rather in the nature of a Parliament, and that no assistant could be chosen but by the freemen, who had power likewise to remove the assistants and put in others, and therefore at every general court (which was to be holden once every year) they had free liberty to consider and propound any thing concerning the same. and to declare their grievances without being subject to question. &c. they were fully satisfied, and so their submission was accepted and their offence pardoned.

*May 1.* The Governor and assistants met at Boston to consider of the Deputy his deserting his place. The points discussed were two. The first, upon what grounds he did it. 2d, whether it were good or void. For the 1st, his main reason was for public peace, for he must needs discharge his conscience in speaking freely, and he saw that bred disturbance. For the 2d, it was maintained by all that he could not to leave his place, except by the same power which put him in ; yet he could not be put from his contrary opinion, nor

would be persuaded to continue till the general court, which was to be the 8th of this month.

Another question fell out with him about some bargains he had made with some poor men, members of the same congregation, to whom he had sold 7 bushels and an half of corn to receive ten for it after harvest, which the Governor and some others held to be oppressive usury, and within the compass of the statute, but he persisted to maintain it to be lawful, and there arose hot words about it, he telling the Governor that if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there, and that he never knew any man of understanding, of other opinion, and that if the Governor thought otherwise of it, it was his weakness. The Governor took notice of these speeches and bore them with more patience than he had done upon a like occasion at another time. Upon this there arose another question about his house. The Governor having freely told him that he did not well to bestow so much cost about wainscoting and adorning his house in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example. His answer now was, that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was little, being but clapboards nailed to the walls in form of wainscot. These and other speeches passed before dinner. After dinner the Governor told him he had heard that the people intended at the next general court to desire that the assistants might be chosen anew every year, and that the Governor might be chosen by the whole court and not by the assistants only. Upon this Mr. Dudley grew into passion, and said that then we should have no government, but there would be an interim wherein every man might do what he pleased. This was answered and cleared in the judgment of the rest of the assistants, but he continued stiff in his opinion, and protested he would then return back into England.

*May 8.* A proposition was made by the people that every company of train-men might choose their own Captain and officers, but the Governor giving them reasons to the contrary, they were satisfied with it.

Every town may choose two men to be at the next court to advise with the Governor and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all, &c. The Governor among other things used this speech to the people after he had taken his oath,—That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had also received many kindnesses from particular persons, which he would not refuse, least he should be accounted uncourteous, &c. but he expressed that he received them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's rule, and the consciousness of his own inconformity, and therefore desired them that hereafter they would not take it ill if he did refuse presents from particular persons except they were from the assistants, or from special friends, &c. to which no answer was made, but he was told after that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place.

*Jan. 17, 1633.* A maid servant of Mr. Skelton of Salem, going towards Sagus, was lost seven days, and at length came home to Salem. All that time she was in the woods, having no kind of food, the snow being very deep, and as cold as at any time that winter. She was so frozen into the snow some mornings as she was one hour before she could get up, yet she soon recovered and did well through the Lord's wonderful providence.

*July 12.* Mr. Edward Winslow, Governor of Plimouth, and Mr. Bradford came into the bay, and went away the 18th. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut, for beaver and hemp: there was a motion to set up a trading house there, to prevent the Dutch who were about to build one, but in regard the place was not fit for plantation, there being three or four thousand warlike Indians, and the river not to be gone into but by small pin-naces, having a bar affording but six feet at high water, and for that no vessels can get in for 7 months in the year, partly by reason of the ice, and then the violent stream, &c. we thought not fit to meddle with it.

*Nov.* The scarcity of workmen had caused them to raise their wages to an excessive rate, so as a carpenter would have three shillings the day, a laborer two shillings and six-pence, &c. and accordingly those who had commodities to sell, advanced their prices sometimes double to that they cost in England, so as it grew to a general complaint, which the court taking knowledge of, as also of some further evils which were springing out of the excessive rate of wages, they made an order that carpenters, masters, &c. should take but 2s. the day, and laborers but 18d.,—and that no commodity should be sold at above four pence in the shilling more than it cost for ready money in England, oil, wine, &c. and cheese in regard of the hazard of bringing, &c. The evils which were springing, were, 1. Many spent much time idly, because they could get as much in four days as would keep them a week. 2. They spent much in tobacco and strong waters,\* which was a great waste to the Commonwealth, which by reason of so many scarce commodities expended could not have subsisted to this time, but that it was supplied by the cattle and corn which were sold to new comers at very dear rates, viz. corn at 6s. the bushel; a cow at 20l.—yea some at 24l. some 26l. a mare at 35l. an ewe goat at 3 or 4l. and yet many cattle were every year brought out of England, and some from Virginia. Soon after an order was taken for prices of commodities, viz. not to exceed the rate of four pence in the shilling above the price in England, except cheese and liquors, &c.

*Dec. 5.* John Sagamore died of the small pox and almost all his people, about 30 buried by Mr. Maverick of Winesemett in one day. The towns in the bay took away many of the children, but most of them died soon after. James Sagamore of Sagus died also and most of his folks. John Sagamore desired to be brought among the English, so he agreed and promised, if he recovered, to live with the

\*Rum or spirits.

English and serve their God. He left one son which he disposed to Mr. Wilson the pastor of Boston to be brought up by him. He gave to the Governor a good quantity of wampampeague, and to divers others of the English he gave gifts and took order for the payment of his own debts and his men's; he died in a persuasion that he should go to the Englishmen's God. Divers of them in their sickness confessed that the Englishmen's God was a good God, and that if they recovered they would serve him. It wrought much with them that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them, and yet few took any instructions by it. Among others Mr. Maverick of Winesemett is worthy of special remembrance; himself, his wife and servants went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and buried their dead, and took home many of their children; so did other of the neighbors. This infectious disease spread to Piscataqua, where all the Indians except one or two died.

*Feb. 1, 1634.* Such of the Indians' children as were left, were taken by the English, most whereof did die of the pox\* soon after, three only remaining, whereof one which the Governor kept was called Knows God, (the Indians' usual answer being, when they were put in mind of God, me no knows God).

*March 7.* At the lecture at Boston a question was propounded about veils. Mr. Cotton concluded that where by the custom of the place, they were not a sign of a woman's sobriety, they were not commanded by the apostle. Mr. Endicott opposed, and did maintain it by the general arguments brought by the apostle. After some debate, the Governor perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed and so it brake off.

*May.* One —, a godly minister, upon conscience of his oath and care of the common W. discovered to the magistrates some seditious speeches of his son delivered in private to himself, but the court thought not fit to call the party in question then, being loth to have the father come in as public accuser of his own son, but rather desired to find other matters, or other witnesses against him.

*Aug. 12.* One pleasant passage happened which was acted by the Indians. Mr. Winslow coming in his bark from Connecticut to Narragansett, and left her there, and intending to return by land, he went to Osamekin the Sagamore, his old ally, who offered to conduct him home to Plimouth, but before they took their journey Osamekin sent one of his men to Plimouth to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to shew how and where he was killed, whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plimouth. The next day when Osamekin brought him home they asked him why he sent such word, &c. he answered, that it was their manner to do so that they might be more welcome when they came home.

*Oct. 14.* It was informed the Governor that some of our people being aboard the bark of Maryland, the sailors did revile them, calling them holy brethren, the members, &c. and withal did curse and

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\*The small-pox, which proved fatal to many of the natives.

swear most horribly, and used threatening speeches against us. The Governor wrote to some of the assistants about it, and upon advice with the ministers, it was agreed to call them in question; and to this end, (because we knew not how to get them out of their bark), we apprehended the merchant of the ship, being one Store, and committed him to the marshal, till Mr. Maverick came and undertook that the offender should be forthcoming. The next day (the Governor not being well) we examined the witnesses and found them fall short of the matter of threatening, and not to agree about the reviling speeches, beside not being able to design certainly the men that had so offended, whereupon (the bark staying only for this) the bail was discharged, and a letter written to the master, that in regard such disorders were committed aboard his ship, it was his duty to inquire out the offenders and punish them, and withal to desire him to bring no more such disordered persons among us.

*Nov. 20.* At the court of assistants complaint was made by some of the country, viz. Richard Brown of Watertown in the name of the rest, that the ensign at Salem was defaced, viz. one part of the red cross taken out. Upon this an attachment was awarded against Richard Davenport, Ensign bearer, to appear at the next court to answer. Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the King's colors: Though the truth were it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relic of antichrist. What proceeding was hereupon, will appear after, at next court in the first month, for by reason of the great snows and frosts we used not to keep courts in the three winter months.

*Nov. 13.* One thing I think fit to observe as a witness of God's providence for this plantation. There came in a ship of Barnstable one Mansfield, a poor godly man of Exeter, being very desirous to come to us, but not able to transport his family: there was in the city a rich merchant, one Marshall, who being troubled in his dreams about the said poor man, could not be quiet till he had sent for him and given him 50*l.* and lent him 100*l.* willing him withal, that if he wanted, he should send to him for more. This Mansfield grew suddenly rich and then lost his godliness, and his wealth soon after.

*Jan. 19.* All the ministers except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the Governor and assistants, to consider of these two cases. 1. What ought to be done if a general Governor should be sent out of England? 2. Whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banners? In the first case they all agreed that if a general Governor were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions (if we were able), otherwise to avoid or protract. For the matter of the cross they were divided, and so deferred it to another meeting.

*Mo. 1, 1635.* At this court brass farthings were forbidden, and musket bullets made to pass for farthings. A commissioner for military affairs was established who had power of life and limb, &c.

*Mo. 2, 30.* The Governor and assistants sent for Mr. Williams; the occasion was for that he had taught publicly, that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the ministers, and very clearly confessed. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but gave place to the teacher.

*Mo. 11, Jan.* Mr. Hugh Peters went from place to place laboring both publicly and privately, to raise up men to a public frame of spirit, and so prevailed as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business, to the value of —, and wrote into England to raise as much more. The intent was to set up a magazine of all provisions and other necessities for fishing; that men might have things at hand and for reasonable prices, whereas now the merchants and seamen took advantage to sell at most excessive rates, (in many things two for one).

*Mo. 1, 8, 1636.* The Rebecca came from Bermuda with thirty thousand weight of potatoes, and store of oranges and lemons, which were a great relief to our people; but their corn was sold to the W. Indies three months before. Potatoes were bought for 2s8. and sold here for 2d. the pound.

*Mo. 2, 11.* At a general court it was ordered that a certain number of the magistrates should be chosen for life. The reason was, for that it was shewed from the word of God, &c. that the principal magistrates ought to be for life. Accordingly the 25th of the 3d Mo. John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley were chosen to this place, and Henry Vane by his place of Governorship was President of this council for his year. It was likewise ordered that quarter courts should be kept in several places for ease of the people, and in regard of the streights of victuals, the remote towns should send their votes by proxy to the court of elections; and that no church should be allowed that was gathered without the consent of the churches and the magistrates.

*Mo. 3, 15.* Mr. Peters preaching at Boston, made an earnest request to the church for four things. 1. That they would spare their teacher Mr. Cotton, for a time, that he might go through the Bible and raise marginal notes upon all the knotty places of the scripture. 2. That a new book of might be made, to begin where the other had left. 3. That a form of church government might be drawn according to the scripture. 4. That they would take order for employment of people, especially women and children, in the winter time, for he feared that idleness would be the vice both of church and commonwealth.

*9ber. 17.* Cattle were grown to high rates, a good cow 25l. or 30l.—a pair of bulls or oxen 40l.—Corn was near at 5s. the bushel, and much rye was sown with the plow this year, for about thirty plows were at work. Board was at 9 and 10s. the C.—carpenters at 3s. the day and other work accordingly.



'Things went not well at Connecticut, their cattle did many of them cast their young, as they had done the year before.

*Mo. 12, 1637.* Divers gentlemen and others being joined in a military company, desired to be made a corporation, but the council considering from the example of the Prætorian band among the Romans and the templars in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes, yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to all authority.

About this time the Indians which were in our families were much frightened with Hobbanock (as they called the Devil) appearing to them in divers shapes, and persuading them to forsake the English, and not to come at the assemblies, nor to learn to read, &c.

*Mo. 1, 1638.* At this court divers of our chief military officers who had declared themselves favorers of the familistical persons and opinions were sent for, and being told that the court having some jealousy of them for the same, and therefore did desire some general satisfaction from them, they did ingenuously acknowledge how they had been deceived and misled by the pretence which had been held forth of advancing Christ and debasing the creature, which since they had found to be otherwise, and that their opinions and practice led to disturbance and delusions, and so blessed God that had so timely discovered their error and danger to them.

*Mo. 6.* Four servants of Plimouth ran from their masters, and coming to Providence, they killed an Indian. He escaped after he was deadly wounded in the belly, and got to other Indians, so being discovered they fled and were taken at the Isle Aquiday. Mr. Williams gave notice to the Governor of Massachusetts and desired advice. He returned answer, that seeing they were of Plimouth they should certify Plimouth of them, and if they would send for them to deliver them, otherwise, seeing no Englishman had jurisdiction in the place where the murder was committed, neither had they at the Island any Governor established, it would be safest to deliver the principal (who was certainly known to have killed the party) to the Indians his friends, with caution that they should not put him to torture, and to keep the other three to further consideration. After this Plimouth men sent for them, but one had escaped, and the Governor there wrote to the Governor here for advice, especially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England. The Governor returned answer of encouragement to proceed notwithstanding, seeing no appeal did lie, for that they could not be tried in England, and that the whole country here were interested in the case and would expect to see justice done, whereupon they proceeded as appears after.

The three prisoners being brought to Plimouth and examined, did all confess the murder, and that they did it to get his wampom, &c. but all the question was about the death of the Indian, for no man could witness that he saw him dead, but Mr. Williams and Mr. James of Providence made an oath that his wound was mortal;—at last two Indians, who with much difficulty were procured to come to the trial

(for they still feared that the English were conspired to kill all the Indians), made oath after this manner, viz. that if he were not dead of that wound then they would suffer death. Upon this they three were condemned and executed. Two of them died very penitently, especially Arthur Peach, a young man of good parentage and fair conditioned, and who had done very good service against the Pequods.

*Mo. 7, 25.* A remarkable providence appeared in a case which was tried at the last court of assistants. Diver neighbours of Linn, by agreement, kept their cattle by turns. It fell out to the turn of one Gillow to keep them, and as he was driving them forth, another of these neighbours went along with him and kept so earnestly in talk that his cattle strayed and got in the corn, then this other neighbour left him and would not help him recover his cattle, but went and told another how he had kept Gillow in talk that he might lose his cattle &c. The cattle getting into the Indian corn eat so much ere they could be gotten out, that two of them fell sick of it, and one of them died presently, and these two cows were that neighbours cows who had kept Gillow in talk, &c. The man brings his action against Gillow for his cow, not knowing that he had witness of his speech, but Gillow producing witness &c. barred him of his action, and had good cost &c.

The court taking into consideration the great disorder proceeding thro' the country in costliness of apparel, and following new fashions, sent for the elders of the churches, and conferred with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them to redress it, by urging it upon the consciences of their people, which they promised to do. But little was done about it, for divers of the elders wives &c, were in some measure partners in this general disorder.

*Mo. 1, 1639.* A printing house was begun at Cambridge by one Daye at the charge of Mr. Glover who died on sea hitherward. The first thing which was printed was the freeman's oath, the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr. Pierce, mariner—the next was the psalms newly turned into metre.

*Mo. 3, 2.* Mr. Cotton preaching out of the 8. of Kings 8. taught, that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, then the churches are in a declining condition: there he shewed that the ministers maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands or revenues or tithes &c, for these things had always been accompanied with pride, contention and sloth.

The two regiments in the bay were mustered at Boston to the number of one thousand soldiers, able men and well armed and exercised. They were headed, the one by the Governor who was General of all, and the other by the Deputy who was Colonel. The captains &c. shewed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day.

One of Piscat: having opportunity to go into Mr. Burdet his study, and finding there the copy of his letter to the archbishops, sent it to the Governor, which was to this effect.—That he did delay to go into

England, because he would fully inform himself of the state of the people here in regard of allegiance, and that it was not discipline that was now so much aimed at as sovereignty, and that it was accounted piracy and treason in our General Court to speak of appeals to the King.

The first ships which came this year brought him letters from the archbishops and the lords commissioners for plantations, wherein they gave him thanks for his care of his Majesty's service &c. and that they would take a time to redress such disorders as he had informed them of: but by reason of the much business which now lay upon them they could not at present accomplish his desire. These letters lay above fourteen days in the Bay, and some moved the Governor to open them, but himself and others of the council thought it not safe to meddle with them, nor would take any notice of them, and it fell out well by God's good providence, for the letters, by some means, were opened, yet without any of their privity or consent, and Mr. Burdett threatened to complain of it to the Lords; and afterwards we had knowledge of the contents of them by some of his own friends.

The Governor acquainted the General Court that in these last two years of his government he had received from the Indians in presents, to the value of about £40. and that he had spent about £20. in entertainment of them and in presents to their Sachems &c. The court declared that the presents were the Governor's due, but the tribute was to be paid to the treasurer.

*Mo. 4. 26.* Mr. Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the Governor and many others went to hear him (tho' the Governor did very seldom go from his own congregation upon the Lord's day.) He preached in the afternoon, and having gone on with much strength of voice and intention of spirit about a quarter of an hour, he was at a stand, and told the people that God had deprived him both of his strength and matter &c. and so went forth, and about half an hour after returned again and went on to a very good purpose about two hours.

A fishing trade was began at Cape Anne by one Mr. Maverick Tomson a merchant of London, and an order was made that all stocks employed in fishing should not be free from public charge for seven years. This was not done to encourage foreigners to set up fishing among us, for all the gains would be returned to the place where they dwelt, but to encourage our own people to set upon it, and in expectation that Mr. Tomson &c. would ere long come settle with us.

Here was such store of exceeding large and fat mackrell upon our coast this season as was a great benefit to all our plantations. Some one boat with three men would take in a week ten hundreds, which was sold in Connecticut for £3. 12 the hundred.

*Mo. 10.* At the general court an order was made to abolish that vain custom of drinking one to another, and that upon these and other grounds. 1. It was a thing of no good use. 2. It was an inducement to drunkenness and occasion of quarrelling and bloodshed. 3. It occasioned much waste of wine and beer. 4. It was very

troublesome to many, especially the masters and mistresses of the feast, who were forced thereby to drink more often than they would. Yet divers, even godly persons, were very loth to part with this idle ceremony, tho' when disputation was tendred, they had no life, nor indeed could find any arguments to maintain it, such power hath custom &c.

*Mo. 3, 13, 1640.* The court of elections was at Boston, and Thomas Dudley Esq. was chosen Governor. Some trouble there had been in making way for his election, and it was obtained with some difficulty, for many of the elders laboured much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and in time, hereditary. Besides this gentleman was a man of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country, and therefore it was his due to serve in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow. The elders being met at Boston about this matter, sent some of their company to acquaint the old Governor with their desire and the reasons moving them, clearing themselves of all dislike of his government, and seriously professing their sincere affections and respect towards him, which he kindly and thankfully accepted, concurring with them in their motion, and expressing his unfeigned desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occasions, wherein they well knew how much he had lately suffered (for his bailiff whom he trusted with managing his farm had engaged him £.2500 without his privity) in his outward estate.

One Baker, master's mate of the ship — being in drink, used some reproachful words of the Queen. The Governor and Council were much in doubt what to do with him, but having considered that he was distempered and sorry for it, and being a stranger and a chief officer in the ship, and many ships were then in harbour, they thought it not fit to inflict corporeal punishment upon him, but after he had been two or three days in prison, he was set an hour at the whipping post with a paper on his head and so dismissed.

*Mo. 8.* The scarcity of money made a great change in all commerce. Merchants would sell no wares but for ready money—men could not pay their debts tho' they had enough—prices of lands and cattle fell soon to the one half and less, yea to a third, and after one fourth part.

*Mo. 10.* About the end of this month a fishing ship arrived at Isle of Shoals, and another soon after, and there came no more this season for fishing. They brought us news of the Scotts entering into England, and the calling of a parliament, and the hope of a thorough reformation &c. whereupon some among us began to think of returning back to England. Others despairing of any more supply from thence, and yet not knowing how to live there if they should return, bent their minds wholly to removal to the south parts, supposing they should find better means of subsistence there, and for this end put off their estates here at very low rates. These things, together with the scarcity of money, caused a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own commodities. Corn (Indian) was sold ordinarily at

three shillings the bushel, a good cow at seven or eight pounds, and some at £5—and other things answerable (see the order of court in 8ber. about these things) whereby it came to pass that men could not pay their debts, for no money or beaver was to be had, and he who last year, or but three months before was worth £.1000 could not now if he should sell his whole estate raise £.200 whereby God taught us the vanity of all outward things &c.

One Taylor of Linne having a milch cow in the ship as he came over, sold the milk to the passengers for 2d the quart, and being after at a sermon wherein oppression was complained of &c. he fell distracted. This evil was very notorious among all sorts of people, it being the common rule that most men walked by in all their commerce, to buy as cheap as they could, and to sell as dear.

The general fear of want of foreign commodities now our money was gone, and that things were like to go well in England, set us on work to provide shipping of our own, for which end Mr. Peters, being a man of very public spirit and singular activity for all occasions, procured some to join for building a ship at Salem of 300 tons, and the inhabitants of Boston stirred up by his example, set upon the building another at Boston of 150 tons. The work was hard to accomplish for want of money &c. but our shipwrights were content to take such pay as the country could make. The shipwright at Salem, thro' want of care of his tackle &c. occasioned the death of one Baker who was desired with five or six more to help hale up a piece of timber, which, the rope breaking, fell down upon them. The rest by special providence were saved. This Baker going forth in the morning very well, after he had prayed, told his wife he should see her no more, tho' he could not foresee any danger toward him.

The court having found by experience that it would not avail by any law to redress the excessive rates of labourer's and workmen's wages &c. for being restrained, they would either remove to other places where they might have more or else being able to live by planting and other employments of their own, they would not be hired at all. It was therefore referred to the several towns to set down rates among themselves. This took better effect, so that in a voluntary way, by the counsel and persuasion of the elders, and example of some who led the way, they were brought to more moderation than they could be by compulsion, but it held not long.

*Mo. 4, 2. 1641.* The parliament of England sitting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing—a cow which cost last year £20 might now be bought for four or £5 &c. and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These streights set our

people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank &c. and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well) and to look out to the W. Indies for a trade for cotton. The general court also made orders about payments of debts, setting corn at the wonted price, and payable for all debts which should arise after a time prefixed. They thought fit also to send some chosen men into England to congratulate the happy success there, and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as is in former years we had done, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required for the settling the right form of church discipline there, but with this caution, that they should not seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which were lawful and humble.

This summer the merchants of Boston set out a vessel again to the isle of Sable, with 12 men, to stay there a year. They sent again in the 8th month, and in three weeks the vessel returned and brought home 400 pr. of sea horse teeth which were esteemed worth £300, and left all the men well and 12 ton of oil and many skins which they could not bring away, being put from the island in a storm.

*Mo. 7, 15.* A great training at Boston two days. About 1200 men were exercised in most sorts of land service; yet it was observed that there was no man drunk, tho' there was plenty of wine and strong beer in the town—not an oath sworn—no quarrel, nor any hurt done.

*Mo. 5, 1642.* Now came over a book of Mr. Cotton's sermons upon the seven vials. Mr. Humphry had gotten the notes from some who had took them by characters, and printed them in London, which was a great wrong to Mr. Cotton, and he was much grieved at it, for it had been fit he should have perused and corrected the copy before it had been printed.

*Mo. 7, 22.* The sudden fall of land and cattle, and the scarcity of foreign commodities and money &c. with the thin access of people from England, put many into an unsettled frame of spirit, so as they concluded there would be no subsisting here, and accordingly they began to hasten away, some to the W. Indies, others to the Dutch at Long Island &c. (for the Governor there invited them by fair offers) and others back for England.

Ask thy conscience if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles if thou hadst expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there. Ask again what liberty thou hast towards others which thou likest not to allow others towards thyself, for if one may go another may, and so the greater part, and so church and commonwealth may be left destitute in a wilderness exposed to misery and reproach, and all for thy ease and pleasure, whereas these all, being now thy brethren, as near to thee as the Israelites were to Moses, it were much safer for thee, after his example,

to choose rather to suffer affliction with thy brethren, than to enlarge thy ease and pleasure by furthering the occasion of their ruin.

*Mo. 8, 5.* Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts. The general court had settled a government or superintendency over the college, viz. all the magistrates and elders of the three nearest churches, and the president or the greatest part of these. Most of them were now present at this first commencement, and dined at the college with the scholars ordinary commons, which was done of purpose for the students encouragement &c. and it gave good content to all.

At this commencement complaint was made to the governors of two young men of good quality lately come out of England, for foul misbehaviour, in swearing and ribaldry speeches &c. for which, tho' they were adult, they were corrected in the college, and sequestered &c. for a time.

*Mo. 30, 1643.* There was a piece of justice executed at New-Haven, which being the first in that kind, is not unworthy to be recorded. Mr. Malbon one of the magistrates there had a daughter about—years of age which was openly whipped, her father joining in the sentence. The cause was thus.

*[Here is a blank in the copy].*

One Richard—servant to one—Williams of Dorchester, being come out of service, fell to work at his own hand and took great wages above others, and would not work but for ready money. By this means in a year or little more, he had scraped together about £25 and then returned with his prey into England, speaking evil of the country by the way: he was not gone far, after his arrival, but the cavaliers met him and eased him of his money, so he knew no better way but to return to N. England again to repair his loss in that place which he had so much disparaged.

*Mo. 3.* Those of Sir Ferdinand Gorge his province beyond Piscat: were not received nor called into the confederation because they ran a different course from us both in their ministry and civil administration, for they had lately made Acomenticus (a poor village) a corporation, and had made a taylor their mayor, and had entertained one Mr. Hull an excommunicated person and very contentious, for their minister.

At this court of elections there arose a scruple about the oath which the Governor and the rest of the magistrates were to take viz. about the first part of it—'You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign Lord King Charles'—seeing he had violated the privileges of parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had lost much of his kingdom and many of his subjects; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present.

(4) 12. Mr. La Tour arrived here in a ship of 140 tons and 140 persons. The ship came from Rochelle, the master and his company were protestants: there were two friars and two women sent to wait upon La Tour his lady. They came in with a fair wind with-

out any notice taken of them. They took a pilot out of one of our boats at sea, and left one of their men in his place. Capt. Gibbons' wife and children passed by the ship as they were going to their farm, but being discovered to La Tour by one of his gentlemen who knew him, La Tour manned out a shallop which he towed after him to go speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hastened to get from them, and landed at the Governor's garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the Governor and his wife, and two of his sons, and his son's wife, and after mutual salutations he told the Governor the cause of his coming, viz. that this ship being sent him out of France, D'Aulnay his old enemy had so blocked up the river to his fort at St. Johns with two ships and a galliot, as his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night with his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort. But the training day at Boston falling out the next week, and La Tour having requested that he might be permitted to exercise his soldiers on shore, we expected him that day, so he landed 40 men in their arms (they were all shot) they were brought into the field by our train band consisting of 150, and in the forenoon they only beheld our men exercise. When they had dined (La Tour & his officers with our officers, & his soldiers invited home by the private soldiers) in the afternoon they were permitted to exercise (our governor and others of the magistrates coming then into the field) and all ours stood and beheld them. They were very expert in all their postures and motions. When it was near night La Tour desired our Governor that his men might have leave to depart, which being granted, his captain acquainted our captain therewith, so he drew our men into a march and the French fell into the middle—when they were to depart they gave a volley of shot and went to their boat, the French shewing much admiration to see so many men of one town so well armed and disciplined, La Tour professing he could not have believed it if he had not seen it. Our Governor and others in the town entertained La Tour and his gentlemen with much courtesy both in their houses and at table. La Tour came duly to our church meetings, and always accompanied the Governor to and from thence, who all the time of his abode here was attended with a good guard of halberds and musketeers.

*Mo. 7. (4).* There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country (about 50 in all) such of the ruling elders as would were present also, but none else. They set in the college and had their diet there after the manner of scholars commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up somethings undoing to the presbytery, as of Newbury &c. The assembly concluded against some parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments &c.

The Trial (the first ship built in Boston) being about 160 tons, Mr. Thomas Graves an able and a godly man master of her, was sent to





Bilboa in the 4th month last, with fish, which she sold there at a good rate, and from thence she freighted to Malaga, and arrived here this day laden with wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool, which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade. So soon as she was fitted she was set forth again to trade with La Tour, and so along the eastern coast towards Canada.

Mo. 3, 1644. Divers of the merchants of Boston being desirous to discover the great lake, supposing it to lie in the N. W. part of our patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver which came to all the eastern and southern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade which they should discover, to themselves for 21 years. The court was unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire: whereupon, having also commission granted them under the public seal, and letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors, they sent out a pinnace well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware river so high as they could go, and then some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river so far as they could.

4 & 5. There was mention made before of a pinnace sent by the company of discoverers (3) 3. to Delaware river with letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors for liberty to pass. The Dutch promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. When they came to the Swedes, the fort shot at them, ere they came up: whereupon they cast forth anchor, and the next morning, being the Lord's day, the lieut. came aboard them and forced them to fall down lower; when Mr. Aspenwall came to the Governor and complained of the lieutenant's ill dealing both in shooting at them before he had hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's day. The Governor acknowledged he did ill in both, and promised all favor, but the Dutch agent being come down to the Swede fort, shewed express order from the Dutch Governor not to let him pass, whereupon they returned. But before they came out of the river, the Swedish lieutenant made them pay 40*f*. for that shot which he had unduly made. The pinnace arrived at Boston (5) 20.—44.

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THE following passages relating to the natural history of New England, are copied from "Ogilby's America," published in 1671. They are inserted as a curious relic of antiquity.

"Though there are, who having remained some time, and been concerned in those parts, affirm the soil of New England to be nothing so fruitful as it is believed and commonly delivered to be yet we think it not improper to give a brief account of the trees and other plants; also the beasts, birds, fishes and other com-

modities which most writers will have to be the production of this country, especially since we find them compactly summed up by an unknown writer in the language of the muses. The recital of the plants and trees which (excepting the cedar, sassafras, and dyer's sumach) are all of the same kind with those that grow in Europe, only differing in nature, according as the epithets of many of them declare, is as follows :

"Trees both in hills and plains in plenty be ;  
 The long-lived oak, and mournful cypress tree ;  
 Skie-towering pines, and chesnuds coated rough ;  
 The lasting cedar, with the walnut tough ;  
 The rozen-dropping fir for mast is use ;  
 The boat-men for oars light, neat grown sprowse ;  
 The brittle ash, the ever trembling asps ;  
 The broad-spread elm, whose concave harbors wasps ;  
 The water-sungy alder good for nought ;  
 Small elder by the *Indian* fletchers sought.  
 The knotty maple, pallid birch, hawthorns ;  
 The horn-bound tree, that to be cloven scorns ;  
 Which from the tender vine oft takes his spouse,  
 Who twines embracing arms about his boughs.  
 Within this *Indian* orchard fruits be some  
 The ruddy cherry and the jetty plum  
 Snake-murdering hazel, with sweet saxafrage  
 Whose leaves in beer allay hot feavers rage ;  
 The dyer's shumack, with more trees there be,  
 That are both good to use and rare to see."

The beasts peculiar to this country are the moose, the rackoon, and the musquash; the two first land-animals ; the last amphibious, which with others common to them with us, are thus versified by the above said author :

"The kingly Lyon, and the strong-armed Bear ;"  
 The large limbed Mooses, with the tripping Deer ;  
 Quill-darting Porcupines, that Rackoons be  
 Castled ith' hollow of an aged tree ;  
 The skipping Squirrel, Rabbet, pueblind Hare,  
 Immured in the self-same castle are,  
 Lest red-eyed Ferrets, wily Foxes should,  
 Them undermine if ramper'd but with mold ;  
 The grim-faced Ounce, and ravenous howling Wolf,  
 Whose meager paunch sucks like a swallowing gulph.  
 Black glittering Otters, and rich coated Beaver ;  
 The civet-scented Musquash smelling ever."

Of such as these as are altogether unknown to us take these brief descriptions. "The beast called a *Moose* is not much unlike Red Deer, and is as big as an Ox. slow of foot, headed like a

buck with a broad beam, some being two yards in the head, their flesh is as good as beef, their hides good for clothing; if these were kept tame and accustomed to the yoke, they would be a great commodity: First, because they are so fruitful, bringing forth three at a time being likewise very hiberous: Secondly, because they will live in winter without any fodder. There are not many of these in the Massachusetts Bay, but forty miles to the north east there are great store of them.

The *Rackoone* is a deep furred beast, not much unlike a *Badger*, having a tail like a Fox, as good meat as a Lamb. These beasts in the day time sleep in hollow trees, in a moonshine night they go to feed on clams at a low tide by the sea side, where the English hunt them with their dogs. The *Musquash* is much like a Beaver for shape, but nothing near so big: . . . . . and being killed in winter never lose their sweet smell: These skins are no bigger than a Coney-skin, yet are sold for five shillings apiece, being sent for tokens into England; one good skin will perfume a whole house full of clothes, if it be right and good. The birds both common and peculiar are thus recited:

“The princely Eagle, and the soaring Hawk,”  
 Whom in their unknown ways there's none can hawk:  
 The Humbird for some Queen's rich cage more fit,  
 Than in the vacant wilderness to sit.  
 The swift-winged Swallow sweeping to and fro,  
 As swift as arrow from *Tartarian* bowe.  
 When as *Aurora's* infant day new springs,  
 Where the morning mounting Lark her sweet lays sings:  
 The harmonious Thrush, swift Pigeon, Turtle-dove  
 Who to her mate doth ever constant prove.  
 Turkey, Pheasant, Heath-cock, Partridge rare,  
 The Carrion-tearing Crow, and hurtful stare;  
 The long-liv'd Raven, th' ominous Screech Owl  
 Who tells, as old Wives say, disasters foul.  
 The drowsie Madge, that leaves her day lov'd nest,  
 And loves to rove, when day-birds be at rest:  
 Th' Eel-murthering Hearn, and greedy Cormorant,  
 That near the Creeks, in moorish Marshes haunt.  
 The bellowing Bittern, with the long-leg'd Crane,  
 Presaging Winters hard, and Death of Grain.  
 The Silver Swan, that tunes her mournful breath,  
 To sing the Dirge of her approaching death.  
 The tattering Oldwives, and the cackling Geese,  
 The fearful Gull that shuns the murthering Peece.  
 The strong-wing'd Mallard, with the nimble Teal,  
 And ill-shape't Loon who his harsh Notes doth squeal.  
 There Widgins, Sheldrakes, and Humilitees,  
 Snites, Doppers, Sea-Larks, in whole million flees.”

Of these, the Humbird, Loon, and Humility, are not to be passed by without particular observation. The Humbird is one of the wonders of the country, being no bigger than a Hornet, yet hath all the dimensions of a Bird, as bill, and wings with quills, spider-like legs, small claws : for color, she is as glorious as the rainbow ; as she flies, she makes a little humming noise like the Humble-bee, wherefore she is called a Humbird. The Loon is an ill-shaped thing like a Cormorant, but that he can neither go nor fly ; he maketh a noise sometimes like Sowgelder's Horn. The Humilities or Simplicities, (as we may rather call them), are of two sorts, the biggest being as large as a green Plover, the other as big as birds we call Knots in England. Such is the simplicity of the smaller sorts of these birds, that one may drive them on a heap like so many sheep, and seeing a fit time shoot them ; the living seeing the dead, settle themselves on the same place again, amongst which the fowler discharges again : these birds are to be had upon sandy brakes, at the latter end of summer before the Geese come in. No less poetical a bill of fare is brought of the Fish on the sea-coasts and in the rivers of New England, in these subsequent verses :

"The King of Waters, the sea shouldering Whale,  
The snuffing Grampus, with the oily Seale,  
The storm presaging Porpus, Herring-Hog,  
Line-shearing Shark, the Catfish and Sea Dog,  
The scale-fenc'd Sturgeon, wry-mouth'd Hollibut,  
The flouncing Salmon, Codfish, Greedigut :  
Cole Haddock Hage, the Thornback and the Scate,  
Whose slimy outside makes him seld in date,  
The stately Bass, old Neptune's fleeting Post,  
That tides it out and in from sea to coast.  
Consorting Herrings, and the bonny Shad,  
Big-belly'd Alewives, Mackerels richly clad  
With rainbow colors, Frostfish and the Smelt,  
As good as ever Lady *Gustus* felt.  
The spotted Lamprous, Eels, the Lamperies,  
That seek fresh water Brooks with *Argus* eyes,  
These watery villagers, with thousands more,  
Do pass and repass near the verdant shore."

#### *Kinds of Shell Fish.*

"The luscious Lobster, with the Crabfish raw,  
The brinish Oyster, Muscle, Periwigge,  
And Tortoise sought for by the Indian squaw,  
Which to the flats dance many a winter's jigge,  
To dive for Cocles, and to dig for Clams,  
Whereby her lazy husband's guts she crams."

## INDIAN WARS.

THE following account of the principal events during the wars with the Indians in New England, previous to the year 1677, is copied almost entirely from "*A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England*," "by William Hubbard, A. M., minister of Ipswich." Mr. Hubbard's Narrative was published in 1677, under the supervision and approbation of an intelligent committee appointed for this purpose, by the governor and council of Massachusetts colony.

"There was a nation of the Indians in the southern parts of New England, called Pequods, seated on a fair navigable river, twelve miles to the eastward of the mouth of the great and famous river of Connecticut; who (as was commonly reported about the time when New England was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike people than the rest of the Indians, came down out of the more inland parts of the continent, and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the sea, and became a terror to all their neighbors, on whom they had exercised several acts of inhuman cruelty; insomuch that being flushed with victories over their fellow Indians, they began to thirst after the blood of any foreigners, English or Dutch, that accidentally came amongst them, in a way of trade, or upon other accounts.

In the year 1634, they treacherously and cruelly murdered Capt. Stone and Capt. Norton, who came occasionally, with a bark into the river to trade with them. Not long after, within the compass of the next year, they in like treacherous manner, slew one Mr. Oldham (formerly belonging to new Plymouth, but at that time an inhabitant of Massachusetts) at Block Island, a place not far from the mouth of their harbor, as he was fairly trading with them: besides some other such like acts of perfidious cruelty towards some of the Dutch, that had formerly been trading up Connecticut river."

*Murder of J. Oldham in 1636.* "John Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Conn., and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbor was forced by a sudden change of the wind to bear up for Block Island or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met with a Pinace, which they found to be J. Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the reality of

their pretended friendship after the murder of Captain Stone) they hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians (14 in all) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods, whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only two boys and two Narraganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather because they let slip, and set up sail (being two miles from the shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the Island whereby they drove toward the main land of Narraganset) therefore they went a head of them, and having nothing but two pieces, and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel ready armed with guns, swords and pikes; but John Gallop, a man of stout courage, let fly among them and so galled them, that they got all down under the hatches, and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her, which so affrightened the Indians, as six of them leaped overboard, and were drowned, yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft (being but inch board) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then stood off again: then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned; whereupon there being but four left in her, they boarded her; when an Indian came up and yielded; him they bound and put into the hole: then another yielded; him they also bound, but Gallop, being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them asunder, flung him bound into the sea; then looking about they found John Oldham under an old sail, stark naked, having his lead cleft to the brains; his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off; yet warm: so they put him into the sea: but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians (who were in a little room underneath with their swords) so they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away, but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried her to the Narraganset shore, where they left her."

*War with the Pequots.* "The English of Mass. after the peace concluded with the Pequods, sent a bark thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendship, but they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said Indians perceiving,

made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief, not only by harboring those who had murdered Mr. J. Oldham, but surprising many of the English in the year 1636, when Connecticut river began first to be planted, divers of whom were killed (nine at one time in April, 1637) by them about Wethersfield; when the plantation there first began, so as they could not pass up and down the river without a guard, but they would be in danger of being cut off or carried away, as two maids were said to be; thirty men have been killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured, after a most barbarous manner, by insulting over their prisoners in a blasphemous wise, when in their dying agonies under the extremity of their pains (their flesh being first slashed with knives, and then filled with burning embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping groans, resigning up their souls into their hands; with which words these wretched caitifs used to mock the English afterward, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the same time some agents sent over by the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, built a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, wherein was placed one lieutenant Gardiner, and a convenient number of soldiers to secure the place, intended soon after to be planted, but all the winter following, being the end of the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said savages, not daring to stir out of command of the fort, but they were ready to be seized by these barbarous enemies. At one time the lieutenant himself with ten or twelve of the soldiers, marching out of the fort, with intent to pass over a neck of land, to burn the marshes; as soon as they had passed over the straight of the neck, they espied a company of Indians making towards the said isthmus, which if they could not recover, they see they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all speed, they were narrowly escaped, and were two or three of them killed notwithstanding, before they could get back into the fort, which was presently surrounded with multitudes of them; but the discharging of a piece of ordinance gave them warning to keep further from the walls. Sometimes they came with their canoes into the river in view of the soldiers within the fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of reach of their guns, they would imitate the dying groans and invocations of the poor captive English soldiers were forced with silent patience to bear, not being then in a capacity to require their insolent blasphemies. But they being by these horrible outrages justly provoked to indignation, unanimously agreed to join their forces together, to root them out of the earth, with God's assistance.

The governor and council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about

doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed that it should be done with all expedition; and accordingly on the 25th of August following, 80 or 90 men were sent out under the command of Capt. Endicot of Salem, who went to the Pequod country by water, with commission to treat with the said Pequods, first offering terms of peace, if they would surrender the murderers of the English, and forbear further acts of hostility, or else fight them.

The captain aforesaid coming ashore with his company, by a message sent them by an interpreter, obtained little speech with a great number of them at a distance; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the woods and swamps, where there was no pursuing of them: however, one discharging a gun among them as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them at that time.

Winter approaching, and no encouragement presenting further to pursue them at that time, it was resolved better to return back for the present, and wait a further season, when more forces could be gathered together to pursue the quarrel to the utmost.

Miantonimo soon after sent a message to them with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him (as they had before sent to him for that end) and that the other had stolen away (not knowing it seems that he was their prisoner) and that according to their promise they would not entertain any of that Island, which should come to them; but they conceived it was rather in love to him, whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly, but when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came: but the Pequods harbored those of Block Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers that were sent under Capt. Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook fort, and were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods. After the said captain and the rest were departed, those twenty lay wind bound in the Pequod harbor, and in the mean while went all of them ashore, with sacks to fetch some of the Pequods' corn; and having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves the Indians set upon them, so they laid down their corn, and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them; the place was open about the distance of a musket shot; the Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth at a time and discharged their arrows. The English put themselves in a single file, and ten only that had pieces that could reach them shot, the others



stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon; the English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others; and the Indians wounded but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without; for they shot their arrows compass-wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single, then always gathered up their arrows. At the last the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat. This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side. The grass was so high as some Pequods hiding themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back, the rest fled to their boat, one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered. He that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield; whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's meadow.

*Icarus Icaris nomina dedit aquis.*

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house which they had set up in a corn-field, about two miles from the fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the lieutenant had strictly forbidden, two had pieces, and the third only a sword, when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert and set upon them, he who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house which was not above a bow shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow, but they stayed still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces. Soon after they beat down the said house, and out-houses, and hay-stacks, and within a bow shot of the fort, killed a cow, and shot divers others, which came home with arrows sticking in them."

*Destruction of the Pequots.* "The report of the unheard of cruelties forementioned, which had been perpetrated by the Pequots filling the ears of the English throughout the country; it was agreed by the joint consent of the English throughout the three colonies to unite all their forces together for the suppressing the common enemy, early in the spring, A. D. 1637, who were also moved thereunto by their own necessities as well as by the earnest request of their friends at Connecticut."

"The colony of Massachusetts determined to send an hundred and sixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordered under the conduct of Capt. Patrick of Watertown, and Capt. Trask of Salem, Capt. Stoughton of Dorchester being to command in chief; with whom was sent that holy man of God, Mr. John Wilson, (pastor of the church of Boston) the chariots and

horsemen of our Israel, by whose faith and prayer, as sometimes was said of Luther, (in reference to Germany) the country was preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no enemy should break in upon a place whilst he survived, which as some have observed accordingly came to pass.

The matter requiring great expedition, and it being long before the whole company could be dispatched away, Capt. Patrick with forty men were sent beforehand, to be sure to meet with those of Connecticut in case they should be in action, before the rest of our forces could get into a readiness, which accordingly came to pass; for the main business in taking the fort was over, even before the said Patrick could get thither. Capt. Underhill was sent by Mr. Vane the governor to Saybrook the winter before to strengthen the garrison there. The assaulting and surprising of this Indian fort being the most remarkable piece of service in that whole expedition; take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful and prudent commander, Capt. Mason, chief in the action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labor, and enjoy the benefit of that day's service, having an inheritance given him in that part of the country, as a just reward of his faithful service on that day as well as at other times. Wequash, a Pequod by nation, but disgusted by the Sachem, proved a good guide to the English, by whose direction they were led to a fort near Mystic river, some miles nearer than Sassacous' fort, which they first intended to assault.

On the second Wednesday of May, being the 10th day of that month, we set sail with ninety men of the English in one Pink, one Pinnace, and two boats, towards the Pequods, with seventy river Indians; having somewhat a long passage to Saybrook fort, about forty of our Indians desired to go down by land on Saturday, but on Monday they went forth from the fort, and meeting seven Pequods and Nianticks they slew five outright, took one prisoner, and brought him into Saybrook fort, where he was executed by Capt. Underhill, the other escaped.

On Monday we all landed at Saybrook fort, and stayed there until Tuesday; Capt. Underhill joining nineteen men with himself to us. Whereupon we sent back twenty of ours to strengthen our plantations; and so set sail on Thursday towards Narraganset, and arrived there on Friday.

On Saturday myself, with Capt. Underhill, and Lieut. Sealy, with our guard marched to Canonicus by land, being about five miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner. Having had party with him, we sent to Miantonimo, who would give no present answer; and so our Sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until Monday, at which time there assembled Miantonimo with the chiefest of them about two

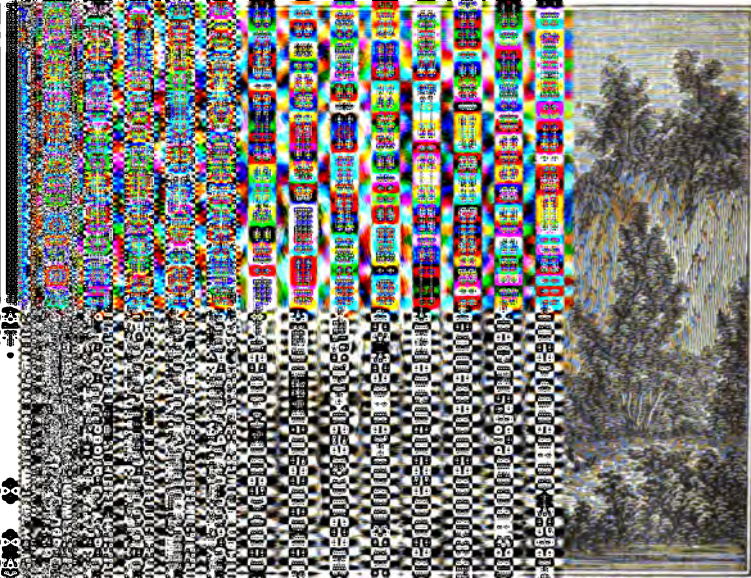
hundred men; and being solemnly set for consultation after their manner, told them we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the wrong committed and bloodshed by their and our enemies, upon our native countrymen, not any away desiring their aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of. Moreover we told them that the English and they had always been friends for ought we knew, and so were we with the Indians that had not wronged Englishmen, which they acknowledged, and so made a large description of the Pequod's country, and told us they would send men with us; so we resolved there to keep our rendezvous at Canonicus his plantation on the morrow night being Tuesday; but the wind being stiff, we could not land our men until five or six of the clock in the afternoon, at which time I landed on Narraganset shore with thirty two men, and so marched to the place of rendezvous formerly appointed. Capt. Underhill and my lieutenant landed the rest, and came up to me that night. About two hours before day, came an Indian with a letter from Capt. Patrick, being then at Robert Williams's plantation with forty men, who desired us to stay for his coming and joining us, not intimating when that would be; which being considered and debated, we thought it could not be our safest course to wait for him, (though his present assistance was much desired) for these reasons.

Because the day before when we had absolutely resolved to go, the Indians plainly told us they thought we were but in jest, and also that Englishmen did talk much, but not fight; nay, they concluded that they would not go on; and besides if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by reason of the frequent intercourse between them by certain Squaws (who have mutual intercourse) whereupon we were constrained to set forward towards the Pequods, with seventy seven English."

"On the Thursday, about eight of the clock in the morning, we marched thence towards *Pequot*, with about five hundred Indians; but through the heat of the weather, and want of provisions, some of our men fainted, and after having marched about twelve miles we came to *Pawcatuck* river, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually fish; there making an *Alta*, we stayed some small time; the Narragansett Indians manifesting great fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us saying, *that we durst not look upon a Pequot*, but themselves would perform great things; though we had often told them that we came on purpose, and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of Onkoe, (Uncas) what he thought the Indians would do! who said the Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for *himself*, he would never leave us: and so it proved; for which expression, and some other speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great friend, and did great service.

And after we had refreshed ourselves with our mean commons, we marched about three miles, and came to a field which had lately been planted with Indian corn: there we made another *Alt*, and called our council, supposing we drew near to the enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the enemy had two forts almost impregnable; but we were not at all discouraged, but rather animated, in so much that we were

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on our march about two miles, wondering that we came not to the fort, and fearing we might be deluded ; but seeing corn newly planted at the foot of a great hill, supposing the fort was not far off, a champion country being round about us ; then making a stand, gave the word for some of the Indians to come up ; at length *Ontos* and one *Wequash* appeared. We demanded of them, Where was the fort ? They answered on the top of that hill. Then we demanded, Where were the rest of the Indians ? They answered behind, exceedingly afraid. We wished them to tell the rest of their fellows, that they should by no means fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether *Englishmen* would now fight or not. Then Captain Underhill came up, who marched in the rear ; and commending ourselves to God, we divided our men, there being two entrances into the fort, intending to enter both at once—Captain Mason leading up to that on the north east side, who approached within one rod, heard a dog bark, and an Indian crying *Owanux ! Owanux !* which is *Englishmen ! Englishmen !* We called up our forces with all expedition, gave fire upon them through the palizado, the Indians being in a dead, indeed their last sleep. Then we wheeling off, fell upon the main entrance, which was blocked up with bushes about breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavored to enter ; but being somewhat cumbered, stepped back and pulled out the bushes and so entered, and with him about sixteen men. We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the sword and save the plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entered a wigwam ; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay hands on him, but could not prevail. At length *William Haydon*, espying the breach in the wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entered ; but in his entrance fell over a dead Indian ; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their beds. The Captain going out of the wigwam, saw many Indians in the lane or street ; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the end of the lane, where they were met by *Edward Pattison*, *Thomas Barber*, with some others ; where seven of them were slain as they said. The Captain facing about, marched a slow pace up the lane ; he came down, perceiving himself very much out of breath, and coming to the other end, near the place where he first entered, saw two soldiers standing close to the palisado, with their swords pointed to the ground ; the Captain told them that we should never kill them after this manner. The Captain also said, *We must burn them* ; and immediately stepping into the wigwam, where he had been before, brought out a fire-brand, and putting it into the mats with which they were covered, set the wigwams on fire. Lieutenant *Thomas Bull* and *Nicholas Omsted* beholding, came up ; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as men most dreadfully amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful terror did the Almighty let fall upon their spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very flames, where many of them perished. And when the fort was thoroughly

fired, command was given that all should fall off and surround the fort ; which was readily attended by all, only one, *Arthur Smith*, being so wounded that he could not move out of the place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued. The fire was kindled on the north east side to the windward ; which did swiftly overrun the fort, to the extreme amazement of the enemy, and great rejoicing of ourselves. Some of them climbing to the top of the palizado : others of them running into the very flames ; many of them gathering to the windward, lay pelting at us with their arrows ; and we repaid them with our small shot ; others of the stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the number of forty, who perished by the sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own knowledge, there being sufficient living testimony to every particular. But in reference to Capt. Underhill and his party's acting in this assault, I can only intimate as we are informed by some of themselves immediately after the fight, that they marched up to the entrance on the south west side ; there they made some pause ; a valiant, resolute gentleman, one Mr. *Hedge*, stepping towards the gate, saying, 'If we may not enter, wherefore came we here ?' and immediately endeavored to enter ; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian, which did impede his entrance ; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. *Hedge* entered the fort with some others ; but the fort being on fire, the smoke and flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the fort. Thus were they now at their wit's end, who not many hours before exalted themselves in their great pride, threatening and resolving the utter ruin and destruction of all the English, exulting and rejoicing with songs and dances : but God was above them, who laughed his enemies and the enemies of his people to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus were the stout hearted spoiled, having slept their last sleep, and none of their men could find their hands. Thus did the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies ! And here we may see the just judgment of God, in sending even the very night before the assault one hundred and fifty men from the other fort, to join with them of that place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very instant when this heavy stroke came upon them, where they perished with their fellows. So that the mischief they intended to us, came upon their own pate. They were taken in their own snare, and we through mercy escaped. And thus in *little more than one hour's space*, was their impregnable fort with themselves utterly destroyed, to the number of six or seven hundred as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped. Of the English there were two slain outright, and about twenty wounded ; some fainted by reason of the sharpness of the weather, it being a cool morning, and the want of such comforts and necessaries as are needful in such a case ; especially our *Chirurgion* was much wanting, whom we left with our barks in Narragansett Bay, who had orders to remain until the night before our intended assault. And thereupon grew many difficulties ; our provision and munition near spent ; we in

the enemy's country, who did far exceed us in number, being much enraged, all our Indians except *Onkos* deserting us ; our pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain. But as we were consulting what course to take, it pleased God to discover our vessels to us before a fair gale of wind, sailing into Pequot Harbor, to our great rejoicing.

We had no sooner discovered our vessels, but immediately came up the enemy from the *other fort*—three hundred or more as we conceived. The Captain led out a file or two of men to skirmish with them, chiefly to try what temper they were of, who put them to a stand ; we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to march towards our vessels. Four or five of our men were so wounded that they must be carried with the arms of twenty more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one man, with the arms of the rest that were wounded to others ; so that we had but forty men free. At length we hired several Indians, who eased us of that burthen, in carrying off our wounded men. And marching about one quarter of a mile, the enemy coming up to the place where the fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the hair from their heads ; and after a little space, came mounting down the hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would overrun us : but when they came within shot, the rear faced about, giving fire upon them : some of them being shot, made the rest more wary ; yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their arrows at random. There was at the foot of the hill a small brook, where we rested and refreshed ourselves, having by that time taught them a little more manners than to disturb us. We then marched on towards Pequot Harbor, and falling upon several wigwams burnt them, the enemy still following us in the rear, which was to the windward, though to little purpose ; yet some of them lay in ambush, behind rocks and trees, often shooting at us, yet through mercy touched not one of us ; and as we came to any swamp or thicket, we made some shot to clear the passage. Some of them fell with our shot, and probably more might, but for want of munition ; but when any of them fell, our Indians would give a great shout, and then they would take so much courage as to fetch their heads. And thus we continued until we came within two miles of Pequot Harbor ; where the enemy gathered together and left us, we marching to the top of an hill adjoining the harbor, with our colors flying, having left our drum at the place of our rendezvous the night before ; we seeing our vessels there riding at anchor, to our great rejoicing, and came to the water side ; we sat down in quiet.”—*Capt. Mason's Hist. Pequot War.*

“ This service being thus happily accomplished by these few hands that came from Connecticut ; within a while after, the forces sent from the Massachusetts under the conduct of Capt. Stoughton as commander-in-chief, arrived there also, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the surprisal of the Pequods' fort as aforesaid, which was yet but the breaking of the nest, and unkennelling those savage wolves : for the body of them, with

Sassacous the chief Sachem (whose very name was a terror to all the Narragansets) were dispersed abroad and scattered all over their country, yet so far were the rest dismayed, that they never durst make any assault upon the English, who in several parties were scattered about in pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. Stoughton's soldiers came up before news was brought of a great number of the enemy, that were discovered by the side of a river up the country, being first trapaned by the Narragansets, under pretence of securing them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not stir from the place, by which means our forces of the Massachusetts had an easy conquest of some hundreds of them, who were there cooped up as in a pound; not daring to fight, nor able to fly away, and so were all taken without any opposition. The men among them to the number of 30, were turned presently into Charon's ferryboat, under the command of skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbor; the females and children were disposed of according to the will of the conquerors, some being given to the Narragansets, and other Indians that assisted in the service.

The rest of the enemy being first fired out of their strong hold, were taken and destroyed, a great number of them being seized in the places where they intended to have hid themselves, the rest fled out of their own country over Connecticut river, up towards the Dutch plantation. Our soldiers being resolved by God's assistance to make a final destruction of them, were minded to pursue them which way soever they should think to make their escape, to which end in the next place our soldiers went by water towards New Haven, whither they heard, and which in reason was most likely, they bent their course: soon after they were informed of a great number of them, that had betaken themselves to a neighboring place not far off, whither they might hope it was not likely they should be pursued; but upon search they found fifty or sixty wigwams, but without an Indian in any of them, but heard that they had passed along towards the Dutch plantation: whereupon our soldiers that were before, all embarked for Quillepiack, afterwards called New Haven, and being landed there, they had not far to march unto the place where it was most probable they should either find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here and there with sundry of them, whom they all slew or took prisoners, amongst whom were two Sachems, whom they presently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachem or near akin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he should go and enquire where Sassacous was, and accordingly bring them word: this Indian, overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in consideration of his life that was received on that con-



dition, proved very true and faithful to those that sent him, his order was to have returned in three days, but not being able within so short a time to make a full discovery of the business, and also find a handsome way to escape, he made it eight days before he returned, in which something fell out not a little remarkable; for those he was sent to discover, suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself, that he came for a spy, pursued after him, so he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the sea side he accidentally met with a canoe a little before turned adrift, by which means he paddled by some shift or other so far out of the harbor, that making a sign he was discerned by some on board one of the vessels that attended on our soldiers, by whom being taken up he made known what he had discovered. But after he was gone, Sassacous suspecting (and not without just cause) what the matter was, made his escape from the rest with 20 or 30 of his men to the Mohawks, by whom himself and they that were with him, weré all murdered afterward, being hired thereunto by the Narragansets, as was confidently affirmed and believed.\*

The rest of the Pequods from whom Sassacous had made an escape, shifted every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them (when a party of our soldiers according to the direction of him that was sent as a spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their company were fled; but our soldiers ranging up and down as Providence guided them, at the last, July 13, 1637, they lighted upon a great number of them, they pursued them to a small Indian town seated by the side of an hideous swamp (in Fairfield) into which they all slipt, as well Pequods as natives of the place, before our men could make any shot upon them, having placed a sentinel to give warning, Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason with half a score of their men happened to discover this crew. Capt. Patrick and Capt. Trask with about an hundred of the Massachusetts forces came in upon them presently after the alarm was given; such commanders as first happened to be there gave special orders that the swamp should be surrounded (being about a mile in compass) but Lieut. Davenport belonging to Captain Trask's company, not hearing the word of command, with a dozen more of his company, in an over eager pursuit of the enemy, rushed immediately into the swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those evening wolves that newly kenneled therein, for Lieut. Davenport was sorely wounded in the body, John Wedwood of Ipswich in the belly, and laid hold on by some of the Indians; Thomas Sherman of said Ipswich in the neck; some of their neighbors that ventured in with them were in danger of the enemy's arrows that flew very thick

\* Sassacous's scalp was sent down to the English.—*Hubbard's Mass. Hist*

about them, others were in as much hazard of being swallowed by the miry boggs of the swamp, wherein they stuck so fast, that if Sargeant Riggs, of Roxbury, had not rescued two or three of them, they had fallen into the hands of the enemy ; but such was the strength and courage of those that came to their rescue, that some of the Indians being slain with their swords, their friends were quickly relieved and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the Indians of the place, who had for company sake run with their guests the Pequods into the swamp, did not love their friendship so well as to be killed with them also for company sake, wherefore they began to bethink themselves that they had done no wrong to the English, and desired a parly, which was granted, and they presently understood one another by the means of Thomas Stanton, an exact interpreter then at hand. Upon which the Sachem of the place with several others and their wives and children, that liked better to live quietly in their wigwams than to be buried in the swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them. After some time of further parley with these, the interpreter was sent in to offer the like terms to the rest, but they were possessed with such a spirit of stupidity and sullenness that they resolved rather to sell their lives for what they could get there ; and to that end began to let fly their arrows thick against him as intending to make his blood some part of the price of their own ; but through the goodness of God toward him, his life was not to be sold on that account, he being presently fetched off

By this time night drawing on, our commanders perceiving on which side of the swamp the enemies were lodged, gave orders to cut through the swamp with their swords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all night, the English in the circumference plying them with shot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to so narrow a compass, that our soldiers standing at twelve feet distance could surround it, the enemy kept in all the night ; but a little before day break (by reason of the fog that useth to arise about that time, observed to be the darkest time of the night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the enemy broke through the besiegers, and escaped away into the woods, some by violence and some by stealth cropping away, some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the pursuit ; the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp like sullen dogs, that would rather in their self-willedness and madness sit still to be shot or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for asking at the hand of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the

morning entering into the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their piece, laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them ; so as besides those that were found dead (near twenty it was judged) many more were killed and sunk into the mire and never were minded more by friend or foe ; of those who were not so desperate or sullen as to sell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male children were sent to the Bermudas, of the females some were distributed to the English towns, some were disposed of among the other Indians, to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to ourselves."

*War between Uncas and Miantonimoh.*—After the conquest of the Pequots, the Narragansetts, the most numerous of the other Indians, either out of discontent that the whole sovereignty of the rest of the Indians was not adjudged to them, or out of envy that Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans, had insinuated himself farther into the favor of the English than themselves, began a series of hostile acts which ended in war. The following traditionary account is from Dr. Trumbull's History of Connecticut.

"Miantonimoh, without consulting the English, according to agreement, without proclaiming war, or giving Uncas the least information, raised an army of nine hundred or a thousand men, and marched against him. Uncas's spies discovered the army at some distance and gave him intelligence. He was unprepared, but rallying between four and five hundred of his bravest men, he told them they must by no means suffer Miantonimoh to come into their town ; but must go and fight him on his way. Having marched three or four miles, the armies met upon a large plain. When they had advanced within fair bow shot of each other, Uncas had recourse to a stratagem, with which he had previously acquainted his warriors. He desired a parley, and both armies halted in the face of each other. Uncas, gallantly advancing in the front of his men, addressed Miantonimoh to this effect, 'You have a number of stout men with you, and so have I with me. It is a great pity that such brave warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between us only. Come like a man, as you profess to be, and let us fight it out. If you kill me, my men shall be yours ; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine.' Miantonimoh replied, 'My men came to fight, and they shall fight.' Uncas falling instantly upon the ground, his men discharged a shower of arrows upon the Narragansetts ; and, without a moment's interval, rushing upon them in a furious manner, with their hideous Indian yell, put them immediately to flight. The Mohegans pursued the enemy with the same fury and eagerness with which they commenced the action. The Narragansetts were driven down rocks and precipices, and chased like a doe by the huntsman. Among others Miantonimoh was exceedingly pressed. Some of Uncas's bravest men, who were most light of foot,

coming up with him, twitched him back, impeding his flight, and passed him, that Uncas might take him. Uncas was a stout man, and rushing forward like a lion greedy of his prey, seized him by his shoulder. He knew Uncas, and saw that he was now in the power of the man whom he had hated, and by all means attempted to destroy; but he sat down sullen and spake not a word. Uncas gave the Indian whoop, and called up his men, who were behind, to his assistance. The victory was complete. About thirty of the Narragansetts were slain, and a much greater number wounded. Among the latter was a brother of Miantonimoh and two sons of Canonicus, a chief sachem of the Narragansett Indians. The brother of Miantonimoh was not only wounded, but armed with a coat of mail, both of which retarded his flight. Two of Miantonimoh's captains, who formerly were Uncas's men, but had treacherously deserted him, discovering his situation, took him and carried him to Uncas, expecting in this way to reconcile themselves to their sachem. But Uncas and his men slew them. Miantonimoh made no request either for himself or his men; but continued in the same sullen, speechless mood. Uncas therefore demanded of him why he would not speak. Said he, 'Had you taken me, I should have besought you for my life.' Uncas for the present, spared his life, though he would not ask it, and returned with great triumph to Moheagan, carrying the Narragansett sachem as an illustrious trophy of his victory.

Uncas conducted Miantonimoh to Hartford. Here his mouth was opened, and he plead most earnestly to be left in the custody of the English, probably expecting better treatment from them than from Uncas. He was accordingly kept under guard at Hartford, till the meeting of the commissioners at Boston. After an examination of the case, the commissioners resolved, 'that as it was evident that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimoh lived; but that either by secret treachery or open force, his life would be continually in danger, he might justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enemy to death.' They determined it should be done out of the English jurisdiction. They advised Uncas that no torture or cruelty, but 'all mercy and moderation be exercised in the manner of his execution.'

Immediately upon the return of the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven, Uncas, with a competent number of his most trusty men, was ordered to repair forthwith to Hartford. He was made acquainted with the determination of the commissioners, and receiving his prisoner, marched with him to the spot where he had been taken. At the instant they arrived on the ground, one of Uncas's men, who marched behind Miantonimoh, split his head with a hatchet, killing him at a single stroke. He was probably unacquainted with his fate, and knew not by what means he fell. Uncas cut out a large piece of his shoulder and ate it in savage triumph. He said, 'It was the sweetest meat he ever eat, it made his heart strong.'

The Mohegans, by the order of Uncas, buried him at the place of his execution, and erected a great heap or pillar upon his grave. This memorable event gave the place the name of Sachem's Plain.

## PHILIP'S WAR.

*Murder of Sassaman, and beginning of the war.*—After the death of Miantonimoh, the Narragansetts never appeared to be on friendly terms with the English; and probably by their influence, most of the Indian tribes were brought into hostility against them. Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags, the second son of Massasoit, was the most formidable Indian enemy of the English in New England. He succeeded his brother Alexander as sachem, about the year 1662; and being jealous of the growing power of the English, sided with the Narragansetts. In 1671, the English suspecting that he was plotting their destruction, sent for him to make known his causes for so doing. Philip at first denied his plotting against the English, but the proofs appearing so strong, he was so confounded, that he made a confession. He moreover with four of his counsellors, signed a submission, and an engagement of friendship, which also stipulated that he should give up all his arms among his people, into the hands of the governor of Plymouth, to be kept as long as the government should "see reason."

"Yet did this treacherous and perfidious caitiff still harbour the same or more mischievous thoughts against the English than ever before, and hath been since that time plotting with all the Indians round about, to make a general insurrection against the English in all the colonies which, as some prisoners lately brought in have confessed, should have been put in execution at once, by all the Indians rising as one man, against all those plantations of English, which were next to them. The Narragansetts having promised, as was confessed, to rise with four thousand fighting men in the spring of this present year, 1676. But by the occasion hereafter to be mentioned about Sausaman, Philip was necessitated for the safety of his own life to begin his rebellion the year before, when the design was not fully ripe. Yet some are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the murder of the aforesaid Sausaman, his heart might have failed him; when it should have come to be put in execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of his Captains, of far better courage and resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, fling down his arms calling him a white-livered cur, or to that purpose, and saying that he would never own him again, or fight under him; and from that time hath turned to the English, and hath continued to this day a faithful and resolute soldier in their quarrels.

That the Indians had a conspiracy amongst themselves to rise



of Church's history  
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against the English, is confirmed by some of the Indians about Hadley, although the plot was not come to maturity when Philip began, the special providence of God therein overruling the contrivers: For when the beginning of the troubles first was reported from Mount Hope, many of the Indians were in a kind of amaze, not knowing well what to do, sometimes ready to stand for the English, as formerly they had been wont to do; sometimes inclining to strike in with Philip, (which at the last they generally did) which if it had been foreseen, much of that mischief might have been prevented that fell out in several places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing than any other ways; the English never imagining that after so many obliging kindnesses received from them by the Indians, besides their many engagements and protestations of friendship as formerly, they would have been so ungrateful, perfidiously false and cruel, as they have since proved.

The occasion of Philip's so sudden taking up arms the last year was this—there was one John Sausaman, a very cunning and plausible Indian well skilled in the English language, and bred up in a profession of the Christian religion, employed as a schoolmaster at Natick, the Indian town, who upon some misdemeanour fled from his place to Philip, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a Secretary, and his chief counsellor, whom he trusted with all his affairs and secret counsels: But afterwards, whether upon the sting of his own conscience, or by the frequent solicitations of Mr. Eliot, that had known him from a child and instructed him in the principles of our religion, who was often laying before him the heinous sin of his apostacy, and returning back to his old vomit, he was at last prevailed with to forsake Philip, and returned back to the christian Indians at Natick, where he was baptized, manifesting public repentance for all his former offences, and made a serious profession of the christian religion: and did apply himself to preach to the Indians, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian nation, so as he was observed to conform more to the English manner than any other Indian; yet having occasion to go up with some others of his countrymen to Namasket; (now Middleborough) whether the advantage of fishing, or some such occasion, it matters not; being there not far from Philip's country, he had the occasion to be much in the company of Philip's Indians, and Philip himself; by which means he discerned by several circumstances, that the Indians were plotting anew against us; which out of faithfulness to the English, the said Sausaman informed the Governor of, adding also, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would presently kill him. There appearing so many concurrent testimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information, some enquiry was made into the business, by examining Philip himself, and several of his Indians, who although they would own nothing, yet could not free themselves from just suspicion. Philip therefore soon after contrived the said Sausaman's death, which was strangely discovered, notwithstanding it was so cunningly effected, for they that



murdered him met him upon the ice on a great pond, and presently after they had knocked him down, put him under the ice, yet leaving his gun and hat upon the ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the ice and was drowned : but being missed by his friends, who finding his hat and gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the ice.—When they took him up to bury him, some of his friends, particularly one David, observed some bruises about his head, which made them suspect that he was first knocked down before he was put into the water, however they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further enquiry at present : Nevertheless David his friend, reported these things to some English at Taunton (a town not far from Namasket) which occasioned the Governor to enquire further into the business, wisely considering that as Sausaman had told him that if it were known that he revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains : wherefore, by special warrant the body of Sausaman being digged again out of his grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed and not drowned. And by a strange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident standing unseen upon a hill, had seen them murdering the said Sausaman, but durst never reveal it for fear of losing his own life likewise, until he was called to the court at Plymouth, or before the Governor where he plainly confessed what he had seen. The murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable testimony, and other remarkable circumstances, and so were all put to death, being three in number ; the last of them confessed immediately before his death, that his father (one of the Counsellors and special friends of Philip) was one of the two that murdered Sausaman, himself only looking on. This was done at Plymouth Court, held in June, 1675, insomuch that Philip, apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never used any further means to clear himself from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting against the English, nor yet about Sausaman's death ; but by keeping his men continually about him in arms, and gathering what strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down constantly in arms, both all the while the Court sat, as well as afterwards. The English of Plymouth, hearing of all this, yet took no further notice than only to order a military watch in all the adjacent towns, hoping that Philip, finding himself not likely to be arraigned by order of the said Court, the present cloud might blow over as some others of like nature had done before : but in conclusion, the matter proved otherwise ; for Philip finding his strength daily increasing by flocking of neighbour Indians unto him, and sending over their wives and children to the Narragansetts for security (as they use to do when they intend war with any of their enemies) they immediately began to alarm the English at Swanzy (the next town to Philip's country) as it were daring the English to begin ; at last their insolencies grew to such a height, that they began not only to use threatening words to the English, but also to kill their cattle and rifle their houses ; whereat an Englishman was so provoked, that he let

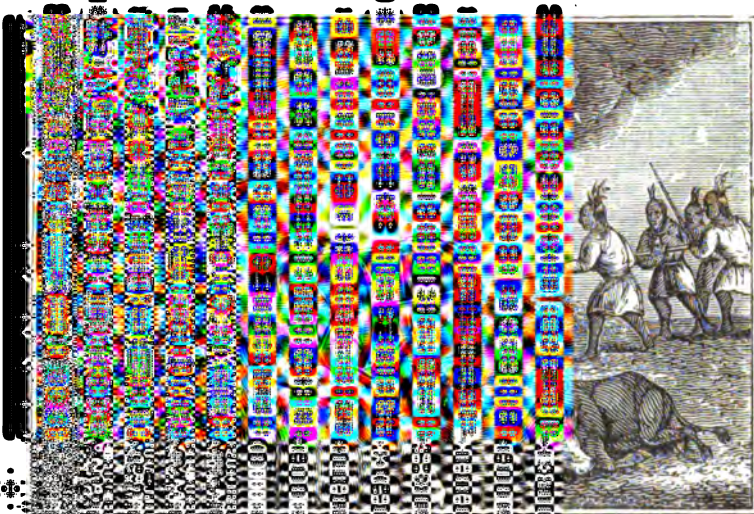
fly a gun at an Indian, but did only wound, not kill him ; whereupon the Indians immediately began to kill all the English they could, so as on the 24th of June, 1675, was the alarm of war first sounded in Plymouth colony, when eight or nine of the English were slain in and about Swanzey ; they first making a shot at a company of English as they returned from the assembly where they were met in a way of humiliation on that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others, and then likewise at the same time they slew two men on the highway, sent to call a surgeon ; and the same day barbarously murdered six men in and about a dwelling-house in another part of the town ; all which outrages were committed so suddenly, that the English had no time to make any resistance."

*Attack on Brookfield.*—"The Governor and Council of Massachusetts were sensible of as much danger from the Nipnet Indians, as from the former ; they being the inland part of the country betwixt the sea-coast and Connecticut river westward, and the towns about the Massachusetts Bay eastward, whereupon some persons that used to trade with the said Nipnets, were sent to sound them, and find how they stood affected, for which also there was the more reason, because they were always in subjection to the sachem of Mount Hope, and so were the more like to engage in the present quarrel ; of which there had been sufficient proof already ; when on the 14th of July, some of the Nipnet Indians next bordering on Philip's country set upon some of the Mendham,\* where they killed four or five persons, which was the first mischief done upon any of the inhabitants within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, acted as was said by one Matoonas, who was father to him that had committed a murder soon after Philip's first rebellion, Anno 1671. The messenger that was sent thither, brought word back that they found the said Indians wavering : the young men very surly and insolent, the elder ones shewing some inclination to maintain the wonted peace. Soon after, July 28, 1675, Capt. Wheeler was sent to assist Capt. Hutchinson with a party of 20 horse to treat further about the peace, who going first to Quabaog, or Brookfield, (a town situate about 60 or 70 miles from Boston, in the road of Connecticut, lying about 25 miles from the said river, and not far distant from the chief seat of the Nipnet Indians), the inhabitants of the said Brookfield had been so deluded by those treacherous villains, that fearing no danger, they obtain of those Nipnets the promise of a treaty upon the 2d of August ; whereupon some of the chief of the town rode along unarmed with the said Wheeler and Hutchinson, with their party of horse, until they came to the place appointed ; but finding no Indians, so secure were they, that they ventured along further, to find

\* Mendon, a town situate northward from Mount Hope, within 36 miles of Boston

the infidels at their chief town, never suspecting the least danger, but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an ambush, of two or three hundred Indians, laid in such a narrow passage, betwixt a steep hill on the one hand, and a hideous swamp on the other, that it was scarce possible for any of them to escape, eight of them being shot down upon the place (whereof three were of Brookfield) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. Hutchinson was one; Capt. Wheeler was also near losing his life, whose horse was shot down under him and himself shot through the body, so that all manner of hopes to escape had been removed from him, had it not been for his son, who was (by God's good providence) near or next unto him, this son being a man of undaunted courage, (notwithstanding his own arm was broken with a bullet), with great nimbleness and agility of body dismounted himself, and speedily mounted his father upon his own horse, himself getting upon another, whose master was killed, by which means they both escaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had those that were left alive to recover Brookfield, which in all probability they never had done (the common road being waylaid with Indians on every side as was afterwards known) had it not been for one well acquainted with those woods, who led them in a by-path, by which means they got thither a little before the Indians, who quickly came flocking into the town, with full intent to destroy it with fire and sword. But by special providence the inhabitants were all gathered to the principal house of the village (there being scarce 20 in the town) before the barbarous miscreants came upon them, immediately setting fire upon all the dwelling-houses with most of the other buildings in the town, save that one into which the inhabitants were retired, which they several times attempted to burn, but were almost miraculously defeated of their purpose by the immediate hand of God. In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen. For when they had for two days assaulted that poor handful of helpless people, both night and day pouring in shot upon them incessantly with guns and also thrusting poles with fire brands, and rags dipt in brimstone, tied to the ends of them to fire the house; at last they used this devilish stratagem to fill a cart with hemp, flax and other combustible matter, and so thrusting it backward with poles spliced together a great length, after they had kindled it; but as soon as it had begun to take fire, a storm of rain unexpectedly falling, put out the fire, or else all the poor people, about 70 souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey."

"The next night Major Willard, by accident, hearing of the danger the people were in, came with forty-eight dragoons to their re-



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the house, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or made such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their centinels when they shot off their guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the Indians let the Major and his company purposely pass by them, without any opposition, waiting for the blow to be given at their first approach near the house, purposing themselves to have fallen upon their rear, and so to have cut them all off, before the besieged understood any thing thereof. But it pleased God so to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the besiegers, nor were they at all discerned by them, till they had made themselves known to their friends, and were admitted within the court of guard; when the enemy had notice thereof, they poured in their shot abundantly upon them; but they were now sheltered from the danger thereof; only it seems their horses were exposed to their fury, as many of them were maimed and killed, as were most of the cattle belonging to the inhabitants of the place soon after.

After the Indians understood that succors were come in to the besieged, they fired all that they had left standing for their own shelter while they had besieged the place beforementioned, and ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring woods: however it was confessed by one of themselves, that the enemy had 80 of their men killed and wounded in this business."

*Surprisal of Capt. Beers and Lothrop.*—The Indians being driven westward to Connecticut river, succeeded in stirring up the Indians in that region against the English. They were pursued by Captains Lothrop, Beers and others, and overtaken at a place called Sugar Loaf Mountain in Deerfield, where a skirmish took place in which nine or ten of the English were slain and about 26 Indians. On the 1st of Sept. the Indians burnt the most of Deerfield, and two or three days afterwards they fell up on Squakeag, (now Northfield), another new plantation higher up the river, where they killed nine or ten persons, and the rest escaped into the garrison house.

"The next day, this disaster not being known, Capt. Beers, for fear of the worst, with 36 men, was sent up to the said Squakeag, with supplies both of men and provisions to secure the small garrison there, but before they came very near to the town, they were set upon by many hundreds of Indians out of the bushes by a swamp side. By this sudden surprisal Capt. Beers (who was known to fight valiantly to the very last) with about 20 of his men, were slain, the rest flying back to Hadley. Here the barbarous villains shewed their insolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of some of the slain, and fixing them upon poles near the highway, and not only so, but one (if not more) was found with a chain hooked into his under jaw, and so hung up on the bough of a tree, (it is feared he was hung up alive), by which means they thought to daunt and



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*Deerfield.*

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after the enemy. But upon Sept. 18, that most fatal day, the saddest that ever befel New England, as the company under Capt. Lothrop were marching along with the carts (it may be too securely) never apprehending danger so near, they were suddenly set upon, and almost all cut off, (90 killed, teamsters included), not above 7 or 8 escaping: Which great defeat came to pass by the unadvised proceedings of the Captain (who was himself slain in the first assault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill to lead his soldiers; but having taken up a wrong notion about the best way and manner of fighting with the Indians (which he was always wont to argue for) viz. that it were best to deal with the Indians in their own way, *scil.* by skulking behind trees, and taking their aim at single persons, which is the usual manner of the Indians fighting one with another; but herein was his great mistake, in not considering the great disadvantage a smaller company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude: For if five have to deal with one, they may surround him, and every one take his aim at him, while he can level but at one of his enemies at a time: Which gross mistake of his, was the ruin of a choice company of young men, the very flower of the county of Essex, all culled out of the towns belonging to that county, none of which were ashamed to speak with the enemy in the gate: their dear relations at home mourning for them, like Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted, not only because they were not, but because they were so miserably lost. The like mistake was conceived to be the reason of the loss of the former persons slain with the said Lothrop pursuing the Indians that ran away from Hadley, and of the 20 slain with Capt. Beers' men, who betook themselves at first to the trees, and at the last a few got to their horses soon after their Captain was shot down. For had he ordered his men to march in a body, as some of his fellow commanders advised, either backward or forward, in reason they had not lost a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edge of the sword. For the Indians, notwithstanding their subtilty and cruelty, durst not look an Englishman in the face in the open field, nor ever yet known to kill any man with their guns, unless when they could lie in wait for him in ambush, or behind some shelter, taking aim undiscovered, so that although it was judged by those that escaped, that there were 7 or 800 Indians at least that encountered that company of 80 English, yet if they had kept together in a body, and fought marching, they might have escaped the numbers of the enemy, with little loss in comparison of what they sustained. For the valiant and successful Capt. Mosely, and his Lieutenant, coming (though too late) to their rescue, marched through and through that great body of Indians and yet came off with little or no loss in comparison of the other. And having fought all those Indians for five or six hours upon a march, lost not above two men all that while, nor received other damage except that eight or nine were wounded.

This sore defeat of Capt. Lothrop and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other of the like

nature) it so emboldened the enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable towns, though well garrisoned with soldiers, and gave them occasion of the most insolent braving the garrison at Deerfield the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the soldiers, yet on the other side of the river. However, it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the garrison house at Deerfield, (wherein were not left above 27 soldiers), their Captain using this stratagem, to cause his trumpet to sound as if he had another troop near by to be called together, they turned another way and made no attempt upon the house where that small number was, which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small a handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. Lothrop and his men, (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard law of the sword to forego their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could), is not certainly known. It has since been confessed by some of the Indians themselves, that they lost 96 of their men that day. Capt. Mosely's men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for seven miles together they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through."

*Attack on Springfield.*—"The inhabitants of Springfield were not insensible of their danger, and therefore had upon the first breaking forth of these troubles been treating with their Indians, and had received from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship that could be imagined or desired, both by covenant, promises, and hostages given for security, so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: Yet did these faithless and ungrateful monsters plot with Philip's Indians to burn and destroy all Springfield, as they had done Brookfield before. To that end they sent cunningly and enticed away the hostages from Hartford, where they were perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: Then receiving about 300 of Philip's Indians into their fort; privately in the night time, so as they were neither discerned or suspected. Yea so confident were such of the inhabitants as were most conversant with the Indians at their fort, that they would not believe there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one Toto, an Indian at Windsor, (about 18 or 20 miles below Springfield, upon the same river), better affected to the English, and so by post tidings brought to Springfield the night before, insomuch that the Lieutenant of the town, Cooper by name, was so far from believing the stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to



ride up to the fort, to see whether things were so or not. The fort was about a mile from the town; when he came within a little thereof, he met these bloody and deceitful monsters, newly issued out of their *Equus Trojanus* to act their intended mischief; they presently fired upon him, divers of them, and shot him in several places through the body, yet being a man of stout courage, he kept his horse till he recovered the next garrison house, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the town of their intended mischief, which was instantly fired in all places where there were no garrisons. The poor people having not an officer to lead them, being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole town had been totally destroyed, but that a report of the plot being carried about over night, Major Treat came from Westfield time enough for their rescue, but wanting boats to transport his men, could not do so much as he desired. Major Pynchon coming from Hadley with Capt. Appleton and what forces they could bring along with them, 32 houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the town from being turned to ashes, in which the over credulous inhabitants might now see (what before they would not now believe at the burning Maj. Pynchon's barns and stables a few days before, to a very great damage of the owner), the faithless and deceitful friendship among these perfidious, cruel and hellish monsters.

Amongst the ruins of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the house of Mr. Pelatiah Clover, minister of the town, furnished with a brave library, which he had but newly brought back from a garrison wherein it had been for some time before secured, but as if the danger had been over with them, the said minister, a great student, and an *illuo librorum*, being impatient for want of his books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for a bonfire for the proud insulting enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said enemy before that day, the burning of this town of Springfield did more than any other discover the said actors to be the children of the devil, full of all subtilty and malice, there having been for about forty years so good correspondence betwixt the English of that town and the neighboring Indians. But in them is made good what is said in the Psalm, That though their words were smother than oil, yet were they drawn swords."

"*Swamp Fight*" with the *Narragansetts*.—In July, 1675, the English made a friendly treaty with the *Narragansett* Indians. Notwithstanding this, it was discovered that they secretly aided Philip's party. This determined the English to undertake a winter expedition against them. For this object, the colony of Massachusetts furnished five hundred and twenty-seven men, Ply-

mouth one hundred and fifty-nine, and Connecticut three hundred : to all these were attached one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians. Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth Colony, was elected their commander.

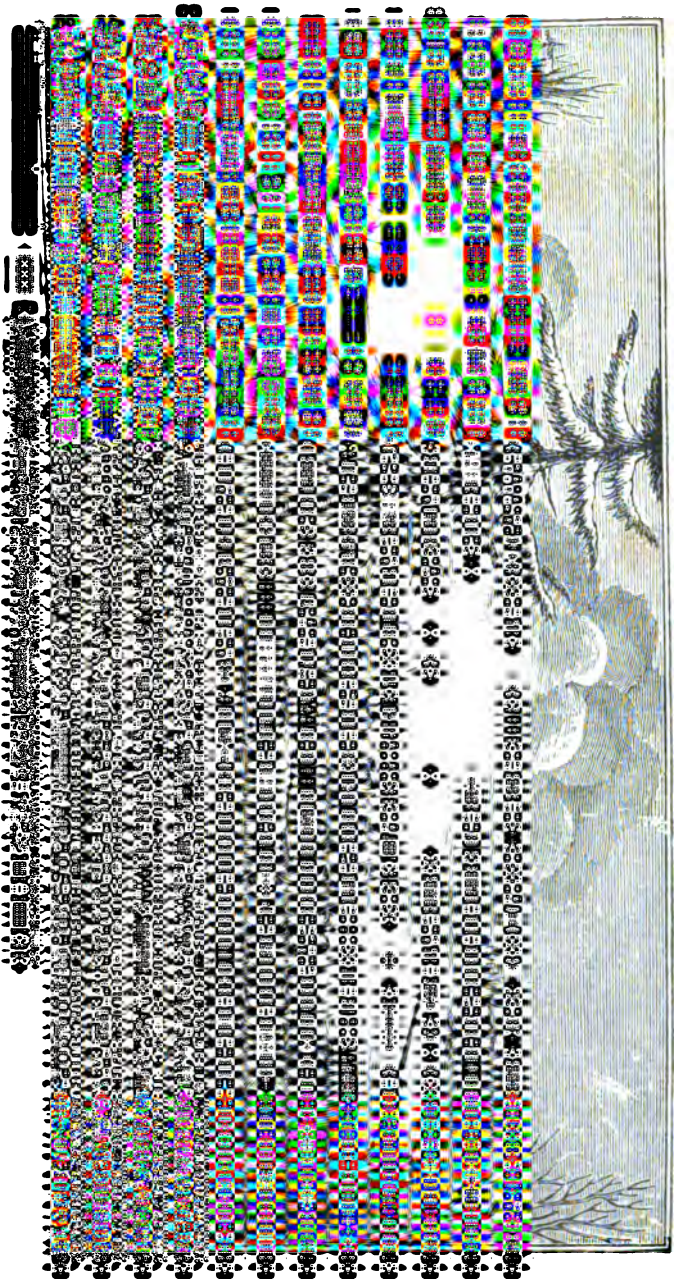
"The whole number of all our forces being now come, the want of provision with the sharpness of the cold, minded them of expedition, wherefore the very next day, the whole body of the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces marched away to Pettyquamscot intending to engage the enemy upon the first opportunity that next offered itself : To which resolution those of Connecticut presently consented, as soon as they met together, which was about 5 o'clock in the afternoon : Bull's house intended for their general rendezvous, being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no shelter left either for officers or private soldiers, so as they were necessitated to march on toward the enemy through the snow, in a cold stormy evening, finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor any other covering than a cold and moist fleece of snow. Through all these difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, December 19th, till one of the clock in the afternoon, without even fire to warm them, or respite to take any food, save what they could chew in their march. Thus having waded fourteen or fifteen miles through the country of the old Queen, or Sunke Squaw of Narraganset, they came at 1 o'clock upon the edge of the swamp where their guide assured them they would find Indians enough before night.

Our forces chopping thus upon the seat of the enemy, upon the sudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of battle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault. As they marched, Capt. Mosely and Capt. Davenport led the Van, Major Appleton and Capt. Oliver brought up the rear of Massachusetts forces : General Winslow with the Plymouth forces marched in the centre ; those of Connecticut came up in the rear of the whole body : But the frontiers discerning Indians in the edge of the swamp, fired immediately upon them who answering our men in the same language, retired presently into the swamp, our men followed them in amain, without staying for the word of command, as if every one were ambitious who should go first, never making any stand till they came to the sides of the fort, into which the Indians that first fired upon them betook themselves.

It seems that there was but one entrance into the fort, though the enemy found many ways to come out, but neither the English or their guide well knew on which side the entrance lay : nor was it easy to have made another ; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led Israel sometimes by the pillar of fire, and the cloud of his presence, a right way through the wilderness, so did he now direct our forces upon that side of the fort, where they might not only enter through not without the utmost danger and hazard. The fort was raised upon a kind of an island of

five or six acres of rising land in the midst of a swamp ; the sides of it were made of pallisadoes, set upright, which was compassed about with an hedge of almost a rod thickness, thro' which there was no passing unless they could have fired a way through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the Indians used ordinarily to enter themselves, was upon a long tree over a place of water, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was so way-laid that they would have been cut off that had ventured there : But at one corner there was a cap made up only with a long tree, about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might easily pass : But they had placed a kind of a Block-house right over against the said tree, from whence they sorely galled our men that first entered, some being shot dead upon the tree, as was Capt. Davenport ; so as they that first entered were forced presently to retire, and fall upon their bellies, the fury of the enemy's shot was pretty well spent, which some companies that did not discern the danger, not observing, lost sundry of their men, but at the last two companies being brought up, besides the four that first marched up, they animated one another, to make another assault, one of the commanders crying out they run, they run, which did so encourage the soldiers that they presently entered again. After a considerable number were well entered, they presently beat the enemy out of a flanker on the left hand, which did a little shelter our men from the enemy's shot, till more came up, and so by degrees made up higher, first into the middle, and then into the upper end of the fort, till at last they made the enemy all retire from their sconces, and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead bodies upon the place. Connecticut soldiers marching up in the rear, being not aware of the dangerous passage over the tree, in command of the enemy's block-house, were at their first entrance many of them shot down, although they came on with as gallant resolution as any of the rest, under the conduct of their wise and valiant leader, Major Treat.

The brunt of the battle, or danger that day lay most upon the commanders whose part it was to lead on their several companies in the very face of death, or else all had been lost ; so as all of them with great valour and resolution of mind, as not at all afraid to die in so good a cause, bravely led on their men in that desperate assault ; leaving their lives in the place as the best testimony of their valour, and of love to the cause of God and their country : No less than six brave Captains fell that day in the assault, viz. Capt. Davenport; Capt. Gardiner, Capt. Johnson, of Massachusetts, besides Lieutenant Upham, who died some months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. Gallop also, and Capt. Sieley and Capt. Marshall were slain, of those belonging to Connecticut colony. It is usually seen that the valour of the soldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their Commanders, yet it was found here, that the soldiers were rather engaged than discouraged by the loss of their Commanders, which made them redouble their courage, and not give back after they were entered a second time, till they had driven out their enemies : So after much



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blood and many wounds dealt on both sides, the English seeing their advantage, began to fire the wigwams, where was supposed to be many of the enemies' women and children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of their smoaky cells.

It is reported by them that first entered the Indian's fort, that our soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their dinner, but our sudden and unexpected assault put them beside that work, making their cook rooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their mitchin fried together : And probably some of them eat their suppers in a colder place that night : Most of their provisions as well as their huts being then consumed with fire, and those that were left alive forced to hide themselves in a cedar swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but boughs of spruce and pine trees : For after two or three hours fight, the English became masters of the place, but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the day light was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some say more, whither with their dead and wounded men they were forced to march, a difficulty scarce to be believed and not to be paralleled in any former age.

Our victory was found afterwards to be much more considerable than at first was apprehended ; for although our loss was very great not only because of the desperateness of the attempt itself (in such a season of the year, and at such a distance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men perished, which might otherwise have been preserved, if they had not been forced to march so many miles in a cold snowy night, before they could be dressed) yet the enemy lost so many of their principal fighting men, their provision also was by the burning of their wigwams, so much of it spoiled at the taking of their fort, and by surprizing so much of their corn about that time also ; that it was the occasion of their total ruin afterwards : They being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from planting for the next year, as well as deprived of what they had in store for the present winter. What numbers of the enemy were slain is uncertain, it was confessed by one Postock, a great Counsellor amongst them, afterwards taken at Rhode Island, and put to death at Boston, that the Indians lost 700 fighting men that day, besides three hundred that died of their wounds, the most of them : The number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above 80 of the English slain, and 150 wounded, that recovered afterwards.

There were several circumstances in this victory very remarkable.

First, The meeting with one Peter a fugitive Indian, that upon some discontent, flying from the Narragansetts, offered himself to the service of the English, and did faithfully perform what he had promised, viz. to lead them to the swamp where the Indians had seated

themselves within a fort raised upon an Island of firm earth, in the midst of a swamp, whither none of the English could have piloted them without his assistance, the place being very near eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, Their being by a special providence directed just to a place where they found so easy entrance, which if they had missed they could never have made a way through the hedge, with which they had surrounded the pallisadoes of the fort in half a day's time.

And Thirdly, If they had entered by the way left by the Indians for passage, they might have been cut off, before they could have come near their fortification.

Lastly, In directing their motion to begin the assault just at the day they did, for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell such a storm of snow the next day that they could not have passed through it in divers weeks after : And on a sudden there fell such a thaw, that melted away both ice and snow, so that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no passage into their fortified place. All which considerations put together, make it a signal favour of God to carry them through so many difficulties to accomplish their desired end. For after they were retired to their quarters, but sixteen miles from that place, there was so great want of provision, the vessels being frozen in at the harbour about Cape Cod, that should have brought them relief, and the frost and snow set in so violently, that it was not possible for them, with all the force they could make (so many of their ablest soldiers being slain and wounded,) to have made another onset : But the goodness of Almighty God was most of all to be admired, that notwithstanding all the hardships they endured that winter, in very cold lodgings, hard marches, scarcity of provision, yet not one man was known to die by any disease or bodily distemper, save them that perished of their wounds."

*Burning of Lancaster and Medfield.*—"About the 10th of February after, some hundreds of Indians, whether Nipnets or Nashaway men (is uncertain) belonging to him they call Sagamore Sam, and possibly some of the stoutest of the Narragansets that had escaped the winter brunt, fell upon Lancaster, a small village, of about fifty or sixty families, and did much mischief, burning most of the houses that were not garrisoned : And which is most sad and awful to consider, the house of Mr. Rowlandson, minister of said Lancaster, which was garrisoned with a competent number of the inhabitants ; yet the fortification of the house being on the back side, closed up with fire wood, the Indians got so near as to fire a leanter, which burning the house immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put to the hard choice, either to perish by the flames, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel savages, which last (considering that a living dog is better than a dead lion) they chose, and so were 42 persons surprised by the Indians, above twenty of the women and children

they carried away captive, a rueful spectacle to behold ; the rest being men, they killed in the place, or reserved for further misery : And many that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The minister himself was occasionally absent, to seek help from the Governor and Council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children surprised, and being carried away by the enemy, and his house turned into ashes, yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God as David at Ziklag, that he would always say, he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come to pass within five or six months after ; all save the youngest, which being wounded at the first died soon after, among the Indians.

And such was the goodness of God to those poor captive women and children, that they found so much favour in the sight of their enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil carriage to any of the females, nor ever attempted the chastity of any of them, either being restrained of God, as was Abimileck of old, or by some other accidental cause which withheld them from doing any wrong in that kind.

The western towns above Connecticut were the chief seat of the war, and felt most of the mischief thereof, in the end of the year 1675 ; but the scene is now to be changed ; and the other towns and villages that lie eastward, nearer Boston, must bear their part in the like tragedies : For as was said before, the Narragansets having been driven out of the country, fled through the Nipnet plantations, towards Watchuset hills, meeting with all the Indians that had harboured all winter in those woods about Nashaway, they all combined against the English, yet divided their numbers, and one half of them were observed to bend their course toward Plymouth, taking Medfield in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and spoil, February 21, 1675, as their fellows had done Lancaster ten days before.

The surprisal of this Medfield, in regard of some remarkable circumstances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular relating as to the manner thereof : The loss of Lancaster had sufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighboring villages, all to stand upon their guard ; and some had obtained garrisoned soldiers for their greater security, as was the case with them in the town of Medfield, within twenty-two miles of Boston. And at that time were lodged therein several garrison soldiers, besides the inhabitants ; yet being billeted up and down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the town was set on fire and many of the inhabitants slain, which how it could be effected is strange to believe : But most of those inland



plantations being overrun with young wood (the inhabitants being very apt to engross more land into their hands than they were able to subdue) as if they were seated in the midst of a heap of bushes: Their enemies took the advantage thereof, and secretly over night, conveyed themselves round about the town, some getting under the sides of their barns, and fences of their orchards, as is supposed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they suddenly set upon sundry houses, shooting them that came first out of their doors, and then fired their houses where the inhabitants were repaired to garrisons, were fit for the purpose: Some were killed as they attempted to fly to their neighbours for shelter. Some were only wounded, and some taken alive and carried away captive: In some houses the husband running away with one child, the wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other escaped. They began at the east end of the town, where they fired the house of one Samuel Morse, that seems to have been a signal to the rest to fall in on other parts: Most of the houses in the west, or southwest end of the town were soon burnt down: And generally when they burnt any out-houses, the cattle in them were burnt also: Two mills belonging to the town, were burnt also: A poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the houses that were consumed by fire. The Lieutenant of the town, Adams by name, was shot down by his door, and his wife mortally wounded by a gun fired afterwards accidentally into the house. After the burning of forty or fifty houses and barns, the Cannibals were frighted away out of the town, over a bridge that lies upon Charles River, by the shooting of a piece of ordinance two or three times: When they passed over the bridge they fired one end thereof, to hinder our men from pursuing them, they were tho't to be about five hundred, there were slain and mortally wounded seventeen or eighteen persons, besides others dangerously hurt. The loss sustained by the inhabitants amounted to above two thousand pounds. This mercy was observed in this sad providence, that never a garrison house was lost in this surprisal; nor any of the principal dwellings, so as the chieftest and best of their buildings escaped the fury of the enemy, who as they passed the bridge, left a writing behind them, expressing something to this purpose, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us these twenty years, (but they fell short of their expectation by nineteen) adding also, that they had nothing to lose, whereas we had houses, barns, and corn."

*Capt. Pierce slain. Indian stratagems.*—"The Governor and Council of Plymouth perceiving by the report of these outrages committed upon the towns in Massachusetts, that they were like to be visited this spring by their old neighbors, sent out Capt.

Pierce, of Situate, about the latter end of March with about fifty English and twenty of their Christian Indians, about Cape Cod, who proved none of his worst soldiers, as the sequel of this his last expedition will declare.

Capt. Pierce, as is said before, being sent out to pursue the enemy, marched towards Patuxet, where he understood the Indians were many of them gathered together : He being a man of resolute courage, was willing to engage them, though upon never so great a disadvantage : Some say the Indians by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of ambush ; possibly more of them discovered themselves after he began to engage them than he was aware of ; and being got over the river in pursuit of them, where he discovered so great a number of them, he drew down towards the side of the river, hoping the better by that means to prevent their surrounding him ; but that proved his overthrow which he intended as his greatest advantage : For the Indians getting over the river so galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himself ; thus assaulted on all sides, and himself not being able to travel much on foot, was thereby hindered from retiring to any better place in time, so as he saw himself constrained to fight it out at the last, which he did with most undaunted courage, and as is said, to the slaughter of an hundred and forty of his enemies, before himself and his company were cut off. It is said also, that being apprehensive of the danger he was in by the great numbers of the enemy like to overpower him with their multitude, he sent a messenger timely enough to Providence, for relief, but as Solomon saith, a faithful messenger is as snow in harvest, another is as smock to the eyes, and vinegar to the teeth. (Whether through sloth or cowardice, is not material) this message was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately sent ; by accident only some of Rehoboth understanding of the danger, after the evening exercise (it being on the Lord's day, March 26th 1676) repaired to the place, but then it was too late to bring help, unless it were to be spectators of the dead carcasses of their friends, and to perform the last office of love to them.

It is worth the noting, what faithfulness and courage some of the Christian Indians, with the said Capt. Pierce, shewed in the fight : One of them, whose name was Amos, after the Captain was shot in his leg or thigh, so as he was not able to stand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his gun several times, fired stoutly upon the enemy, till he saw that there was no possibility for him to do any further good to Capt. Pierce, nor yet to save himself, if he stayed any longer ; therefore he used this policy, perceiving that the enemy had all blackened their faces, he also stooping down pulled out some blacking out of a pouch he

with, and so making his enemies, he ran for one of them, as if he had an opportunity herein imitating the danger casteth out its path which it passes



Indians (friends to the one of the enemy, he sheltered himself for a moment ready with his gun as soon as he stirred he stood : In the issue he himself, and destroy wisdom is better than his hat upon it, and thought it would be seen, watched to take aim he fired a gun and shot a man perceiving, boldly upon the real head, shot him dead upon the spot with the spoils of his

*Canonchet, the Narragansett Sachem.*—"The first week in April, 1676, Canonchet, their chief Sachem, having with this people been driven out of his own country, by the sword of the English, the winter before, breathed still nothing but rage and cruelty against them, bearing himself upon his great numbers: Yet as appeared in the issue, himself and they that escaped with him were not much preserved from the present calamity that befel the rest in their fort, as reserved to another and more ignominious death. For the whole body of the Indians to the westward, trusting under the shadow of that aspiring bramble; he took a kind of care of them upon himself: Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting, he propounded it in his council, that all the west plantations upon Connecticut River, taken from the English, should this last summer be planted with Indian corn; which was indeed in itself a very prudent consideration: To that end he resolved to venture himself with but thirty men (the rest declining it) to fetch seed corn from Seaconk, the next town to Mount Hope, leaving a body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him or meet him about Seaconk the week after. The adventure brought him into a snare, from whence he could not escape: For Capt. George Denison of Stonington, and Capt. Avery, of New London, having raised forty-seven English, the most part volunteers, with eighty Indians, twenty of which were Narragansets, belonging to Ninigret, commanded by one called Catapazet, the rest Pequods, under Cassasinamon, and Mohegans under Oneco, son of Uncas, being now abroad on their third expedition, which they began March 27th, 1676, and ended on the 10th of April following: They met with a stout Indian of the enemy's whom they presently slew, and two old squaws, that confessed Nanunttenoo, alias Canonchet (those chief Sachems usually changing their names at every great dance, and by that name of Nanunttenoo was he then known was not far off) which welcome news put new life into the wearied soldiers, that had traveled hard many days, and met with no booty till now; especially when it was confirmed by intelligence the same instant, brought in by their scouts, that they met with new tracks, which brought them in view of some called Blackstones river, in one of which the said Sachem was at that moment diverting himself with the recital of Capt. Pierce's slaughter, surprised by his men a few days before, but the alarm of the English at that time heard by himself, put by that discourse, appalled by the suddenness thereof, as if he had been informed by secret item from Heaven, that now his own turn was come, so as having but 7 men about him, he sent up two of them to the top of the hill, to see what the matter was, but they affrighted with the near approach of the English, at that time with great speed mounting over a fair cham

pagna on the other side of the hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they saw ; presently he sent a third, who did the like ; then sending two more on the same errand, one of these last endowed with more courage, or a better sense of his duty, informed him in great haste that all the English army was upon him ; whereupon having no time to consult, and but little to attempt an escape, and no means to defend himself ; he began to dodge with his pursuers ; running round the hill on the contrary side ; but as he was running so hastily by, Catapazet, with twenty of his followers, and a few of the English, lightest of foot, guessed by the swiftness of his motion, that he fled as if an enemy, which made them immediately take the chace after him, as for their lives ; he that was the swifter pursuer put him so hard to it that he cast off first his blanket then his silver laced coat (given him at Boston, as a pledge of their friendship, upon the renewal of his league in October before) and belt of peag, which made Catapazet conclude it was the right bird, which made them pursue as eagerly as the other fled ; so as they forced him to take to the water, through which as he over hastily plunged, his foot slipping upon a stone, it made him fall into the water so deep that it wet his gun, upon which accident he confessed soon after, that his heart and bowels turned within him, so as he became like a rotten stick ; void of strength insomuch as one Monopoide, a Pequod swiftest of foot, laid hold of him within thirty rods of the river side, without his making any resistance ; though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body ; one of the first English that came up with him, was Robert Stanton, a young man that scarce had reached the 22d year of his age, yet adventuring to ask him a question or two, to whom this manly Sachem looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replied in broken English, you much child, no understand matters of war : let your brother or your chief come, him will I answer, and was as good as his word ; acting herein, as if by a Pathegorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western Pagan ; and like Attilius Regulus, he would not accept of his own life, when it was tendered him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old Counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying he knew the Indians would not yield ; but more probably he was not willing they should, choosing rather to sacrifice his own, and his people's lives, to his private humour of revenge, than timely to provide for his own and their safety, by entertaining the counsels of a peace, so necessary for the general good of all : He continuing in the same obstinate resolution, was soon after carried to Stonington, where he was shot to death by some of his own quality, sc. the young Sachem of the Mohegans.

and two of the Pequods of like quality. This was the confusion of a damned wretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the name of the living God, and those that make a profession thereof. He was told at large of his breach of faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a Wampanoog, or the paring of a Wampanoog's nail, that he would burn the English in their houses; to which he replied, others were as forward for the war as himself: and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his sentence was to die, he said, he liked it well, that he should die before his heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to death, that the killing him would not end the war; but it was a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least not in those parts; for after Sudbury fight, when the sun of their hopes was at its highest; April the 18th following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared."

*Surprisal of Groton.* "The surprisal of Groton was after this manner: On March 2d, the Indians came in the night and rifled eight or nine houses, and carried away some cattle and alarmed the town.

On March 9th, about ten in the morning, a parcel of Indians having two days lurked in the town, and taken possession of three out houses, and feasted themselves with corn, divers swine and poultry, (which they there seized) lay in ambush for two carts, which went from their garrison to fetch in some hay, attended with four men, two of which espying the enemy, made a difficult escape, the other two were set upon, and one of them slain, stript naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the highway, and laid on his back in a most shameful manner: the other taken captive, and afterwards sentenced to death; but the enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God escaped by a bold attempt the night before he was designed to have been slaughtered, and fled to the garrison at Lancaster, the cattle in both towns wounded, and five of them slain.

March 13th was the day when the enemy came in a full body, by their own account four hundred, and thought by the inhabitants to be not many less. The town was at this time, (having been put into a fright by the sad catastrophe of Lancaster, the next bordering town) gathered into five garrisons, four of which were so near together, as to be able to command from one to the other between which were the cattle belonging to those families, driven into pastures, which afterwards proved their preservation; the other was near a mile distant from the rest.

This morning the Indians (having in the night placed them-

selves in several parts of the town) made their onset; which began near the four garrisons, for a body of them having placed themselves in ambuscado, behind a hill, near one of the garrisons two of them made discovery of themselves, as if they had stood upon discovery. At this time divers of the people, not suspecting any such matter (for the day before many had been upon discovery many miles, and found no signs of an enemy being so near) were attending their occasions, some foddering their cattle, some milking their cows, of whom the enemy might easily have made a seizure, but God prevented: they having another design in hand, as soon after appeared. These two Indians were at length espied, and the alarm given; whereupon the most of the men in the next garrison, and some also in the second (which was about eight or nine poles distant) drew out and went to surprise those two Indians, who kept their station till our men reached the brow of the hill, then arose in the ambush and discharged a volley upon them, which caused a disorderly retreat or rather a rout, in which one was slain, and three others wounded. Meanwhile another ambush had risen, and come upon the back side of the garrison so deserted of men, and pulled down the pallsadoes. The soldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but passed by to the next garrison, the women and children meanwhile exposed to hazard, but by the goodness of God made a safe escape to the other fortified house, without any harm, leaving their substance to the enemy, who made a prey of it, and spent the residue of the day in removing the corn and household stuff, (in which loss five families were impoverished) and firing upon the other garrison; here also they took some cattle. No sooner was the signal given by the first volley of shot, but immediately in several parts of the town at once, did the smoke arise, they firing the houses.

In the afternoon they used a stratagem not unlike the other, to have surprised the single garrison, but God prevented. An old Indian passed along the street with a black sheep on his back, with a slow pace, as one decrepid; they made several shot at him, at which several issued out to have taken him alive, but the watchman seasonably espied an ambush, behind the house, gave the signal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the enemy lodged in the town, some of them in the garrison they had surprised, but the body of them in an adjacent valley where they made themselves merry after their savage manner. The next morning they gave two or three volleys at Capt. Parker's garrison, and so marched off, fearing as was thought, that supply might be near at hand.

This assault of theirs was managed with their wonted subtlety and barbarous cruelty; for they stript the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head,

fixed it upon a pole, looking towards his own land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug up out of his grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and stript off his winding sheet. An infant which they found dead, in the house first surprised, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the swine. There were about forty dwelling houses burnt at that time, besides other buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up the town, and scattering of the inhabitants, and removal of the candlestick after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprising of Groton, March 13, there was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolency of John Monoco, or one eyed John, the chief captain of the Indians in that design; who having by a sudden surprisal early in the morning, seized upon a garrison house in one end of the town, continued to it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call out to Capt. Parker, that was lodged in another garrison house, and entertained a great deal of discourse with him, whom he called his old neighbor; dilating upon the cause of the war, and putting an end to it by a friendly peace; yet oft mixing bitter sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts, at their praying and worshipping God in the meeting house, which he deridingly said he had burnt. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night, he said he burnt Medfield, (though it be not known whether he was there personally present or not) Lancaster, and that now he would burn that town of Groton, and the next time he would burn Chelmsford, Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Boston, adding at last in their dialect, *what me will, me do*. Not much unlike the proud Assyrian (if his power had been equal to his pride) sometimes threatened against Jerusalem, but was by the remarkable providence of God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and four score (of which he now boasted) and only with a few more bragado-cios like himself, Sagamore Sam, old Jethro, and the Sagamore of Quabaog, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the gallows (through Boston streets, which he threatened to burn at his pleasure) with a halter about his neck, with which he was hanged at the town's end, Sept. 26th, in this present year, 1776."

*Capt. Wadsworth slain.* "The Indians having burnt the deserted houses at Marlborough, April 17th, the next day they set upon Sudbury with all their might (hoping 'tis probable) to do there as they had done at the towns next beyond it. They did at the first prevail so far as to consume several houses and barns.



and kill several persons, ten or twelve of the English, that came from Concord to assist their neighbors at Sudbury, a town distant five miles from them, at the first hearing of the alarm, who unawares were surprised near a garrison, in hopes of getting some advantage upon a small party of the enemy that presented themselves in a meadow ; a great number of the Indians that lay unseen in the bushes, suddenly rose up, and intercepting the passage to the garrison house, killed and took them all.

But our sorrows and losses that day are not yet come to their height ; for in the same day, that resolute, stout-hearted soldier, Capt. Wadsworth (who not long before, with not above forty men, rescued Lancaster, when it was in danger to have been all lost at once) being sent from Boston with fifty soldiers to relieve Marlborough, having marched twenty five miles and then understanding the enemy was gone through the woods toward Sudbury. This wearied company, before ever they had taken any considerable rest, marched immediately back toward Sudbury (that lies ten miles nearer Boston) and being come within a mile of the town, they espied a party of Indians not far from them, about an hundred, not more—as they conceived, these they might easily deal with ; who retiring back a while, drew Capt. Wadsworth and his company above a mile into the woods, when on a sudden a great body of the enemy appeared, about five hundred as was thought, who compassing them around, forced them to the top of an hill, where they made very stout resistance a considerable while ; but the night drawing on, and some of the company beginning to scatter from the rest, their fellows were forced to follow them, so as the enemy taking the chace, pursued them on every side, as they made too hasty a retreat, by which accident, being so much overpowered by the enemy's numbers, they were most of them lost. The Captain himself, with one Capt. Brocklebank (a choice spirited man, much lamented by the town of Rowley to which he belonged) and some others that fell into his company as he marched along, scarce twenty escaping in all ; so as another Captain and his fifty men perished at that time, as brave soldiers as any ever employed in the present service.

Thus as in former attempts of like nature too much courage and eagerness in pursuit of the enemy, hath added another fatal blow to this poor country.

The same day another party of the English coming from Brookfield, whither they were sent as a convoy with provisions for the garrison were in danger likewise of falling in the hands of the same Indians, yet riding upon a good speed, and keeping their guns always ready presented against them they met, they never durst fire at them ; only three or four having unadvisedly first discharged their guns against the enemy, and falling too much in the

rear of their company, were cut off and lost. It is reported by some that afterwards escaped, how they cruelly tortured five or six of the English that night. Yet whatever their success was this day, it was observed by some (at that time their prisoners, and since released) that they seemed very pensive after they came to their quarters, shewing no such signs of rejoicing as they usually were wont to do in like cases; whether for the loss of some of their own company in that day's enterprise (said to be an hundred and twenty) or whether it was the Devil in whom they trusted, that deceived them, and to whom they made their address the day before, by sundry conjurations of their powaws? Or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty sent upon their execrable blasphemies, which it is said they used in torturing of some of their poor captives (bidding Jesus come and deliver them out of their hands from death, if he could) we leave as uncertain though some have so reported, yet sure it is that after this day they never prospered in any attempt they made against the English, but were continually scattered and broken, till they were in a manner all consumed."

*Fall Fight (at Turner's Falls.)*—"The great company of the enemy that stayed on that side of the country, and about Watchuset hills, when the rest went towards Plymouth, though they had been disappointed in their planting by the death of Canonchet, were loth to lose the advantage of the fishing season then coming in; wherefore, having seated themselves near the upper falls of Connecticut river, not far from Deerfield, and perceiving that the English forces were now drawn off from the lower towns of Hadley and Northampton, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their cattle, and not fearing any assault from our soldiers, grew a little secure, while they were upon their fishing design, insomuch that a couple of English lads lately taken captive by the enemy, and making their escape, acquainted their friends at home how secure they lay in those places, which so animated the inhabitants of Hadley, Hatfield and Northampton, that they being willing to be revenged for the loss of their cattle, besides other preceding mischiefs, took up a resolution with what strength they could raise among themselves (partly out of garrison soldiers and partly of the inhabitants) to make an assault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of supplies, expected from Hartford, might have proved a fatal business to all the said Indians; yet was the victory obtained more considerable than at first was apprehended; for not having much above an hundred and fifty fighting men in their company, they marched above twenty miles silently in the dead of night, May 18th, and came upon the said Indians a little before break of day, whom they found almost in a dead sleep, without any scouts abroad, or watching about their wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themselves merry with new milk and roast beef, having lately

driven away many of their milk cows, as an English woman confessed that was made to milk them.

When they came near the Indians' rendezvous, they alighted off their horses, and tied them to some young trees at a quarter of a mile distance, so marching up, they fired briskly into their wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frightening others with the sudden alarm of their guns, and made them run into the river, where the swiftness of the stream carrying them down a steep fall, they perished in the waters, some getting into canoes (small boats made of the bark of birch trees) which proved to them a Charon's boat, being sunk, or overset by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world: Others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great river, were espied by our men and killed with their swords: Capt. Holyoke killing five, young and old, with his own hands, from under a bank. When the Indians were first awaked with the thunder of their guns, they cried out Mohawks, Mohawks, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back spake sparingly of the number slain; some say they could not in reason be less than two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above 300 in that camisado, some whereof were principal men Sachems, and some of their best fighting men that were left, which made the victory more considerable than else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but their ruin immediately followed upon it. Yet such was the awful hand of Providence in the close of this victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet, that it might well be called a costly victory to the conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in itself.

The Indians that lay scattered on both sides of the river, after they recovered themselves and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered for want of the help of the eldest Captain that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the enemy fell upon the guards that kept the horses, others pursued them in the rear, so as our men sustained very much damage as they retired, missing after their returns thirty-eight of their men; and if Capt. Holyoke had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the front sometimes in the flank and rear, at a fatal business to the assailants. The said Captain Holyoke's horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the Indians, just coming upon him, but discharging his pistols upon one or two of them, whom he presently dispatched, and a friend coming to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the soldiers with-

out any further loss. It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this engagement, that one told above an hundred Indians left dead upon the place; and another affirmed that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the falls, none of which were observed to get alive to the shore save one. The loss that befel our men in the retreat was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. Turner, unable to manage his charge any longer, yet some say they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. Turner's order. It is also said by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the rear of the English, through haste, missed their way, it being a cloudy dark morning, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the Indians' hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured."

*Death of Philip.*—"About this time several parties of English within Plymouth jurisdiction, were willing to have a hand in so good a matter as catching of Philip would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to hasten his fall. Amongst others, a small party went out of Bridgewater, July 31st, upon a discovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a company of Indians where Philip was; they came up with them, and killed some of his particular friends: Philip himself was next to his uncle that was shot down, and had the soldier that had his choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right bird, he might as well have taken him as his uncle; but, 'tis said that he had not long cut off his hair that he might not be known: The party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep together close in the rear, that cunning fox escaped away through bushes undiscerned in the rear of the English: That which was most remarkable in this design, was that trembling fear appeared to be upon the Indians at this time, insomuch that one of them having a gun in his hand, well loaded, yet was not able to fire it off, but suffered an English soldier to come close up to his breast, and so shot him down, the other not being able to make any resistance; nor were any of the English hurt at that time.

The like terror was seen in others at that time; for within two days after, Capt. Church, the terror of the Indians in Plymouth colony, marching in pursuit of Philip with about 30 Englishmen and 20 reconciled Indians, took 23 of the enemy, and the next day following them by their tracks, fell upon their head-quarters, and killed and took about 130 of them, losing only one man.

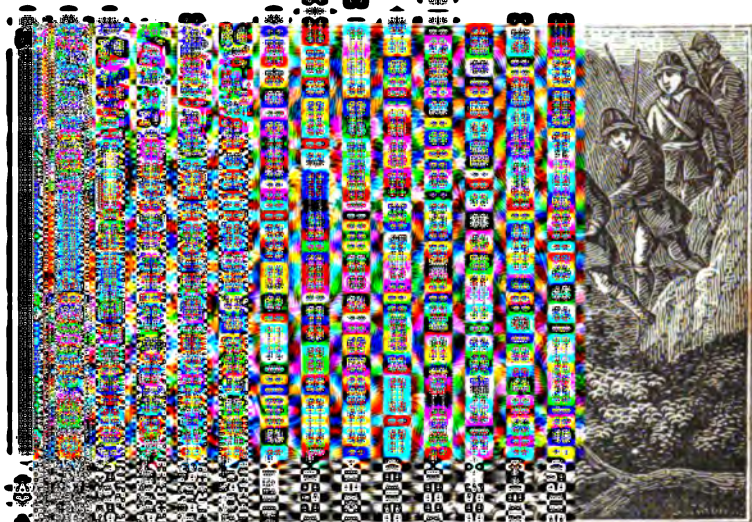
Philip, like a savage wild beast, having been hunted by the English forces through the woods above an hundred miles backward and forward, at last was driven to his own den upon Mount Hope, where he retired with a few of his best friends into a swamp, which proved but a prison to keep him fast till the mes-

sengers of death came by divine permission to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accomplished.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedness against the English, that despairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing should be suggested to him about a peace, inasmuch that he caused one of his confederates to be killed for propounding an expedient of peace ; which so provoked some of his company, not altogether so desperate as himself, that one of them fled to Rhode Island, whither the brave Captain Church was newly retired to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week, informing them that Philip was fled to a swamp in Mount Hope, whither he would undertake to lead them that would pursue him. This was welcome news, and the best cordial for such martial spirits ; whereupon he immediately, with a small company of men, part English and part Indians, began another march, which shall prove fatal to Philip, and end that controversy between the English and him : For coming very early to the side of the swamp, his soldiers began to surround it, and (whether the devil appeared to him in a dream that night as he did unto Saul, foreboding his tragical end, it matters not) as he was endeavoring to make his escape out of a swamp, he was shot through the heart by an Indian of his own nation, as it is said, that had all this while preserved a neutrality until this time, but now had the casting vote in his power, by which he determined the quarrel that had been so long in suspense. In him is fulfilled what was said in the prophet, *Wo to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee ; when thou shalt cease to spoil thou shalt be spoiled, and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.*

With Philip at this time fell five of his trustiest followers, of whom one was said to be the son of his chief captain, that had shot the first gun at the English the year before. This was done the 12th day of August, 1676, a remarkable testimony of divine favor to the colony of Plymouth, who had for the former successes, appointed the 17th day of August following, to be kept as a day of solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God.

*Capture of Annawan.* "The next that was seized was one Annawan, a very subtle, politic fellow, and one of Philip's chief counselors ; he had about twelve men, and as many women and children in his company, who were discovered by their shooting at the English horses, and cattle ; some of whom being taken, they made known the rest. Church at that time had but five Englishmen and twenty Indians. The place where this Annawan had betaken himself, was a ledge of rocks inaccessible but at one place, which by a few hands



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had had large and long experience of the gentleness and kindness of the English, both to himself and to his people, so as unless he had borne an evil and malicious mind against the English, he would never have hearkened to those stories, contrary to his faithful promises and allegiance.

The said Annawan confessed also that he did believe by all those late occurrences that there was a great God that overruled all; and that he had found that whatever he had done to any of those, whether Indians or English, the same was brought upon himself in after time. He confessed also that he had put to death several of the English which they had taken alive, ten in one day, and could not deny but that some of them had been tortured, and now he could not but see the justice of the great God upon himself, with many other things of a like nature. But whatever his confessions of this nature were, being forced from him by the power of conscience, after he was delivered up to authority, he was put to death, as he justly had deserved."

*Conclusion of Philip's War.* After the death of Philip, the Indians generally submitted to the English; or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but destructive war about six hundred persons, composing the flower of the strength of New England fell in battle, or were murdered by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. About every eleventh family had been burned out, and every eleventh soldier had perished.

Within twenty days after Philip kindled the war at the southward, the flame broke out in the most northeasterly part of the country, at the distance of 200 miles; and in the year 1675 and 1676, most of the plantations in the province of Maine, with those on the river Piscataqua, partook in the general calamity. After the death of Philip, the Massachusetts forces, which were then at liberty to turn their arms in that quarter, surprised about 400 of the Eastern Indians at Cochecho (Sept. 6, 1676) and took them prisoners. One half of them being found accessory to the late rebellion, seven or eight, who were known to have killed any Englishmen, were condemned and hanged; the rest were sold in foreign parts for slaves. These were called strange Indians, who had fled from the southward, and taken refuge among the Penacooks. This stroke humbled the Indians in the east, although the war continued until the spring of 1678."—*Holmes' Annals.*

## FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

For more than half a century previous to the treaty of Paris in 1763, the English colonies, particularly those of New England and New York were often harrassed by frequent wars with the French and Indians. The French settled in Canada as early as 1608, and explored the country bordering on the lakes. They were the first discoverers of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and claimed the territory westward of the Alleghany mountains. In order to strengthen their claims and possessions they attempted to establish a chain of forts from Canada to Florida, back of the English settlements. They also used much art, to gain over the various tribes to their interests, in which they were generally successful. The Indians instigated, and sometimes accompanied by the French, came down upon the English, destroyed their settlements, and murdered or carried away captive the inhabitants. These and other injuries were soon succeeded by open war.

*Destruction of Schenectady.* The war during the reign of William and Mary, in England, commonly called "*King William's War*," commenced in 1690 and continued about seven years. In the depth of winter, Count Frontenac, governor of Canada, fitted out three expeditions against the colonies—one against New York, a second against New Hampshire, and a third against the province of Maine. The following relating of the destruction of Schenectady is extracted from the account given in Mr. Drake's "*Book of the Indians*" (Book 1.)

"After two and twenty days' march, the enemy fell in with Schenectady, February 8. There were about 200 French, and perhaps 50 Caughnewaga Mohawks, and they at first intended to have surprised Albany; but their march had been so long and tedious, occasioned by the deepness of the snow and coldness of the weather, that, instead of attempting any thing offensive, they had nearly decided to surrender themselves to the first English they should meet, such was their distressed situation, in a camp of snow, but a few miles from the devoted settlement. The Indians, however, saved them from the disgrace. They had sent out a small scout from their party, who entered Schenectady without even exciting suspicion of their errand. When they had staid as long as the nature of their business required, they withdrew to their fellows.

Seeing that Schenectady offered such an easy prey, it put new courage into the French, and they came upon it as above related. The bloody tragedy commenced between 11 and 12 o'clock, on Saturday night; and, that every house might be surprised at nearly the



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opposite side of the

river, and was suffered to escape, because he had delivered many French prisoners from torture and slavery, who had been taken by the Indians in the former wars. They had passed his house in the night, and, during the massacre, he had taken the alarm, and in the morning he was found ready to defend himself. Before leaving the village, a French officer summoned him to a council, upon the shore of the river, with the tender of personal safety. He at length adventured down, and had the great satisfaction of having all his captured friends and relatives delivered to him; and the enemy departed, keeping good their promise that no injury should be done him."

The following additional particulars respecting this event are drawn from the account given by *Charlevoix*, a learned French Jesuit, distinguished for his travels and authentic historical works.

"This party marched out before they had determined against what part of the English frontier they would carry their arms, though some part of New York was understood. Count *Frontenac* had left that to the two commanders. After they had marched five or six days, they called a council to determine upon what place they would attempt. In this council, it was debated, on the part of the French, that Albany would be the smallest place they ought to undertake; but the Indians would not agree to it. They contended that, with their small force, an attack upon Albany would be attended with extreme hazard. The French being strenuous, the debate grew warm, and an Indian chief asked them 'how long it was since they had so much courage.' To this severe rebuke it was answered, that, if by some past actions they had discovered cowardice, they should see that now they would retrieve their character; they would take Albany or die in the attempt. The Indians, however, would not consent, and the council broke up without agreeing upon any thing but to proceed on.

They continued their march until they came to a place where their path divided into two; one of which led to Albany, and the other to Schenectady: here *Mantet* gave up his design upon Albany, and they marched on harmoniously for the former village. The weather was very severe, and for the nine following days the little army suffered incredible hardships. The men were often obliged to wade through water up to their knees, breaking its ice at every step.

At 4 o'clock in the morning, the beginning of February, they arrived within two leagues of Schenectady. Here they halted, and the *Great Agnier*, chief of the Iroquois of the Falls of St. Louis, made a speech to them. He exhorted every one to forget the hardships they had endured, in the hope of avenging the wrongs they had for a long time suffered from the perfidious English, who were the authors of them: and in the close added, that they could not doubt of the assistance of Heaven against the enemies of God, in a cause so just. Hardly had they taken up their line of march, when they met 40 Indian women, who gave them all the necessary information for approaching the place in safety. A Canadian, named *Giguere*, was de-

tached immediately with nine Indians upon discovery, who acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his officers. He reconnoitred Schenectady at his leisure, and then rejoined his comrades. It had been determined by the party to put off the attack one day longer; but on the arrival of the scout under *Giguere*, it was resolved to proceed without delay.

Schenectady was then in form like that of a long square, and entered by two gates, one at each end. One opened towards Albany, the other upon the great road leading into the back country, and which was now possessed by the French and Indians. *Mantet* and *St. Helene* charged at the second gate, which the Indian women before mentioned had assured them was always open, and they found it so. *D'Iberville* and *Repentigni* passed to the left, in order to enter by the other gate, but, after losing some time in vainly endeavoring to find it, were obliged to return and enter with their comrades.

The gate was not only open but unguarded, and the whole party entered without being discovered. Dividing themselves into several parties, they waylaid every portal, and then the war-whoop was raised. *Mantet* formed and attacked a garrison, where the only resistance of any account was made. The gate of it was soon forced, and all of the English fell by the sword, and the garrison was burned. *Montigni* was wounded, in forcing a house, in his arm and body by two blows of a halberd, which put him *hors du combat*; but *St. Helene* being come to his assistance, the house was taken, and the wounds of *Montigni* revenged by the death of all who had shut themselves up in it. Nothing was now to be seen but massacre and pillage in every place. At the end of about two hours, the chiefs, believing it due to their safety, posted bodies of guards at all the avenues, to prevent surprise, and the rest of the night was spent in refreshing themselves. *Mantet* had given orders that the minister of the place should be spared, whom he had intended for his own prisoner; but he was found among the promiscuous dead, and no one knew when he was killed, and all his papers were burned.

After the place was destroyed, the chiefs ordered all the casks of intoxicating liquors to be staved, to prevent their men from getting drunk. They next set all the houses on fire, excepting that of a widow, into which *Montigni* had been carried, and another belonging to Major *Coudre*: they were in number about 40, all well built and furnished; no booty but that which could be easily transported was saved. The lives of about 60 persons were spared; chiefly women, children, and old men, who had escaped the fury of the onset, and 30 Indians who happened to be then in the place. The lives of the Indians were spared that they might carry the news of what had happened to their countrymen, whom they were requested to inform, that it was not against them that they intended any harm, but to the English only, whom they had now despoiled of property to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds."—*Drake's Book of Indians—Book 1.*

*Attack at Dover—Death of Major Waldron.*—The capture of Indians at Cochecho in Sept. 1676, (see page 254) took place at the house of Maj. Waldron, with whom they had a short time previously made peace. The Indians considered this as a breach of faith, and were determined on revenge whenever a favorable time should arrive. The lands from Penobscot to Nova Scotia having been ceded to the French, the Baron de St. Castine, who had for many years resided on them, carried on a large trade with the Indians, with whom he became intimately connected by marriage. In 1688, Castine's house and fort was basely plundered by Governor Andross, who went thither in a frigate. Castine in revenge excited and assisted the Indians against the English, and war soon followed.

"In that part of the town of Dover which lies about the first falls in the river Cochecho, were five garrisoned houses; three on the north side, viz. Waldron's Otis' and Heard's; and two on the south side, viz. Peter Coffin's and his son's. These houses were surrounded with timber-walls, the gates of which, as well as the house doors, were secured with bolts and bars. The neighboring families retired to these houses by night; but by an unaccountable negligence, no watch was kept. The Indians who were daily passing through the town visiting and trading with the inhabitants, as usual in time of peace, viewed their situation with an attentive eye. Some hints of a mischievous design had been given out by their squaws; but in such dark and ambiguous terms that no one could comprehend their meaning. Some of the people were uneasy; but Waldron who, from a long course of experience, was intimately acquainted with the Indians, and on other occasions had been ready enough to suspect them, was now so thoroughly secure, that when some of the people hinted their fears to him, he merrily bade them to go and plant their pumpkins, saying that he would tell them when the Indians would break out. The very evening before the mischief was done, being told by a young man that the town was full of Indians and the people were much concerned; he answered that he knew the Indians very well and there was no danger.

The plan which the Indians had preconcerted was, that two squaws should go to each of the garrisoned houses in the evening, and ask leave to lodge by the fire; that in the night when the people were asleep they should open the doors and gates, and give the signal by a whistle; upon which the strange Indians, who were to be within hearing, should rush in, and take their long meditated revenge. This plan being ripe for execution, on the evening of Thursday the twenty seventh of June, two squaws applied to each of the garrisons for lodging, as they frequently did in time of peace. They were admitted into all but the younger Coffin's, and the people, at their request, shewed them how to open the doors, in case they should have occasion to go out in the night. Mesandowit, one of their chiefs, went to Waldron's garrison, and was kindly entertained, as he had often been before. The

squaws told the major, that a number of Indians were coming to trade with him the next day, and Mesandowit while at supper, with his usual familiarity, said, 'Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?' The major carelessly answered, that he could assemble an hundred men, by lifting up his finger. In this unsuspecting confidence the family retired to rest.

When all was quiet, the gates were opened and the signal given. The Indians entered, set a guard at the door, and rushed into the major's apartment, which was an inner room. Awakened by the noise, he jumped out of bed, and though now advanced in life to the age of eighty years, he retained so much vigor as to drive them with his sword through two or three doors; but as he was returning for his other arms, they came behind him, stunned him with a hatchet, drew him into his hall, and seating him in an elbow chair on a long table insultingly asked him, 'Who shall judge Indians now?' They then obliged the people in the house to get them some victuals; and when they had done eating, they cut the major across the breast and belly with knives, each one with a stroke, saying, 'I cross out my account.' They then cut off his nose and ears, forcing them into his mouth; and when spent with the loss of blood, he was falling down from the table, one of them held his own sword under him, which put an end to his misery. They also killed his son-in-law Abraham Lee; but took his daughter Lee with several others, and having pillaged the house, left it on fire. Otis's garrison, which was next to the major's, met with the same fate; he was killed, with several others, and his wife and child were captivated. Heard's was saved by the barking of a dog just as the Indians were entering: Elder Wentworth, who was awakened by the noise pushed them out, and falling on his back, set his feet against the gate and held it till he had alarmed the people; two balls were fired through it but both missed him. Coffin's house was surprised, but as the Indians had no particular enmity to him, they spared his life, and the lives of his family, and contented themselves with pillaging the house: Finding a bag of money, they made him throw it by handfuls on the floor, while they amused themselves in scrambling for it. They then went to the house of his son who would not admit the squaws in the evening, and summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter. He declined their offer and determined to defend his house, till they brought out his father and threatened to kill him before his eyes. Filial affection then overcame his resolution, and he surrendered. They put both families together into a deserted house, intending to reserve them for prisoners; but while the Indians were busy in plundering they all escaped.

Twenty three people were killed in this surprisal, and twenty nine were captivated; five or six houses, with the mills, were burned; and so expeditious were the Indians in the execution of their plot, that before the people could be collected from the other parts of the town to oppose them, they fled with their prisoners and booty. As they passed by Heard's garrison in their retreat, they fired upon it; but the people being prepared and resolved to defend it, and the enemy being in

haste, it was preserved. The preservation of its owner was more remarkable.

Elizabeth Heard, with her three sons and a daughter, and some others, were returning in the night from Portsmouth. They passed up the river in their boat unperceived by the Indians, who were then in possession of the houses; but suspecting danger by the noise which they heard, after they had landed they betook themselves to Waldron's garrison, where they saw lights, which they imagined were set up for direction to those who might be seeking a refuge. They knocked and begged earnestly for admission; but no answer being given, a young man of the company climbed up the wall, and saw, to his inexpressible surprise, an Indian standing in the door of the house, with his gun. The woman was so overcome with the fright that she was unable to fly; but begged her children to shift for themselves; and they with heavy hearts left her. When she had a little recovered she crawled into some bushes, and lay there till day-light. She then perceived an Indian coming toward her with a pistol in his hand; he looked at her and went away: returning, he looked at her again; and she asked him what he would have; he made no answer, but ran yelling to the house, and she saw him no more. She kept her place till the house was burned, and the Indians were gone; and then returning home, found her own house safe. Her preservation in these dangerous circumstances was more remarkable, if (as it is supposed) it was an instance of justice and gratitude in the Indians. For at the time when the four or five hundred were seized in 1676, a young Indian escaped and took refuge in her house, where she concealed him; in return for which kindness he promised her that he would never kill her, nor any of her family in any future war, and that he would use his influence with the other Indians to the same purpose. This Indian was one of the party who surprised the place, and she was well known to the most of them.—*Belknap's History of New Hampshire.*

*Surprisal of York, in Maine.\**—"The Popish Indians, after long silence and repose in their inaccessible kennels, which made our frontier towns a little remit their tired vigilance, did, January 25, 1691, set upon the town of York, where the inhabitants were in their unguarded houses here and there scattered, quiet and secure. Upon the firing of a gun by the Indians, which was their signal, the inhabitants looked out but unto their amazement, found their houses to be invested with horrid salvages who immediately killed many of those unprovided inhabitants, and more they took prisoners. This body of Indians, consisting of divers hundreds, then sent in their summons to some of the garrisoned houses; and those garrisons, whereof some had no more than two or three men

\* This account, with that of the escape of the Dustan family, is copied from *Mather's Magnalia*, published soon after this period. This work, though abounding with many singularities and much unnecessary matter, has probably rescued many interesting facts from final oblivion.

in them, yet being so well manned, as to reply, *that they would spend their blood unto the last drop, e'er they would surrender*, these cowardly miscreants had not mettle enough to meddle with them. So they retired into their howling thickets, having first murdered about fifty, and captivated near an hundred of that unhappy people. In this calamity great was the share that fell to the family of Mr. S. Dummer, the pastor of the little flock thus preyed upon; those bloodhounds, being set on by some Romish missionaries, had long been wishing, that they might embroe their hands in the blood of some New-English Minister; and in this action they had their diabolical satisfaction. Our Dummer, the minister of York, was one of whom for his exemplary holiness, humbleness, modesty, industry and fidelity, the world was not worthy. He was a gentleman well-descended, well-tempered, well-educated; and now short of sixty years of age. He might have taken for his coat of arms the same that the holy martyr Hooper prophetically did, *a lamb in a flaming bush, with rays from heaven shining on it*. He had been solicited with many temptations to leave his place, when the clouds grew thick and black in the Indian hostilities, and were like to break upon it; but he chose rather with a paternal affection to stay amongst those who had been so many of them converted and edified by his ministry, and he spent very much of his own patrimony to subsist among them, when their distresses made them unable to support him as they otherwise would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of eminency be called, a good man. This good man was just going to take horse at his own door, upon a journey in the service of God, when the tygres that were making their depredations upon the sheep of York seized upon this their shepherd; and they shot him so, that they left him dead among the tribe of Abel on the ground. Thus was he as Ambrose in his elegant oration, *de obitu fratris*, expresses it, *non nobis ereptus, sed periculis*. His wife they carried into captivity, where through sorrows and hardships among those dragons of the desert, she also quickly died; and his church, as many of them as were in that captivity, endured this, among other anguishes, that on the next Lord's day, one of those tawnies chose to exhibit himself unto them, [*a devil as an angel of light!*] in the clothes whereof they had stript the dead body of this their father. Many were the tears that were dropt throughout New England on this occasion; and these among the rest; for tho' we do not as tradition tells us, the Antediluvians did use to do by the blood of Abel, yet we cannot but mournfully sing of the blood of such an Abel."

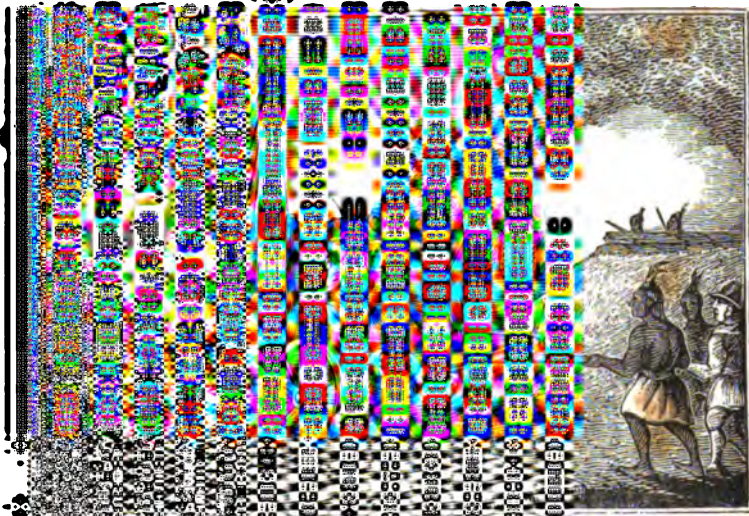
*Attack at Wells, (Maine).*—"On the 25th of January, 1692, Captain Converse was lodged in Storer's garrison at Wells with but fifteen men; and there came into Wells two sloops, with a

Shallop, which had aboard supplies of ammunition for the soldiers, and contribution for the needy. The cattle this day came frightened and bleeding out of the woods, which was a more certain omen of Indians a coming than all the prodigies that Livy reports of the sacrificed oxen. Converse immediately issued out his commands unto all quarters, but especially to the sloops just then arrived. The sloops were commanded by Samuel Storer, and James Gouge, and Gouge's being two miles up the river, he wisely brought her down undiscovered unto Storer's, by the advantage of a mist then prevailing. A careful night they had on't! The next morning before day-light, one John Diamond, a stranger that came in the shallop on a visit, came to Capt. Converse's garrison, where the watch invited him in; but he chose rather to go aboard the sloops, which were little more than a gun-shot off; and, alas, the enemy issuing out from their lurking-places, immediately seized him, and haled him away by the hair of the head, (in spite of all the attempts used by the garrison to recover him) for an horrible story to be told by and by concerning him. The general of the enemies army was Monsieur Burniff; and one Monsieur Labrocree was a principal commander; (the enemy said, he was Lieutenant General); there were also divers other Frenchmen of quality, accompanied with Modockawando, and Moxus, and Egeremet, and Warumbo, and several more Indian Sagamores; the army made up in all about five hundred men, or fierce things in the shape of men, all to encounter fifteen men in one little garrison, and about fifteen more men, [worthily called such!] in a couple of open sloops. Diamond having informed them how it was in all points, (only that for fifteen, by a mistake he said thirty), they fell to dividing the persons and plunder, and agreeing that such an English Captain should be slave to such a one, and such a gentleman in the town should serve such a one, and his wife be a maid of honor to such or such a Squaw proposed, and Mr. Wheelright (instead of being a worthy counsellor of the province, which he now is!) was to be the servant of such a Netop; and the sloops, with their stores, to be so and so parted among them. There wanted but one thing to consummate the whole matter, even the chief thing of all, which I suppose they had not thought of; that was, for heaven to deliver all this prize into their hands: but, *aliter statutum est in celo!* A man habited like a gentleman made a speech to them in English, exhorting them to courage, and assuring them, that if they would courageously fall upon the English, all was their own. The speech being ended, they fell to the work, and with an horrid shout and shot, made their assault upon the feeble garrison; but the English answered with a brisk volley, and sent such a leaden shower



among them, that they retired from the garrison to spend the storm of their fury upon the sloops.

You must know, that Wells' harbor is rather a creek than a river, for it is very narrow, and at low water in many places dry; nevertheless, where the vessels ride it is deep enough, and so far off the bank, that there is from thence no leaping aboard. But our sloops were sorely incommoded by a turn of the creek, where the enemy could lie out of danger so near them as to throw mud aboard with their hands. The enemy was also privileged with a great heap of plank lying on the bank, and with an hay stock, which they strengthened with the posts and rails; and from all these places, they poured in their vengeance upon the poor sloops, while they so placed smaller parties of their salvages, as to make it impossible for any of the garrisons to afford them any relief. Lying thus within a dozen yards of the sloops, they did with their fire arrows, divers times desperately set the sloops on fire. but the brave defendants, with a swab at the end of a rope tied unto a pole, and so dipt into the water, happily put the fire out. In brief, the sloops gave the enemy so brave a repulse, that at night they retreated; when they renewed their assault, finding that their fortitude would not assure the success of the assault unto them, they had recourse unto their policy. First, an Indian comes on with a slab for a shield before him; when a shot from one of the sloops pierced the slab, which fell down instead of a tomb-stone with the dead Indian under it: on which, as little a fellow as he was, I know not whether some will not reckon it proper to inscribe the epitaph which the Italians use to bestow upon their dead Popes: *when the dog is dead, all his malice is dead with him.* Their next stratagem was this: they brought out of the woods a kind of a cart, which they trimmed and rigged, and fitted up into a thing that might be called, a chariot: where-upon they built a platform, shot-proof in the front, and placed many men upon the platform. Such an engine they understood how to shape, without having read (I suppose) the description of the *Pluteus* in *Vegetius*! this chariot they pushed on towards the sloops, till they were got, it may be, within fifteen yards of them; when lo one of their wheels, to their admiration, sunk into the ground. A Frenchman stepping to heave the wheel with an helpful shoulder, Storer shot him down; another stepping to the wheel, Storer with a well-placed shot, sent him after his mate: so the rest thought it was best to let it stand as it was. The enemy kept gauling the sloop from their several batteries, and calling them to surrender, with many fine promises to make them happy, which ours answered with a just laughter, that had now and then a mortiferous bullet at the end of it. The tide rising, the chariot overset, so that the men behind it lay open to the sloops, which



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On the Lord's day morning there was for a while a deep silence among the assailants ; but at length getting into a body, they marched with great formality towards the garrison, where the Captain ordered his handful of men to lie snug, and not to make a shot, until every shot might be likely to do some execution. While they thus beheld a formidable crew of dragons, coming with open mouth upon them to swallow them up at a mouthful, one of the soldiers began to speak of surrendering ; upon which the Captain vehemently protested, that he would lay the man dead who should so much as mutter that base word any more ! and so they heard no more on it : but the valiant Storer was put upon the like protestation, to keep them in good fighting trim aboard the sloops also. The enemy now approaching very near, gave three shouts that made the earth ring again ; and crying out in English, *fire, and fall on brave boys !* The whole body drawn into three ranks, fired at once. Captain Converse immediately ran into the several flankers, and made their best guns fire at such a rate, that several of the enemy fell, and the rest of them disappeared almost as nimbly as if there had been so many spectres : particularly a parcel of them got into a small deserted house ; which having but a board wall to it, the Captain sent in after them those bullets of twelve to the pound, that made the house too hot for them that could get out of it. The women in the garrison on this occasion took up the Amazonian stroke, and not only brought ammunition to the men, but also with a manly resolution fired several times upon the enemy. The enemy finding that things would not yet go to their minds at the garrison, drew off to try their skill upon the sloops, which lay still abreast in the creek, lashed fast one to another. They built a great fire-work about eighteen or twenty foot square, and filled it up with combustible matter, which they fired ; and then they set it in the way for the tide now to float it up unto the sloops, which had now nothing but an horrible death before them. Nevertheless their demands of both the garrison and the sloops to yield themselves, were answered no otherwise than with death upon many of them, spit from the guns of the besieged. Having towed their fire-work as far as they durst, they committed it unto the tide ; but the distressed Christians that had this deadly fire swimming along upon the water towards them, committed it unto God : and God looked from heaven upon them in this prodigious article of their distress. These poor men cried, and the Lord heard them and saved them out of their troubles. The wind, unto their astonishment, immediately turned about, and with a fresh gale drove the machin ashore on the other side, and split it so, that the water being let in upon it, the fire went out. So the godly men that saw God from heaven thus fighting for them, cried out with an astonishing joy,

if it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, they had swallowed us up quick; blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their teeth; our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers! The enemy were now in a pitiful pickle with toiling and moiling in the mud, and blackened with it, if mud could add blackness to such miscreants; and their ammunition was pretty well exhausted; so that now they began to draw off in all parts, and with rafts get over the river; some whereof breaking, there did not a few cool their late heat by falling into it. But first they made all the spoil they could upon the cattle about the town; and giving one shot more at the sloops, they killed the only man of ours that was killed aboard them. Then after about half an hours consultation, they sent a flag of truce to the garrison, advising them with much flattery to surrender; but the Captain sent them word, that he wanted for nothing but for men to come and fight him. The Indian replied unto Captain Converse, being you are so stout, why don't you come and fight in the open field like a man, and not fight in a garrison like a squaw? The Captain rejoined, what a fool are you? do you think thirty men a match for five hundred? No, (says the Captain, counting, as well he might, each of his fifteen men to be as good as two!) come with your thirty men upon the plain and I will meet you with my thirty as soon as you will. Upon this the Indian answered, nay, we own English fashion is all one fool: you kill me, me kill you! no, better lye somewhere and shoot a man, and he no see!, that the best soldier! Then they fell to coaxing the Captain with as many fine words as the Fox in the fable had for the allurements of his prey unto him; and urged mightily, that ensign Hill, who stood with the flag of truce, might stand a little nearer their army. The Captain for a good reason to be presently discerned, would not allow that: whereupon they fell to threatening and raging, like so many defeated devils, using these words, damn ye, we'll cut you as small as tobacco before to-morrow morning. The Captain bid 'em to make haste, for he wanted work: so the Indian throwing his flag on the ground, ran away, and ensign Hill nimbly stripping his flag ran into the valley; but the salvages presently fired from an ambushment behind an hill, near the place where they had urged for a parley.

And now for poor John Diamond! the enemy retreating (which opportunity the sloops took to burn down the dangerous hay-stock) into the plain, out of gun-shot they fell to torturing their captive John Diamond after a manner very diabolical. They stripped him, they scalped him alive, and after a castration, they finished that article in the punishment of traitors upon him; they slit him with knives between his fingers and his toes; they made cruel gashes in the most fleshy parts of his body, and stuck the gashes

with fire-brands which were afterwards found sticking in the wounds. Thus they butchered one poor Englishman with all the fury that they would have spent upon them all ; and performed an exploit for five hundred furies to brag of at their coming home. Ghastly to express ! what was it then to suffer ? They returned then unto the garrison, and kept firing at it now and then till near ten a clock at night ; when they all marched off, leaving behind them some of their dead ; whereof one was monsieur Labocree, who had about his neck a pouch with about a dozen reliques ingeniously made up, and a printed paper of indulgencies, and several other implements ; and no doubt, thought himself as good safety as if he had all the spells of Lapland about him : but it seems none of the amulets about his neck would save him from a mortal shot in the head. Thus in forty-eight hours was finished an action as worthy to be related, as perhaps any that occurs in our story. And it was not long before the valiant Gouge, who bore his part in this action, did another that was not much inferior to it, when he suddenly recovered from the French a valuable prey, which they had newly taken upon our coast."

*Escape of the Dustan family.*—"On March 15, 1697, the salvages made a descent upon the skirts of Haverhill, murdering and captivating about thirty nine persons, and burning about half a dozen houses. In this broil, one Hannah Dustan having lain in about a week, attended with her nurse, Mary Neff, a body of terrible Indians drew near unto the house where she lay, with designs to carry on their bloody devastations. Her husband hastened from his employments abroad unto the relief of his distressed family ; and first bidding seven of his eight children (which were from two to seventeen years of age) to get away as fast as they could unto some garrison in the town, he went in to inform his wife of the horrible distress come upon them. E'er she could get up, the fierce Indians were got so near, that utterly despairing to do her any service, he ran out after his children ; resolving that on the horse which he had with him, he would ride away with that which he should in this extremity find his affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the care of the divine providence. He overtook his children about forty rods from his door ; but then such was the agony of his parental affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest ; wherefore he took up a courageous resolution to live and die with them all. A party of Indians came up with him ; and now though they fired at him, and he fired at them, yet he manfully kept at the rear of his little army of unarmed children, while they marched off with the pace of a child of five years old ; until, by the singular providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a place of safety about a mile or two from his house. But his house must in the mean time have more dismal tragedies acted at it. The nurse trying to escape with the new born infant, fell into the hands of the formidable salvages ; and those



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the morning, at noon, and in the evening ; nor would they ordinarily let their children eat or sleep, without first saying their prayers. Indeed these idolaters were like the rest of their whiter brethren persecutors, and would not endure that these poor women should retire to their English prayers, if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor women had nothing but fervent prayers to make their lives comfortable or tolerable ; and by being daily sent out upon business, they had opportunities together and asunder, to do like another Hannah, in pouring out their souls before the Lord. Nor did their praying friends among ourselves forbear to pour out supplications for them. Now they could not observe it without some wonder, that their Indian master sometimes when he saw them dejected, would say unto them, What need you trouble yourself ? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so ! And it seems our God would have it so to be. This Indian family was now travelling with these two captive women, (and an English youth taken from Worcester a year and a half before,) unto a rendezvous of salvages, which they call a town some where beyond Penacook ; and they still told these poor women, that when they came to this town they must be stript, and scourg'd, and run the gantlet through the whole army of Indians. They said this was the fashion when the captives first came to a town ; and they derided some of the faint hearted English, which they said, fainted and swoon'd away under the torments of this discipline. But on April 30, while they were yet, it may be, about an hundred and fifty miles from the Indian town, a little before break of day, when the whole crew was in a dead sleep, (reader, see if it proves not so !) one of these women took up a resolution to intimate the action of Jael upon Sisera, and being where she had not her own life secured by any law unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any law to take away the life of the murderers, by whom her child had been butchered. She heartened the nurse and the youth to assist her in this enterprise ; and all furnishing themselves with hatchets for the purpose, they struck such home blows upon the heads of their sleeping oppressors, that e'er they could any of them struggle into any effectual resistance, at the feet of these poor prisoners, they bowed, they fell, they lay down : at their feet they bowed, they fell ; where they bowed, there they fell down dead. Only one squaw escaped sorely wounded from them in the dark ; and one boy, whom they reserved asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly waked, and scuttled away from this desolation. But cutting off the scalps of the ten wretches, they came off, and received fifty pounds from the General Assembly of the province, as a recompense of their action ; besides which they received many presents of congratulation from their more private friends ; but none gave them a greater taste of bounty than Colonel Nicholson, the Governor of Maryland, who hearing of their action, sent them a very generous token of his favour."

*Deerfield burnt. Captivity of Rev. Mr. Williams and Family.*\*—"The storm that threatened Deerfield was now approaching. In the evening of the twenty-ninth of February, 1704,† major Hertel de Rouville with two hundred French and one hundred and forty-two Indians, aided by two of his brothers, after a tedious march of between two and three hundred miles, through deep snow, arrived at an elevated pine forest‡ bordering Deerfield meadow, about two miles north of the village, where they lay concealed until after midnight. Finding all quiet, and the snow covered with a crust sufficient to support the men, Rouville deposited his snow shoes and packs at the foot of the elevation, and crossing Deerfield river, began his march through an open meadow a little before day light. As the march upon the crust produced a rustling noise, which it was apprehended might alarm the sentinels in the fort, he ordered frequent halts, in which the whole lay still for a few moments, and then rising, they dashed on with rapidity. The noise thus alternately ceasing, it was supposed would be attributed by the sentinels, to the irregularity of the wind; but the precaution was unnecessary, for the guard within the fort had improvidently retired to rest about the time the enemy commenced their march through the meadow. Arriving at the northwest quarter of the fort, where the snow in many places was drifted nearly to the top of the palisades, the enemy entered the place, and found all in a profound sleep. Parties detached in different directions assaulted the houses, broke the doors, and dragged the astonished people from their beds. Where resistance was attempted, the tomahawk or musket ended the strife. A few were so fortunate as to escape by flight to the adjacent woods; but the greatest part were killed or made prisoners."

"Early in the assault about twenty Indians attacked the house of the Rev. John Williams, who awaking from a sound sleep, instantly leaped from his bed, ran towards the door and found a party entering. Calling to awaken a couple of soldiers in his chamber, he seized a pistol from his bed tester, and presenting it to the breast of the foremost Indian, attempted to shoot him, but it missed fire. He was instantly seized, bound, and thus kept near an hour without his clothes. Two of his young children were dragged to the door and murdered, and his negro woman suffered the same fate. Mrs. Williams who had lain in but a few weeks previously, and five children were also seized, and the house rifled with unrelenting barbarity. While the Indians were thus employed, captain Stoddard, a lodger in the house, seizing his cloak, leaped from a chamber window, escaped across

\* These accounts are copied from Hoyt's Indian Wars.

† By New Style, March 12, 1704

‡ Now called Petty's Plain



Deerfield river, and availing himself of his cloak, which he tore into shreds and wrapped about his feet, arrived at Hatfield nearly exhausted.

The house of Captain John Sheldon was attacked, but as the door at which the Indians attempted to enter was firmly bolted they found it difficult to penetrate. They then perforated it with their tomahawks, and thrusting through a musket, fired and killed the captain's wife, as she was rising from her bed in an adjoining room. The Captain's son and wife awakened by the assault, leaped from a chamber window at the east end of the house, by which the latter strained her ankle, and was seized by the Indians, but the husband escaped into the woods and reached Hatfield. After gaining possession of the house, which was one of the largest in the place, the enemy reserved it as a depot for the prisoners, as they were collected from other parts of the village.

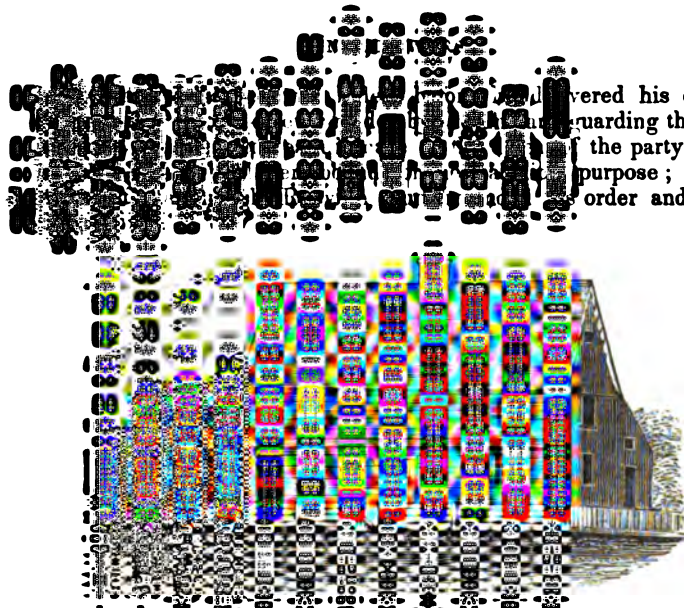
Another dwelling-house situated about fifty yards southwest of Sheldon's, though repeatedly attacked, and various means adopted to set it on fire, was saved from the grasp of the enemy, by seven armed men and a few women, by whom it was occupied. While the brave defenders were pouring their fire upon the assailants from the windows and loop holes, the no less brave women were busily employed in casting balls for future supply. Unable to carry the house, or intimidate the defenders to a surrender, by all their threats and stratagems, the enemy gave up their efforts, and cautiously endeavored to keep out of the range of the shot. But notwithstanding their precautions, several were singled out and shot down by the marksmen in the house.

While devastation and ruin were in operation in the main fort, a palisaded house, situated about sixty rods southerly, was furiously attacked, and gallantly defended by a small party of the inhabitants, and the assailants were at length compelled to draw off. But they received several fatal shots from the house during their stay in the place.

Having collected the prisoners, plundered and set fire to the buildings, Rouville left the place sun about an hour high, and retraced his march through the meadow to his packs and snow shoes, where the prisoners were deprived of their shoes, and furnished with Indian mockasins, to enable them to travel with more facility.

While the enemy were preparing for the march, a party of the inhabitants, who had escaped, returned to the conflagrated village, and joined by the men who had defended the two houses, and a few people who had hurried on from Hatfield, pressed into the meadow in pursuit of the enemy, and a sharp skirmish ensued; but being at length nearly encircled by a superior force, they were compelled to retire, with the loss of nine of their party. The pursuit, though highly honorable to the bravery of the pursuers, exposed the captives to imminent danger. During the fight, the English maintained their ground with great resolution and at one crisis, Rouville, apprehending a defeat, sent orders for the captives to be tomahawked; but fortu-

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be procured on the route. At the commencement of the march, the murder of an infant, was a prelude to the cruelties that were to be expected from the blood thirsty Indians.

The first day's march was necessarily slow and difficult, and but little progress was made. The Indians, probably from a desire to preserve the young, to dispose of in Canada, or to retain for their own service, rather than from tenderness, assisted the parents by carrying the infants and young children upon their backs. At night Rouville encamped in the meadow, in what is now Greenfield, not exceeding four miles from Deerfield village, where by clearing away the snow, spreading boughs, and constructing slight cabins of brush, the prisoners were as comfortably lodged as circumstances would admit. To prevent escapes, the most athletic were bound, and secured according to the Indian mode, and this was practised at the subsequent night camps. Notwithstanding this precaution, Joseph Alexander, one of the prisoners, had the good fortune to escape. To deter other attempts, Mr. Williams, who was considered as the head of the captives, was informed that in case of another escape, the remainder should suffer death by fire. In the course of the night, some of the Indians became intoxicated with spirits they had plundered at Deerfield, and fell upon Mr. William's negro and murdered him.

The second day's march was equally slow, and Mr. Williams was permitted, for a short time, to assist his distressed wife in travelling, who now began to be exhausted; but he was torn from her and placed at the head of the column, leaving her to struggle along unassisted. At the upper part of Greenfield meadow it became necessary to pass Green river, a small stream then open, in performing which, Mrs. Williams plunged under water, but recovering herself, she with difficulty reached the shore and continued her route. An abrupt hill was now to be surmounted, and Mr. Williams, who had gained the summit, intreated his master, (for so the Indian who captured him was called,) for leave to return and help forward his distressed wife, but was barbarously refused and she was left to struggle with difficulties beyond her power. Her ferocious master, finding her a burthen, sunk his hatchet in her head, and left her dead at the foot of the hill.\*

Rouville encamped the second night in the northerly part of the present town of Bernardston; a young woman and infant were dispatched in the course of this day's march. At this camp a consultation was held by the Indians on killing and taking the scalp of Mr. Williams; but his master unwilling to part with so valuable a prize, interfered and saved him from the hatchet. The next day the captives were more equally distributed for convenience of marching, and several exchanged masters. The fourth day brought the army to Connecticut river, about thirty miles above Deerfield, probably in the up-

\* Her body was soon after taken up by a party from Deerfield, and interred in the public burying ground in that town, where her grave stone, with those of her husband, Mr. Williams, are to be seen. She was the only daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather, first pastor of the church in Northampton, by his wife Esther, the daughter of Rev. John Warham, who came from England, 1630.

per part of Brattleborough. Here light sledges were constructed, for the conveyance of the children, wounded, and baggage, and the march which was now on the ice, became more rapid; one female was this day relieved from her sufferings by a stroke of the hatchet.

The march on Connecticut river continued several days without any extraordinary incident, excepting now and then murdering an exhausted captive and fleeing off the scalp. On the first Sunday, the captives were permitted to halt and rest themselves, and Mr. Williams delivered a discourse from these words; '*The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against his commandments: Hear I pray you, all people and behold my sorrow: My virgins and young men are gone into captivity.*' Lam. i. 18.\*

At the mouth of White river, Rouville divided his force into several parties and they took different routes to the St. Lawrence. One which Mr. Williams accompanied, ascended the former river, and passing the highlands, struck Winooski, or Onion, then called French river, and proceeding down that stream to lake Champlain, continued the march on the lake to Missisque bay, near which they joined a party of Indians, on a hunting excursion. Proceeding to the Sorrel, they built canoes and passed down to Chamblee, where they found a French fort, and a small garrison. Their route was then continued to the village of Sorrel, where some of the captives had already arrived. Mr. Williams was thence conveyed down the St. Lawrence, to the Indian village of St. Francis, and sometime after, to Quebec; and after a short residence at that place, sent to Montreal, where he was humanely treated by Governor Vaudreuil.

Another party ascended the Connecticut, and halted sometime at Coos meadows, where provisions being exhausted they barely escaped starvation, by collecting wild game; and two of the captives, David Hoit and Jacob Hix, actually famished. Some of Mr. William's children accompanied this party, and after much delay, and great suffering, they arrived at various Indian lodges on the St. Lawrence. In a few instances the captives were purchased of the Indians, by the French inhabitants; but the greatest proportion were retained by the Indians, at their lodges in various parts of the country. Of the one hundred and twelve taken at Deerfield, about seventeen were killed, or died on the march, and the sufferings of all were severe in the extreme.

During his captivity, Mr. Williams was permitted to visit various places on the St. Lawrence, and in his interviews with the French jesuits, he found them zealously attached to the Roman Catholic religion, to which they spared no pains to convert him, as well as the other captives; and in some instances they inflicted punishments for non-compliance with their ceremonies. But they found him as zealously attached to his own religion, and through his influence most of the captives continued firm in the protestant persuasion. Whether the

\* This sermon is said to have been delivered at the mouth of William's river, in Rockingham, Vermont; from which circumstance the river received its name.

zeal of the jesuits proceeded from tenderness for the souls of the unfortunate heretics, or from a desire to retain them in the country, is a little doubtful. But through the steady and firm perseverance of Mr. Williams, whose alarms at a few unimportant ceremonies, imperiously enforced, and which he might under different circumstances have considered of little or no importance, the whole of his children, excepting one daughter then about ten years of age, were at length redeemed from the Indians, and not long after two were sent home to New England.

In 1706, a flag ship was sent to Quebec by Governor Dudley, by which fifty-seven of the captives were obtained and conveyed to Boston, among whom was Mr. Williams and his remaining Children, with the exception of his daughter Eunice, who notwithstanding all the exertions of her father to obtain her redemption, was left among the Indians, and adopting their manners and customs, married a savage, by whom she had several children. Sometime after the war, she, with her husband, visited her relations at Deerfield, dressed in the Indian costume; and though every persuasive was tried to induce her to abandon the Indians, and to remain among her connections, all proved ineffectual; she returned to Canada and there ended her days, a true savage. At various times since, several of her descendants have visited Deerfield, and other towns in New England, claiming relationship with the descendants of the Rev. Mr. Williams, and have been hospitably received. Recently one of the great grandsons of Mrs. Williams, under the name of Eleazer Williams, has been educated by his friends in New England, and is now employed as a missionary to the Indians at Green bay, on lake Michigan."—*Hoyt's Indian Wars*.

*Attack on Haverhill.*—"In the year 1708, this unfortunate town was again attacked by a body of French and Indians, sent by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, to attack Portsmouth. This company is supposed to have consisted at first of more than four hundred men; but, being wasted by sickness and desertion, they were afraid to attempt that town. A design was then formed to attack Dover, and after that Exeter: but, being diverted from this intention, they turned their course to Haverhill. These men were commanded by Monsieur Perriere de Chaillons, and Monsieur Hertel de Rouville, the Gallic savage, who a little before had destroyed Deerfield. They expected to have been joined by the Indians of Maine and New Hampshire. For a reason, which does not appear, these people declined taking any part in the enterprise. Those, who remained of the army, one half of which was composed of savages, proceeded, according to the orders of the Governour, to accomplish the object of their expedition; or in other words, to burn private dwellings, and to butcher defenceless women and children.

Intelligence of this expedition had reached Boston: and guards had been sent to this, and other towns, exposed to the common

danger. The guards at Haverhill were, however, so posted, that the enemy passed them without being discovered; and on the 29th of August, attacked, burnt, and plundered a considerable part of the town. Most of the adult male inhabitants, within the town were killed: among whom was the Rev. Benjamin Rolfe, the Clergyman; and Capt. Wainright, the Commander of the Militia. It is worthy of remembrance, that a maid servant of Mr. Rolfe escaped from her bed, with two of his daughters, to the cellar; and, covering each of them with a large tub, effectually concealed them from their enemies.

The guards, assembling from their scattered posts, pursued the invaders; and, coming up with them just as they were entering the forests, fought them about an hour; when they retreated into the forest, leaving two of their officers, and seven of their men on the field. Had the advantage been pursued, the party might, not improbably, have been cut off."—*Dwight's Travels*.

The two following occurrences during this attack appear to be well authenticated. "Two Indians attacked the house of Mr. Swan, which stood in the field now called White's lot, nearly opposite to the house of Capt. Emerson. Swan and his wife saw them approaching, and determined, if possible, to save their own lives, and the lives of their children, from the knives of the ruthless butchers. They immediately placed themselves against the door, which was so narrow that two could scarcely enter abreast. The Indians rushed against it, but finding that it could not be easily opened, they commenced their operations more systematically. One of them placed his back to the door, so that he could make his whole strength bear upon it, while the other pushed against him. The strength of the besiegers was greater than that of the besieged, and Mr. Swan, being rather a timid man, said our venerable narrator, almost despaired of saving himself and family, and told his wife that he thought it would be better to let them in. But this resolute and courageous woman had no such idea. The Indians had now succeeded in partly opening the door, and one of them was crowding himself in, while the other was pushing lustily after. The heroic wife saw there was no time for parleying—she seized her spit, which was nearly three feet in length, and a deadly weapon in the hands of a woman, as it proved, and, collecting all the strength she possessed, drove it through the body of the foremost. This was too warm a reception for the besiegers—it was resistance from a source and with a weapon they little expected; and, surely, who else would ever think of spitting a man! The two Indians, thus repulsed, immediately retreated, and did not molest them again. Thus, by the fortitude and heroic courage of a wife and mother, this family was probably saved from a bloody grave.

One of the parties set fire to the back side of the meeting-house, a new and, for that period, an elegant building. These transactions were all performed about the same time; but they were not permitted to continue their work of murder and conflagration long, before they became panic-struck. Mr. Davis, an intrepid man, went behind Mr. Rolfe's barn, which stood near the house, struck it violently with a large club, called on men by name, gave the word of command, as though he were ordering an attack, and shouted with a loud voice, "*Come on! come on! we will have them!*" The party in Mr. Rolfe's house, supposing that a large body of the English had come upon them, began the cry of "*The English are come!*" and, after attempting to fire the house, precipitately left it. About this time Major Turner arrived with a company of soldiers, and the whole body of the enemy then commenced a rapid retreat, taking with them a number of prisoners. The retreat commenced about the rising of the sun. Meantime Mr. Davis ran to the meeting-house, and with the aid of a few others succeeded in extinguishing the devouring element; but it was mostly owing to his exertions that the house was saved."

*Expedition against Quebec, in 1711.*—In 1710, Gen. Nicholson with a fleet of thirty-six ships of war, and transports, with an army arrived at Port Royal in Nova Scotia of which he made an easy conquest. Animated with this success Gen. Nicholson went to England, and obtained a fleet and troops in order to effect the conquest of Canada.

“In a little more than a month, from the arrival of the fleet, the new levies and provisions, for that and the army, were ready. Upon the 30th of July, 1711, the whole armament sailed from Boston for Canada. It consisted of fifteen men of war, twelve directly from England, and three which had before been stationed in America; forty transports, six store ships, and a fine train of artillery with all kinds of warlike stores. The land army on board consisted of five regiments from England and Flanders, and two regiments raised in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire; amounting in the whole to nearly seven thousand men. The fleet was commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker; and the army by Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, then the Queen's favorite. The land force was about equal to that which, under General Wolf, afterward reduced Quebec, though at that time it was not half so strong, as when it was reduced by that famous general.

Upon the same day, on which the fleet sailed from Boston, General Nicholson began his journey for Albany, where, a few days after, he appeared at the head of four thousand men, from the colonies of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The troops from Connecticut were commanded by Colonel William Whiting, who was an experienced officer, and had commanded them the last year, at Port Royal. The New York and New Jersey troops were commanded by Colonels Schuyler and Ingoldsby. Connecticut, besides victualling its own troops, furnished New York with two hundred fat cattle and six hundred sheep. Thus, in about five weeks, the colonies had raised two considerable armies and furnished them with provisions. More than this could not have been expected.

Admiral Walker arrived in the mouth of St. Lawrence, on the 14th of August. That he might not lose the company of the transports, as was pretended, he put into the bay of Gaspee, on the 18th, where he continued until the 20th of the month. On the 22d, two days after he sailed from the bay, the fleet appeared to be in the most hazardous circumstances. It was without soundings, without sight of land; the sky was darkened with a thick fog, and the wind high at east south east. In this situation the ships brought to, with their heads to the southward. This was done with an expectation that the wind would drive them into the midst of the channel. But instead of this, about midnight, the seamen discovered that they were driven upon the north shore among rocks and islands, upon the verge of a total shipwreck. Eight or nine of the British transports were cast away, on board of which were about seventeen hundred officers and soldiers. Nearly a thousand men were lost. The admiral and

general were in the most imminent danger, and saved themselves by anchoring. Such was the violence of the storm that they lost several anchors. Upon this disaster, the admiral bore away for Spanish river bay; but the wind shifting to the east it was eight days before all the transports arrived. In the same time, as the wind was, they might have easily arrived at Quebec. It was there determined, by a council of land and naval officers, that as they had but ten weeks provision, and could not expect a supply from New England, to make no further attempt. The admiral sailed directly for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of October. Here the fleet suffered another surprising calamity. The *Edgar*, a 70 gun ship, blew up, having on board four hundred men, besides many persons who were just come on board to visit their friends. As the cause of this event was wholly unknown, jealous minds were not without suggestions, that even this, as well as the other disaster, was the effect of horrid design.

The admiral and English officers, to exculpate themselves, laid the blame wholly upon the colonies, that they were delayed so long for provision and the raising of the provincials, and that they had such unskillful pilots. The admiral declared, that it was the advice of the pilots that the fleet should come to in the manner it did, but the pilots, from New England, declared, upon oath, that they gave no such advice. If any such was given it must have been by the French pilots on board, either through mistake or upon design. Charlevoix represents, that the French pilots warned the admiral of his danger, but that he did not sufficiently regard them.

General Nicholson had not advanced far before he received intelligence of the loss sustained by the fleet, and the army soon after returned. The Marquis De Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, received intelligence of the arrival of the fleet from England, and of the preparations making in the colonies for the invasion of Canada, and had omitted nothing in his power to put it into a state of defence. No sooner was he apprized of so many ships wrecked and so many bodies with red coats driven on shore, and that the river was clear of ships, than he ordered the whole strength of Canada towards Montreal and lake Champlain. At Champlain he formed a camp of three thousand men to oppose General Nicholson. Had the general crossed the lake it might have been difficult for him to have returned in safety."—*Dr. Trumbull.*

*Capture of Louisburg.*—"After the peace of Utrecht, the French, as a security to their navigation and fishery, built the town of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton; and fortified it with a rampart of stone, from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide. There were six bastions and three batteries, containing embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon, and six mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbour was planted a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pounds shot; and at the bottom of the harbour, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery of twenty-





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 Univ. Hist. xli. 33.

questing their assistance, and an embargo on their ports. Forces were promptly raised ; and William Pepperrell, esquire, of Kittery, was appointed commander of the expedition. This officer on board the Shirley Snow, captain Rouse, with the transports under her convoy, sailed from Nantasket on the twenty fourth of March, and arrived at Canso on the fourth of April. Here the troops, joined by those of New Hampshire and Connecticut, amounting collectively to upwards of four thousand, were detained three weeks, waiting for the ice, which environed the island of Cape Breton, to be dissolved. At length commodore Warren, agreeably to orders from England, arrived at Canso in the *Superbe* of sixty guns, with three other ships of forty guns each ; and, after a consultation with the general, proceeded to cruise before Louisbourg. The general soon after sailed with the whole fleet ; and on the thirtieth of April, coming to anchor at Chapeau-rouge Bay, landed his troops. The next object was, to invest the city. Lieutenant colonel Vaughan conducted the first column through the woods within sight of Louisbourg, and saluted the city with three cheers. At the head of a detachment, chiefly of the New Hampshire troops, he marched in the night to the north east part of the harbour, where they burned the ware houses, containing the naval stores, and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke of this fire, driven by the wind into the grand battery, so terrified the French, that they abandoned it ; and, spiking up the guns, retired to the city. The next morning Vaughan took possession of the deserted battery, which he bravely defended. With extreme labour and difficulty cannon were drawn, for fourteen nights successively, from the landing place through a morass to the camp.\* The cannon, left by the enemy, were drilled, and turned with good effect on the city, within which almost every shot lodged, while several fell into the roof of the citadel. On the seventh of May, a summons was sent in to the commanding officer at Louisbourg, who refused to surrender the place. The siege was therefore still pressed with activity and vigilance by commodore Warren and his ships, and with vigorous perseverance by the land forces. The joint efforts of both were at length, by the blessing of Heaven, crowned with success. It was a circumstance favourable to the assailants, that the garrison at Louisbourg had been so mutinous before the siege, that the officers could not trust the men to make a sortie, lest they should desert. The capture of a French sixty four gun ship, richly laden with military stores, and having on board five hundred and sixty men, destined for the relief of the garrison, threw the ene-

\* The men, with straps over their shoulders, and sinking to their knees in mud, performed the service, which horses or oxen, on such ground, could not have done

my into perturbation. A battery, erected on the high cliff at the light house, greatly annoyed their island battery. Preparations were evidently making for a general assault. Discouraged by these adverse events and menacing appearances, Duchambon, the French commander, determined to surrender; and, on the sixteenth of June, articles of capitulation were signed. After the surrender of the city, the French flag was kept flying on the ramparts; and several rich prizes were thus decoyed. Two East Indiamen and one South Sea ship, estimated at six hundred thousand pounds sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbour. This expedition was one of the most remarkable events in the history of North America. It was hazardous in the attempt, but successful in the execution. 'It displayed the enterprising spirit of New England; and, though it enabled Britain to purchase a peace, yet it excited her envy and jealousy against the colonies, by whose exertions it was acquired'

The news of this important victory flew through the continent. Considerate and pious persons remarked, with mingled gratitude and admiration, the coincidence of numerous circumstances and events, on which the success of the undertaking essentially depended. While the enterprise, patriotism, and firmness of the colonists were justly extolled, for projecting and executing a great design, attended with hardships and danger never before paralleled in America; it was perceived, that there was also no small degree of temerity in the attempt, and that the propitious agency of divine Providence throughout the whole was singularly manifest. *Holmes' Annals.*

*Expedition against Norridgewock—Death of Ralle.*—The Abenakis or Eastern Indians, being situated between the French and English colonies, were often engaged in warfare against the English settlements. They appear to have been very much offended against the English on account of their extending their settlements, &c. on the lands at the eastward. Their jealousies and discontents were heightened by Father

\* Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 4—60; where there is an authentic account of the expedition from original papers. Hutchinson, ii. ch. iv. Douglass, i. 336. Belknap N. Hamp. ii. 193—224. Adams N. Eng. 208. Solicitations were made for a parliamentary reimbursement, which, after much difficulty and delay, was obtained. In 1749, the money, granted by parliament for that purpose, arrived at Boston, and was conveyed to the treasury office. The sum was £183,649, 2s. 7d. 1-2. It consisted of 215 chests (3000 pieces of eight, at a medium, in each chest) of milled pieces of eight, and 100 casks of coined copper. There were 17 cart and truck loads of the silver, and about 10 truck loads of copper. Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 53—58. Brit. Emp. i. 377. Pemberton MS. Chron. The instructions, given by governor Shirley to lieutenant general Pepperrell, for this expedition, are published in Coll. Hist. Soc. i. 1—11. The plan for the reduction of a regularly constructed fortress "was drawn by a lawyer, to be executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of husbandmen and mechanics."

Ralle, or Rasle, a French Jesuit, who resided at Norridgewock, and held a close correspondence with the governor of Canada. Such injuries had been done to the English settlers, that, so early as 1720, many of them removed.

"Discouraged with the ineffectual attempts to intercept the enemy, by scouting parties marching on the back of the frontiers, another expedition was resolved upon, to surprise them at their head quarters, or principal village, Norridgewock. Four companies, consisting in the whole of two hundred and eight men, under the command of Captains Harman, Moulton, and Bourne, were ordered up the river Kennebeck for that purpose. Three Mohawks were engaged to go out on the expedition.

The troops left Richmond fort, on the Kennebeck river, the 19th of August; the 20th, they arrived at Taconick, where they left their whale boats, under a guard of forty men, out of the two hundred and eight. On the 21st, they commenced their march, by land, for Norridgewock. The same evening they discovered and fired on two women, the wife and daughter of the famous and well known warrior Bomazeen. His daughter was killed, and his wife was made prisoner. By her they obtained a full account of the state of Norridgewock. On the 23d, a little after noon, they came near the village. As it was supposed that part of the Indians might be in their corn fields which were at some distance from the village, it was judged best to divide the army. Captain Harman, who was commander in chief, took eighty-four men and marched to the corn fields, and Captain Moulton, with the same number, marched directly to the village. This, about three of the clock, opened suddenly upon them. There was not an Indian to be seen; they were all in their wigwams. The English were ordered to advance as softly as possible, and to keep a profound silence. At length an Indian came out from one of the wigwams, and looking round, discovered the English close upon him. He gave the war whoop, and ran in for his gun. The whole village took the alarm, and about sixty warriors ran to meet the English, while the old men, women and children fled for their lives. Moulton, instead of suffering his men to fire at random through the wigwams, charged them, on pain of death, not to fire a gun till they had received the fire of the Indians. He judged they would fire in a panick and overshoot them. So it happened; not a man was hurt. The English discharged in their turn and made great slaughter. The English kept their ranks; the Indians fired a second time, and fled towards the river. Some jumped into their canoes, but as their paddles had been left in the wigwams, they made their escape but slowly; others jumped into the river and swam; some of the tallest were able to ford it. Some of the English furnished themselves with paddles, and took to the canoes which the Indians had left; others waded into the river, and so pressed upon them, that they were soon driven from all their canoes and from the river. They were shot in the water, and on the opposite shore, as they were making their escape into the

woods. It was imagined by the English, that not more than fifty of the whole village made their escape.

Having put the enemy to flight, the English returned to the village, where they found the jesuit Ralle, firing on a number of our men, who had not been in pursuit of the enemy. He had in the wigwam an English boy, about fourteen years of age, who had been taken about six months before. This boy he had shot through the thigh, and afterwards stabbed in the body; but by the care of surgeons, he recovered.\* Moulton had given orders not to kill the jesuit, but as by his firing from the wigwam, one of the English had been wounded, one Lieutenant Jaques broke open the door and shot him through the head. Jaques excused himself to his commanding officer, alledging that Ralle was loading his gun when he entered the wigwam, and declared that he would neither give nor take quarter. Moulton allowed that some answer was given which provoked Jaques, but he doubted whether it was the same which was reported. He ever expressed his disapprobation of the action. Mog, a famous Indian chief and warrior, was found shut up in another wigwam, from which he fired and killed one of the three Mohawks. This so enraged his brother, that he broke down the door and shot him dead. The English, in their rage, followed and killed his wife and two helpless children.

Harman and his party, who went to the corn fields, did not come up till nearly night, when the action was over. The whole army lodged in the wigwams that night, under a guard of forty men. The next morning they counted twenty-seven dead bodies, and they had one woman and three children prisoners. Among the dead were Bomazeen, Mog, Job, Carabeset, Wissememet, and Bomazeen's son-in-law, all noted warriors. As the troops were anxious for their men and whale boats, they marched early for Taconick. Christian, one of the Mohawks, was sent back, or went of his own accord, after they had begun their march, and set fire to the wigwams and to the church, and then rejoined the company. On the 27th, they returned to the fort at Richmond. This was a heavy blow to the enemy: more than one half of their fighting men were killed or wounded, and most of their principal warriors."†

\* Governor Hutchinson says, "I find this act of cruelty in the account given by Harman upon oath."—*Hist. vol. II. p. 312.*

† "Upon this memorable event in our early annals, Father *Charlevoix* should be heard. There were not, says he, at the time the attack was made, above fifty warriors at *Neridgewok*; these seized their arms, and run in disorder, not to defend the place against an enemy, who was already in it, but to favor the flight of the women, the old men and the children, and to give them time to gain the side of the river, which was not yet in possession of the English. Father *Rasle*, warned by the clamors and tumult, and the danger in which he found his proselytes, ran to present himself to the assailants, hoping to draw all their fury upon him, that thereby he might prove the salvation of his flock. His hope was vain; for hardly had he discovered himself when the English raised a great shout, which was followed by a shower of shot, by which he fell dead near to the cross which he had erected in the centre of the village: seven Indians who attended him, and who endeavored to shield

*Lovell's Expedition.*—"The government of Massachusetts, to promote enterprize and encourage volunteers, raised the premium for Indian scalps and prisoners to an hundred pounds for each. This induced one John Lovell to raise a company of volunteers on purpose to hunt the Indians, and bring in their scalps. On his first scout he got one scalp and one prisoner, which he brought into Boston on the 5th of January, 1725. He took them more than forty miles above the lake of Winnepesaukee. On a second enterprize, he discovered ten Indians round a fire, all asleep. He ordered part of his company to fire on them as they lay, and the other part to fire on them as they rose. Three were killed by the first fire, and the other seven as they rose. On the 3d of March the ten scalps were brought to Boston. Animated by these repeated successes, he made a third attempt, with a company of thirty-three men. On the 8th of May, they discovered an Indian on a point of land which joined to a great pond or lake. They were suspicious that he was set there to draw them into a snare, and that there might be many Indians at no great distance. They therefore laid down their packs, that they might be prepared for action. They then marched nearly two miles round the pond, to kill or take the Indian whom they had discovered. At length, when the English came within gun shot, he fired and wounded Lovell and one of his men with large shot. He was immediately shot and scalped. In the mean time, a party of about eighty Indians seized the packs of the English, and, at a place convenient for their purpose, waited for their return. When they returned, the enemy rose with the Indian yell, fired and ran upon them with their hatchets, in great fury. Lovell, to secure his rear, retreated to the pond, and the English, though their number was so unequal, continued the action five or six hours, until night. Captain Lovell, his lieutenant, Farwell, and Ensign Robbins, were mortally wounded early in the action, and five more were afterwards killed. Sixteen escaped unhurt, and returned, but they were obliged to leave eight of their wounded companions in the woods, without provisions and without a surgeon. One of them was Mr. Fry, their chaplain, of Andover, who had behaved with great bravery, had killed and scalped one Indian in the heat of the action, but finally perished for want of relief. Two of the

him with their own bodies, fell dead at his side. Thus died this charitable pastor, giving his life for his sheep, after thirty-seven years of painful labors.

Although the English shot near 2000 muskets, they killed but 30 and wounded 40. They spared not the church, which, after they had indignantly profaned its sacred vases, and the adorable body of Jesus Christ, they set on fire. They then retired with precipitation,\* having been seized with a sudden panic. The Indians returned immediately into the village; and their first care, while the women sought plants and herbs proper to heal the wounded, was to shed tears upon the body of their holy missionary. They found him pierced with a thousand shot, his scalp taken off, his skull fractured with hatchets, his mouth and eyes filled with dirt, the bones of his legs broken, and all his members mutilated in a hundred different ways."—*Drake's Book of the Indians.*

\* They encamped the following night in the Indian wigwams, under a guard of only 40 men.—*Hutchinson, ii. 312.*

eight afterwards got into the English settlements. Fifteen in the whole were lost, and eighteen saved. This unfortunate affair discouraged all scalping parties for the future.

From this time the war languished, and nothing material was transacted. The English and Indians were both weary of it, and wished for peace. After the death of Ralle, the Indians were at liberty to follow their own inclinations. The Penobscots began war with the greatest reluctance, and were now considered as most inclined to peace. To discover their feelings, an Indian hostage was suffered to go home near the close of the winter of 1724, with a captive, on their parole. They came back to the fort at St. Georges on the 6th of February, accompanied with two others of the tribe. They related, that at a meeting of the Penobscots, it was agreed to make proposals of peace. One of the Indians, who was a sachem, was sent back with the other Indian, to bring a deputation of several other chiefs, for the purpose of concluding a peace. In consequence of these measures, some time in June, preliminaries of peace were settled, and a cessation of arms was agreed upon. Soon after, four delegates came to Boston and signed a treaty of peace."—*Dr. Trumbull's Hist. Con.*

*D'Anville's Expedition.*—In 1746, while the colonies of New England were projecting new enterprises against the French, intelligence of danger arrived, which threw the whole country into the utmost consternation. "A very large fleet from France, under the command of Duke D'Anville, had arrived at Nova Scotia. It consisted of about forty ships of war, beside transports, and brought over between three and four thousand regular troops, with veteran officers, and all kinds of military stores; the most powerful armament that had ever been sent into North America. The object of this great armament was supposed to be, to recover Louisbourg; to take Annapolis; to break up the settlements on the eastern coast of Massachusetts; and to distress, if not attempt to conquer, the whole country of New England.\* The troops, destined for Canada, had now sufficient employment at home; and the militia was collected to join them. The old forts on the sea-coast were repaired; new forts were erected; and military guards appointed. The country was kept in a state of anxiety and fear six weeks; when it was relieved by intelligence of the disabled state of the enemy. The French fleet had sustained much damage by storms, and great loss by shipwrecks. An expected junction of M. Conflans, with three ships of the line and a frigate from Hispaniola, had failed. A pestilential fever prevailed among the French troops. Intercepted letters, opened

\* The real orders of D'Anville were, to retake and dismantle Louisbourg; to take and garrison Annapolis; to destroy Boston; to range along the coasts of North America; and, in conclusion, to visit the British sugar islands. His *original armament* is referred to in the text

in a council of war, raising expectation of the speedy arrival of an English fleet, caused a division among the officers. Under the pressure of these adverse occurrences, D'Anville was either seized with an apoplectic fit, or took a poisonous draught, and suddenly expired. D'Estournelle, who succeeded him in the command of the fleet, proposed in a council of officers to abandon the expedition, and return to France. The rejection of his proposal caused such extreme agitation, as to bring on a fever, which threw him into a delirium, and he fell on his sword. The French, thus disconcerted in their plan, resolved to make an attempt on Annapolis; but, having sailed from Chebucto, they were overtaken by a violent tempest off Cape Sable, and what ships escaped destruction returned singly to France.\*

A more remarkable instance of preservation seldom occurs. Had the project of the enemy succeeded, it is impossible to determine to what extent the American colonies would have been distressed or desolated. When man is made the instrument of averting public calamity, the divine agency ought still to be acknowledged; but this was averted without human power. If philosophers would ascribe this extraordinary event to blind chance, or fatal necessity, Christians will surely ascribe it to the operation of that BEING, who, in ancient time, caused 'the stars, in their courses, to fight against Sisera.'—*Holmes' Annals*.

*Conquest of Nova Scotia.*—"The command of the expedition against Nova Scotia was given to Lieutenant Colonel Monkton, a British officer of respected military talents. The troops, destined for this service, were almost entirely drawn from Massachusetts, and amounted to about three thousand men. The New England forces were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Winslow of Marshfield, a major, general of the militia, and an officer of great respectability and influence. The troops embarked at Boston on the 20th May, 1755, and arrived on the 25th at Annapolis Royal; whence, on the first of June, they sailed, in a fleet of forty-one vessels, to Chignecto. After being joined by about three hundred regulars with a small train of artillery, they marched for the French fort Beausejour. At the river Mussaguash, on the west side of which the French claimed, they found a block house, with some small cannon and swivels, and a breast

\* Hutchinson, ii. ch. iv. The French, from the day in which they left France in June to the day in which they left Chebucto, buried 2400 men, 1100 of whom died at Chebucto. One third of the Indians, who visited the French cantonments, died. The disease subsided there, without becoming epidemic. On this occasion, the assembly of Massachusetts gave the governor unlimited power to strengthen the works at Castle William, and do whatever he should think necessary for the immediate defence of the harbour of Boston; and such additional works were made to the Castle, as rendered it, for its extent, the most considerable fortress by sea in the English colonies.



work, with troops judiciously posted to oppose their progress; but, after a conflict of about an hour, they effected a passage, with the loss of one man only, the French burning their block-house and village. They now encamped about two miles from fort Beausejour; and Lieutenant Colonel Winslow, with three hundred men, having dislodged a party of the enemy from an eminence, advanced within six hundred yards of the fort. The entrenchments were opened, and, on the sixteenth, the enemy surrendered. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and to be transported with their effects to Louisbourg, at the expense of the king of Great Britain, on condition of not bearing arms for six months. The name of fort Beausejour was now changed to Cumberland. The fort at Gaspareau necessarily surrendered next; and was allowed the same terms as the former. The French force in Nova Scotia being subdued, a difficult question occurred, what ought to be done with the inhabitants. These amounted to about seven thousand, and were of a mild, frugal, industrious and pious character. But, though they had chosen to be denominated neutrals, they had furnished the French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions, and aid in annoying the government of the province; and three hundred of them were actually found in arms at fort Beausejour. An offer was made to such of them as had not been openly in arms, to be allowed to continue in possession of their land, if they would take the oath of allegiance without any qualification; but they unanimously refused it. On the whole, after the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia and his council had consulted with Admirals Boscawen and Mostyn on the necessary measures to be adopted toward them, it was determined to disperse them among the British colonies. This measure was principally effected by the New England forces, whose commander, uniting humanity with firmness, was eminently qualified for the difficult and ungrateful service. In this entire expedition, the English had but twenty men killed, and about the same number wounded.\*

*Battle of Lake George.*†—"This battle was fought at the head of Lake George, September 8th, 1755, between the provincial troops under the command of Major General, afterwards Sir

\* At Grand Pré, where Colonel Winslow had the immediate command, there were made prisoners 483 men and 337 women, heads of families, 527 of their sons and 576 of their daughters, amounting in all to 1923 souls. To prevent the resettlement of those who escaped, the country was laid waste. In the district of Minas only, there were destroyed 255 houses, 276 barns, 155 outhouses, 11 mills, and 1 church. One thousand of the proscribed and wretched Acadians were transported to Massachusetts, where many of them embarked for France.

† Dwight's Travels, 3d vol. Dr. Dwight visited the battle grounds, and derived much of his information from eye witnesses of the action. The loss of the French was estimated at eight hundred, that of the English but two hundred.

William Johnson, aided by a body of Indians, led by the celebrated Hendrick; and a body of French, Canadians, and Indians, commanded by Monsieur le Baron de Dieskau. This nobleman arrived from France, in company with Monsieur de Vaudreuil, Governour General of Canada, and brought with him from Brest, 3000 regular troops, destined to act under his command against the British colonies. Of these six hundred were taken, with the *Lys* and *Alcide* men of war, by Admiral Boscawen. A thousand were left at Louisburgh. The remainder were landed at Quebec. The Baron was instructed to reduce Oswego; a fortification on the south side of Lake Ontario, and on the eastern side of the river Oswego, or Onondaga. This fortress was of considerable importance, from its position in the country of the Iroquois; and enabled the English in a great measure to exclude the French from any very dangerous communication with that people. In obedience to these instructions he proceeded directly to Montreal; and having despatched seven hundred men up the river St. Lawrence, made preparations to follow them. Before his departure, however, intelligence reached that city, that a considerable army was assembling at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, now Lake George, with an intention to reduce fort Frederic, since called Crown Point, and perhaps to invade Canada. At a council, convened upon this news, Baron Dieskau was vehemently solicited, and with no small difficulty prevailed upon, to direct his course up Lake Champlain. At Fort Frederic he waited some time for the arrival of the English army; but finding no prospect of their approach, determined to go and seek them. Accordingly, he embarked with 2000 men in batteaux, and landed at the head of South-bay, in the township of Skeensborough, now *Whitehall*; about sixteen or eighteen miles from Sandy-hill, and in the route which he took, about twenty-eight or thirty from the head of Lake George. An English prisoner, taken by his scouts, informed him, that Fort Edward, then called Fort Lyman, (from Major General Lyman, under whose direction this fortress had been erected the preceding summer;) was defenceless; and that the army of General Johnson was in the same state; being without fortifications, and without cannon. Upon this information Dieskau determined immediately to attack the fort. As soon as he formed his determination, he explained to his troops the advantages of the proposed measure, which was certainly worthy of his military character. Had the design succeeded; and in the infant state of the works, it would in all probability have been successful; the army under Johnson would have been cut off from all supplies; and must either have marched immediately back, and fought the enemy, then formidable by success, as well as numbers, and skill, furnished with cannon and other supplies

from the fort, and choosing his own ground for action; or they must have surrendered at discretion. The great body of his troops, however, consisting of Canadians and Indians, were ill-fitted to comprehend a measure of this magnitude; and as little disposed to venture upon its execution. Either they had been informed, or they suspected, that the fort was defended by cannon: objects of peculiar dread to both these classes of men. In spite of the exhortations of their commander, they absolutely refused to advance against the fort; but professed their readiness, at the same time, to attack the army under Johnson, entirely destitute, as the Baron had told them, and as he himself believed, of both cannon and works. In vain did he attempt to overcome their reluctance. There was, therefore, no alternative left, but either to attack Johnson, or to retrace his course to South bay. Without hesitation he marched his army towards the head of Lake George.

Gen. Johnson's first intimation of the approach of his enemy had been given by a scout, who discovered the French army on their march from South bay towards Fort Edward. Upon the receipt of this intelligence he dispatched several messengers, to advertise Col. Blanchard, who commanded that fortress, of his danger.

On the night of Sunday, September 7, at 12 o'clock, information was brought, that the enemy had advanced four miles on the road from Fort Edward to Lake George; or half way between the village of Sandy-Hill and Glen's falls. A council of war was held early in the morning, at which it was resolved to send a party to meet them. The number of men, determined upon at first, was mentioned by the General to Hendrick; and his opinion was asked. He replied, 'If they are to fight, they are too few. If they are to be killed, they are too many.' The number was accordingly increased. Gen. Johnson also proposed to divide them into three parties. Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said to him, 'Put these together, and you can't break them. Take them one by one, and you will break them easily.' The hint succeeded, and Hendrick's sticks saved the party, and probably the whole army, from destruction.

The party detached consisted of twelve hundred, and were commanded by Col. Ephraim Williams, whose character has been already given in these Letters; a brave and skillful officer, greatly beloved by the soldiery, and greatly respected by the country at large. Lieut. Col. Whiting, of New-Haven, was second in command, and brought up the rear. Col. Williams met the enemy at Rocky brook, four miles from Lake George. Dieskau had been informed of his approach by his scouts, and arranged his men in the best possible order to receive them, extending his line on both sides of the road in the form of a half-moon. Johnson did not begin to raise his breast-work until after Williams had marched; nor, as a manuscript account of this transaction, now before me, declares, until after the rencounter between Williams and the enemy had begun.

Williams marched his men directly into the hollow of the half-moon. This will be explained by the fact, that the whole country was a deep forest. When the enemy saw them completely within his power, he opened a fire of musketry on the front, and on both flanks, of the English at the same moment. The English fell in heaps; and at the head of them their gallant commander. Hendrick also was mortally wounded, fighting with invincible courage in the front of his people. He was shot in the back: a fact which filled him with disdain and anguish; as he thought, that he should be believed to have fled from the enemy. The truth was; the horns of the half-moon were so far advanced, that they in a great measure inclosed the van of the English, and fired upon them from the rear. From this fire Hendrick received the wound which terminated his life.

Upon the death of Col. Williams, Lieut. Col. Whiting succeeded to the command of the detachment. He was an officer of great merit, and had gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh; and, in consequence of his gallant conduct at that siege, had been made a Captain in the regular British service. Whiting, seeing the danger of his men, immediately ordered a retreat; and conducted it so judiciously, that he saved the great body of them from destruction, in circumstances of extreme peril; in which their own confusion and alarm, and the situation of the ground, threatened their extermination no less than the superior numbers of the enemy.

The noise of the first fire was heard at Lake George. Efforts began then to be made in earnest by the General for the defence of the camp: and a party of three hundred men were despatched under Lieut. Col. Cole, to support the retreating corps. A few stragglers, both English and Indians, came into the camp, and announced, what had indeed been already sufficiently evident from the approaching sound of the musketry, that the French army was superiour in numbers and strength to Col. Williams' corps, and was driving them towards the camp. Some time after 'the whole party that escaped,' says Gen. Johnson, 'came in in large bodies:' a decisive proof of the skill, and coolness, with which Lieut. Col. Whiting conducted this retreat. These men also arranged themselves in their proper places; and took their share in the engagement, which followed.

About half after eleven o'clock the enemy appeared in sight; marching up the road in the best order towards the centre of the English. When they came to the bottom of an open valley, directly in front of the elevation, on which Fort George was afterwards built, and on which the centre of the English army was posted; Dieskau halted his men about fifteen minutes, at the distance of little more than one hundred and fifty yards from the breast-work. I have never seen a reason, assigned for this measure. I think I can assign one. The Indians were sent out on the right flank, and a part of the Canadians on the left, intending to come in upon the rear of the English, while the main body attacked them in front. The ground was remarkably favourable to this design; being swampy, thickly forested, and, therefore, perfectly fitted to conceal the approach of these parties.

The Indians, however, were soon discovered by Lieut. Col. Pomeroy, who immediately mentioned the fact to the General; and, observing to him, that these people were extremely afraid of cannon, requested that one or two pieces might be pointed against them. They were then near the ground on which Fort William Henry was afterwards built. The General approved of the proposal. A shell was instantly thrown among them from a howitzer; and some field pieces showered upon them a quantity of grape shot. The Indians fled.

The Baron, in the mean time, led up his main body to attack the centre. They began the engagement by firing regularly in platoons; but at so great a distance, that they did very little execution. This circumstance was favourable to the English; and soon recovering from the panic, into which they had been thrown by the preceding events of the day, they fought with great spirit and firmness.

Gen. Johnson, at the commencement of the battle, received a flesh wound in his thigh: and the ball lodged in it. He bled freely, but was able to walk away from the army to his tent. General Lyman then took the command, and continued in it during the action. This gentleman, who seemed to have no passions, except those, which are involved in the word *humanity*, immediately stationed himself in the front of the breast-work; and there, amid the thickest danger, issued his orders, during five hours, to every part of the army, as occasion demanded, with a serenity, which many covet, and some boast, but very few acquire. The main body of the French kept their ground, and preserved their order, for a considerable time: but the artillery, under the command of Captain Eyre, a brave English officer, who performed his part with much skill and reputation, played upon them with such success; and the fire from the musketry was so warm, and well-directed; that their ranks were soon thinned, and their efforts slackened, sufficiently to show, that they despaired of success in this quarter. They then made another effort against the right of the English, stationed between the road and the site of fort William Henry, and composed of Ruggles' regiment, Williams', now commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, and Titcomb's. Here a warm fire was kept up on both sides about an hour; but on the part of the enemy was unavailing.

At four o'clock, the English, and the Indians who fought with them, leaped over their breast-work, and charged the enemy. They fled, and were vigorously pursued for a short distance. A considerable number were slain in the pursuit. The wounded, and a very few others, were made prisoners. Among these was Dieskau. He was found by a soldier, resting on a stump, with hardly an attendant. As he was feeling for his watch, in order to give it to the soldier, the man, suspecting that he was searching for a pistol, discharged the contents of his musket through his hips. He was carried into the camp in a blanket by eight men, with the greatest care and tenderness, but evidently in extreme distress."

"Hendrick had lived to this day with singular honour, and died, fighting with a spirit not to be excelled. He was at this time from

sixty to sixty-five years of age. His head was covered with white locks; and what is uncommon among Indians, he was corpulent. Immediately before Col. Williams began his march, he mounted a stage, and harangued his people. He had a strong masculine voice; and, it was thought, might be distinctly heard at the distance of half a mile: a fact, which, to my own view, has diffused a new degree of probability over Homer's representations of the effects produced by the speeches and shouts of his heroes. Lieut. Col. Pomeroy, who was present, and heard this effusion of Indian eloquence, told me, that, although he did not understand a word of the language, yet such was the animation of Hendrick, the fire of his eye, the force of his gesture, the strength of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflections of his voice, and the natural appearance of his whole manner, that himself was more deeply affected with this speech, than with any other which he had ever heard. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1755, he is styled 'the famous Hendrick, a renowned Indian warrior among the Mohawks:' and it is said, that his son, being told that his father was killed, giving the usual Indian groan upon such occasions, and suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore that his father was still alive in that place, and that there stood his son.

Baron Dieskau was conveyed from Albany to New-York, and from thence to England; where soon after he died. He was an excellent officer; possessed very honourable feelings; and was adorned with highly polished manners. I know of but one stain upon his character. Before his engagement with Col. Williams' corps, he gave orders to his troops neither to give nor take quarter. As there was nothing, either in the nature of his enterprize, or in his circumstances, to justify this rigour; it is to be accounted one of those specimens of barbarity, which, it must be acknowledged, too frequently disgrace the human character.

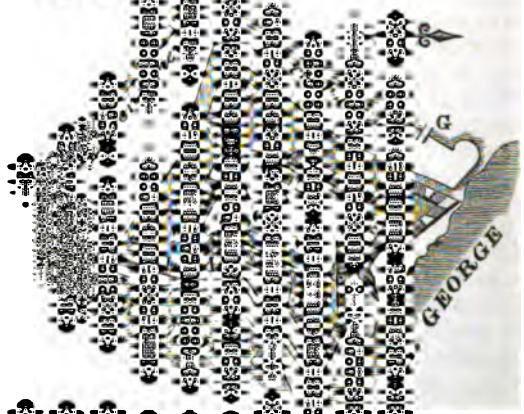
The remainder of the campaign was idled away by Gen. Johnson in doing nothing. A person who has examined the French works at Crown Point, will perceive that he might easily have possessed himself of this fortress, had he made the attempt; as it is entirely commanded by rising grounds in the neighbourhood. Instead of this, the French, immediately after their panic was over, erected a fortification at Ticonderoga; fifteen miles higher up Lake Champlain; and fixed themselves so much farther within the boundaries of the British possessions."

*Plans of Fort Frederick at Crown Point, and Fort William Henry.*—Fort Frederick was built by the French in 1731. This fortress (now in ruins) was a star work being in the form of a pentagon, with bastions at the angles, and surrounded by a ditch walled in with stone. This post secured the command of Lake Champlain, and guarded the passage into Canada. It was through this lake by the route of Crown Point, that the parties of French and Indians made their bloody incursions upon the



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William Henry.

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vanced from Canada and laid siege to Fort William Henry, at the south point of Lake George, August 3d, 1756.

“ Having drawn together all his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, with a greater number of Indians than the French had ever employed on any other occasion, he passed the lake and regularly invested the fort. The whole army consisted of nearly eight thousand men. The garrison consisted of about three thousand, and the fortifications were said to be good. At fort Edward, scarcely fourteen miles distant, lay General Webb, with four thousand troops. The regular troops at the two posts, were probably more than equal to the regular force of the enemy. A considerable proportion of their army consisted of Canadians and Indians. Yet, in about six days, was this important post delivered up into the hands of the enemy. All the vessels, boats, and batteaux, which, at so much expense and labor, had been for two years preparing, fell into the power of the enemy. Though General Webb had timely notice of the approach of the enemy, yet he never sent to alarm the country, and bring on the militia. He never reinforced the garrison, nor made a single motion for its relief. So far was he from this, that he sent a letter to Colonel Monroe, who commanded the fort, advising him to give it up to the enemy. Montcalm intercepted the letter, and sent it into the fort to the colonel. He had acted the part of a soldier and made a brave defence ; but having burst a number of his cannon, expended a considerable part of his ammunition, and perceiving that he was to have no relief from General Webb, he capitulated on terms honorable for himself and the garrison. It was, to march out with arms, baggage, and one piece of cannon, in honor to Colonel Monroe, for the brave defence he had made. The troops were not to serve against the most christian king under eighteen months, unless exchanged for an equal number of French prisoners. The French and Indians paid no regard to the articles of capitulation, but falling on the English, stripped them of their baggage and few remaining effects ; and the Indians, in the English service, were dragged from the ranks, tomahawked and scalped. Men and women had their throats cut, their bodies ripped open, and their bowels, with insult, thrown in their faces. Infants and children were barbarously taken by the heels, and their brains dashed out against stones and trees. The Indians pursued the English nearly half the way to fort Edward, where the greatest number of them arrived in a most forlorn condition. It seems astonishing, that between two and three thousand troops, with arms in their hands, should, contrary to the most express stipulations, suffer these intolerable insults. When it was too late, General Webb alarmed the country, and put the colonies to great expense in sending on large detachments of the militia for



the defence of the northern frontier. The sudden capture of the fort, the massacre made by the enemy's Indians, and suspicions of General Webb's treachery, and an apprehension that Gen. Montcalm would force his way to Albany, put the country into a state of great alarm and consternation."

*Abercrombie's Defeat before Ticonderoga.*—"As the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was a favorite object with the northern colonies, they made early and great exertions for carrying it into effectual execution. Besides the assistance which they gave to the reduction of Louisburg, they furnished about ten thousand troops for the northern expedition. These, in conjunction with between six and seven thousand regular troops, had by the beginning of July, got into lake George more than a thousand boats and batteaux, a fine train of artillery, provisions, and every thing necessary for an attack on the fortresses of the enemy.

On the 5th of July, the army, consisting of fifteen thousand three hundred and ninety effective men, embarked in nine hundred batteaux, and one hundred and thirty five whale boats, for Ticonderoga. Besides, there were a number of rafts, on which cannon were mounted, to cover the landing of the troops. Early the next morning, they landed at the north end of lake George, without opposition. The army formed in four columns, and began their march for Ticonderoga. But as the woods were thick, and the guides unskillful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns falling in one upon another, were entirely broken. In this confusion, Lord Howe, advancing at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, consisting of a battalion of regulars and a few Indians, who had deserted their advanced camp near the lake, and were precipitately fleeing from our troops; but had lost their way, and were bewildered in the same manner as they were. The enemy discharged, and killed Lord Howe the first fire. The suddenness of the attack, the terribleness of the Indian yell, and the fall of Lord Howe, threw the regulars, who composed the centre columns, into a general panic and confusion; but the provincials, who flanked them, and were more acquainted with their mode of fighting, stood their ground and soon defeated them. The loss of the enemy, was about three hundred killed, and one hundred and forty-eight taken. The loss of the English was inconsiderable as to numbers, but in worth and consequences, it was great. The loss of that gallant officer, Lord Howe, was irreparable. From the day of his arrival in America, he had conformed himself, and made his regiment to conform, to that kind of service which the country required. He was the first to endure hunger and fatigue, to encounter danger, and to sacrifice all personal considerations to the public service. While he was rigid in discipline, by his affability, condescending and

easy manners, he conciliated affection, and commanded universal esteem. Indeed, he was considered very much as the idol and life of the army. The loss of such a man, at such a time, cannot be estimated. To this, the provincials attributed the defeat and unhappy consequences which followed.

As the troops for two nights had slept little, were greatly fatigued, and needed refreshment, the General ordered them to return to the landing place, where they arrived at eight in the morning. Colonel Bradstreet was soon after detached with a strong corps, to take possession of the saw mill, about two miles from Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned. Towards the close of the day, the whole army marched to the mill. The Gen. having received information, that the garrison at Ticonderoga consisted of about six thousand men, and that a reinforcement of three thousand more was daily expected, determined to lose no time in attacking their lines. He ordered his engineer to reconnoitre the ground and intrenchments of the enemy. It seems that he had not so approached and examined them as to obtain any proper idea of them. He made a favorable report of their weakness, and of the facility of forcing them without cannon. On this groundless report, a rash and fatal resolution was taken, to attack the lines without bringing up the artillery.

The army advanced to the charge with the greatest intrepidity, and for more than four hours with incredible obstinacy maintained the attack. But the works where the principal attack was made were eight or nine feet high, and impregnable even by field pieces; and for nearly an hundred yards from the breast work, trees were felled so thick, and so wrought together with their limbs pointing outward, that it rendered the approach of the troops in a great measure impossible. In this dreadful situation, under the fire of about three thousand of the enemy, these gallant troops were kept, without the least prospect of success, until nearly two thousand were killed and wounded.\* They were then called off. To this rash and precipitate attack succeeded a retreat equally unadvised and precipitate. By the evening of the next day the army had retreated to their former encampment at the south end of lake George.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the opinions, or more mortifying to the feelings of the provincials, than this whole affair. They viewed the attack upon the lines without the artillery as the height of madness. Besides, it was made under every disadvantage to the assailants. The enemy's lines were of great extent, nearly three quarters

\* Of the regulars were killed 464; of the provincials 87: in the whole 548. Of the regulars were wounded 1117; of the provincials 239: in the whole 1356. There were missing 29 regulars and 8 provincials. The whole loss in killed, wounded and missing was 1941. General Abercrombie's return.

of a mile. On the right of the common path towards south bay, and especially on the north, they were weak and of little consideration. In both these quarters they might have been approached under the cover of a thick wood. The army was sufficiently numerous to have attacked the lines in their whole extent once, or at least in a very great part of them, and to have drawn their attention to various parts of their lines. But, unhappily, the attack was made upon a small part of them where they were far the strongest, and most inaccessible. As no attacks or feints were made on other parts, the enemy were left to pour their whole fire on a small spot, while the whole army could not approach it. Besides, the general never approached the field, where his presence was indispensably necessary; but remained at the mill, where he could see nothing of the action, nor know any thing only by information at a distance of two miles. By reason of this, the troops for hours after they should have been called off, were pushed on to inevitable slaughter."—*Dr. Trumbull.*

*Capture of Quebec.*—The year 1759 was distinguished by the success of the British arms; the fortifications of Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara were taken in quick succession from the French.

"While these operations were carried on in the vicinity of Upper Canada, Gen. Wolfe was prosecuting the grand enterprise for the reduction of Quebec. Having embarked about eight thousand men at Louisbourg, under convoy of admirals Saunders and Holmes, he safely landed them toward the end of June, a few leagues below the city of Quebec, on the Isle of Orleans, lying in the St. Lawrence. From this position he had a distinct view of the difficulties and dangers of the projected enterprise. Quebec is chiefly built on a steep rock on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence; and, beside its natural strength, is defended by the river St. Charles, which, passing by it on the east, empties into the St. Lawrence immediately below the town, and places it in a kind of peninsula. In the St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose borders are intersected with ravines, there were several armed vessels and floating batteries; and a strong boom was drawn across its mouth. On its eastern bank a formidable French army, strongly entrenched, extended its encampment to the river Montmorency, having its rear covered by an almost impenetrable wood; and at the head of this army was the intrepid Montcalm. To attempt a siege of the town, in such circumstances, seemed repugnant to all the maxims of war; but, resolved to do whatever was practicable for the reduction of the place, Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against it. These batteries, though they destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong, and too remote, to be essentially affected;



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waiting for support, rushed impetuously toward the enemy's intrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musquetry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter at the redoubt, which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunder storm, they were still within reach of a severe fire from the French; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form the troops, were killed. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English general gave orders for repassing the river, and returning to the Isle of Orleans. This premature attempt on the enemy was attended with the loss of near five hundred men.

Assured of the impracticability of approaching Quebec on the side of the Montmorency, while Montcalm chose to maintain his station, Wolfe detached general Murray with twelve hundred men in transports, to co-operate with admiral Holmes above the town, in endeavouring to destroy the French shipping, and to distract the enemy by descents on the bank of the river. After two unsuccessful attempts to land on the northern shore, Murray, by a sudden descent at Chambaud, burned a valuable magazine, filled with clothing, arms, ammunition, and provisions; but the French ships were secured in such a manner, as not to be approached either by the fleet or army. On his return to the British camp, he brought the consolatory intelligence, received from his prisoners, that Niagara was taken; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point were abandoned; and that general Amherst was making preparations to attack the enemy at Isle Aux Noix. This intelligence, though in itself grateful, furnished no prospect of immediate assistance. It even confirmed the certainty of failure on the part of general Amherst in seasonably executing the plan of co-operation, concerted between the two armies; a failure to which all the embarrassments of Wolfe are attributed.

Nothing however could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the enterprise. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved, that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the Isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up the river. Montcalm, apprehending from this movement, that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Although Wolfe was at this time confined by sickness; the three English brigadier generals projected and laid before him a daring plan for getting possession of the heights back of Quebec, where it was but slightly fortified. They proposed to land the



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projection of the rocks, and the branches of trees and plants, growing on the cliffs. The rest of the troops, emulating their example, followed up the narrow pass; and by break of day (September 13th) the whole army reached the summit.

Montcalm, when informed that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded Quebec, could not at first credit the intelligence. Believing the ascent of an army by such a rugged and abrupt precipice impracticable, he concluded it was merely a feint, made by a small detachment, to induce him to abandon his present position. When convinced of his mistake, he perceived that a battle could no longer be prudently avoided, and instantly prepared for it. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army. No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions, and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by general Monckton; and the left by general Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisbourg grenadiers; and the rear and left, by Howe's light infantry. The form, in which the French advanced, indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army Gen. Townshend was sent with the battalions of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line; and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals. The dispositions, made by the French general, were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The center consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers; but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge; and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two generals met each other, where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line; and then, by a general discharge, made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy every where yielded to it. General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he



which fixed bayonets, not disconcerted on, on whom the ball through his downshend. Mont- a mortal wound, the second in ssed on with their with the troops French army. The evoked the confusion restless fury, drove and partly over my behaved with body of two thou- vorious army; but so much broken attack. The vic- enemy were made the battle and the du Tremble, and



afterward to Trois Rivières and Montreal. The loss of the English, both of killed and wounded, was less than six hundred men.

General Townshend proceeded to fortify his camp, and to make the necessary preparations for the siege of Quebec; but, five days after the victory, the city surrendered to the English fleet and army. By the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants were, during the war, to be protected in the free exercise of their religion; and their future destination was left to be decided at a general peace. The capital of New France, thus reduced under the dominion of Great Britain, was garrisoned by about five thousand men under the command of general Murray; and the British fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence. Quebec contained, at the time of its capitulation, about ten thousand souls.

The prisoners were embarked in transports, the day after the capitulation, for France. General James Wolfe, who expired in the arms of victory, was only thirty three years of age. He possessed those military talents, which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action, 'to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge the correctness of judgment perfected by experience,' would have 'placed him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation.' After he had received his mortal wound, it was with reluctance that he suffered himself to be conveyed into the rear. Leaning on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who knelt down to support him, he was seized with the agonies of death; but, hearing the words 'they run,' he exclaimed, 'Who run?' 'The French,' replied his supporter. 'Then I die happy,' said the general, and expired. A death more glorious, says Belsham, is no where to be found in the annals of history. Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer, whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed, that it was mortal, his reply was, 'I am glad of it.' On being told, that he could survive but a few hours, 'So much the better,' he replied, 'I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec.'

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## COLONIAL ANTIQUITIES.

*Foundation of the government of Plymouth Colony.*—The Plymouth settlers on their arrival at Cape Cod, not finding themselves within their patent, concluded it necessary to establish a government for themselves. They accordingly formed themselves into a body politic by a '*solemn contract*' of which the following is a copy, with the name of the signers.

"In the name of God, Amen We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620."

This compact was subscribed in the following order by

Mr. John Carver,	Edward Tilly,	Degory Priest,
Mr. William Bradford,	John Tilly,	Thomas Williams,
Mr. Edward Winslow,	Francis Cook,	Gilbert Winslow,
Mr. William Brewster,	Thomas Rogers,	Edward Margeson,
Mr. Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Tinker,	Peter Brown,
Capt. Miles Standish,	John Ridgale,	Richard Britterige,
John Alden,	Edward Fuller,	George Soule,
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	John Turner,	Richard Clarke,
Mr. Christopher Martin,	Francis Eaton,	Richard Gardiner,
Mr. William Mullins,	James Chilton,	John Allerton,
Mr. William White,	John Crackston,	Thomas English,
Mr. Richard Warren,	John Billington,	Edward Dotey,
John Howland,	Moses Fletcher,	Edward Leister.
Mr. Stephen Hopkins,	John Goodman,	

*Extracts from the early Records of Plymouth Colony.*—"January 1627—It was now enacted by public consent of the freemen of this society of New Plymouth, that if now or hereafter any were elected to the office of Governor, and would not stand to the election, nor hold and execute the office for his year, that then he be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and in case refused to be paid upon the lawful demand of the ensuing Governor, then to be levied out of the goods or chattles of the said person so refusing.

It was further ordered and decreed that if any were elected to the office of councell and refused to hold the place, that then he be amerced in ten pounds sterling fine, and in case refused to be paid to be forthwith levied.

It was further decreed and enacted that in case one and the same person should be elected governor a second year, having held the place the foregoing year it should be lawful for him to refuse without any amercement. And the company to proceed to a new election except they can prevail with him by entreaty.

July 1, 1633. That the person in whose house any were found, or suffered to drinke drunck, be left to the arbitrary fine and punishment of the Governor and Councell according to the nature and circumstances of the same.

That none be suffered to retale wine or strong water, or suffer the same to be druncke in their houses, except it be at some iane or vict-

ualling house, and there only to strangers at their first coming, not exceeding the value of two pence a person ; and that no beer be sold in any such place to exceed two pence the Winchester quart."

" 1636. That none be allowed to be house keepers or build any cottages till such time as they be allowed and approved by the governor and councill.

That none be allowed to marry, that are under the covert of parents, but by their consent and approbacion. But in case consent cannot be had, then it shall be with the consent of the Governor or some assistant to whom the persons are known, whose care it shall be to see the marriage be fit before it be allowed by him. And after approbation be three severall times published before the solemnising of it. Or else in places where there is no such meetings, that contract's or agreements of marriage may be published, that then it shall be lawful to publish them by a writing thereof made and set upon the usual publicke place for the space of fifteen days, provided that the writing be under some majestrats hand or by his order."

" 1638.—Whereas divers persons unfit for marriage, both in regard of their yeong yeares, as also in regard of their weake estate, some practisinge the inveagleing of men's daughters and maids under gardians, contrary to their parents and gardians likeing, and of mayde servants, without leave and likeing of their masters : It is therefore enacted by the Court, that if any shall make any motion of marriage to any man's daughter or mayde servant, not having first obtained leave and consent of the parents or master so to doe, shall be punished either by fine or corporall punishment, or both, at the discretions of the bench, and according to the nature of the offence.

It is also enacted, that if a motion of marriage be duly made to the master, and through any sinister end or covetous desire, he will not consent thereunto, then the cause to be made known unto the magistrates, and they to set down such order therein as upon examination of the case shall appear to be most equall on both sides.

It is enacted by the court that according to the former acts of this court concerning labourers wages, that a labourer shall have 12*d* a day and his dyett, or 18*d* a day without dyett, and not above throught the Govern't."

" 1640.—That if any persons take tobacco whilst they are empannelled upon a jurie, to forfeit five shillings for every default, except they have given up their verdict, or are not to give yt until the next day or dep't, the court by consent.

1641.—It is enacted that every township within this government, do carry a competent number of peeeces fixed and compleate with powder, shott, and swords, every Lord's day, to the meetings—one of a house from the first of September to the middle of November, except their be some just and lawfull impedyment.

1642.—That all Smyths within the government be compelled to amend and repaire all defective armes, brought unto them, speedily, and to take corn for their pay at reasonable rates ; and the Smyth refusing, to answer it at his p'll.

It is enacted by the court, that all milners within this Govern't shall provide and keepe weights and scales in their millnes to weigh mens corne withall."

"1646.—It is enacted by the court, that none do keepe victualling or an ordinary or draw Wyne by retayle, within this Government, but such as are allowed by the generall court, and that if any victualler or ordinary keeper do either drink drunck himself, or suffer any person to be druncken in his house, they shall pay five shillings a peece, and if the victualler or ordinary keeper do suffer any townsmen to stay drinking in his house above an hour at one tyme, the victualler or ordinary keeper shall pay for every such default XIIId and by drunckennesse is understood, a person that either lisp or faulters in his speech by reason of much drink, or that staggers in his going, or that vomits by reason of excessive drinking, or cannot follow his calling. The person or persons that shall be found guilty in these or any of them, shall for the first default pay five shillings, and for the second default tenn shillings to the colonies use, and for the third tyme he shall be found faulty, to be bound to the good behaviour. And if he or they cannot or will not pay the fine or fines, then to be sett in the stocks, &c.

Whereas there is great abuse in taking of tobacco in very uncivil manner in the streets and dangerously in outhouses, as Barnes, stalls about haystacks, corne stacks and other such places, it is therefore enacted by this courte, that if any person or persons shall be founde or seene hereafter taking Tobacco publickly in the open streets of any Towne, (unless it be soldiers in time of their trayninge) or in and about Barnes, Stoules, hay stacks, corne stacks, hay yeards, or other such places or outhouses, that every such person or person so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the Townes use, for the first default XIIId, for the second IIIs, and soe for every such default afterwards IIIs, and it shall be lawful and by this act warrantable for the constable of every township, without further warrant, upon sight or information thereof, to distrane his or their goods for it as doe refuse to pay it upon his demand, and to be accomptable to the treasurer of what he receives yearly at the Eleccion Corte."

"1657.—It is ordered by the court, that in case any shall bring in any Quaker, Rantor or other notorious heritiques, either by land or water into any p'te of this government, shall forthwith upon order from any one magistrate, retorne them to the place from whence they came, or clear the gov'ment of them on the penaltie of paying a fine of twenty shillynges for every weeke that they shall stay in the Government after warninge."

"1662.—The court proposeth it as a thing they judge would be very commendable and beneficiall to the townes where God's providence shall cast any whales, if they should agree to sett apart some p'te of every such fish or oyle for the incouragement of an able and godly minister amongst them.

1665.—Whereas complaint is made unto the court of great abuse in sundry townes of this jurisdiction, by p'sons their behaving them-

selves, prophanely, by being without dores att the meeting house on the Lord's daies, in time of exercise, and there misdemeaning themselves by jesting, sleeping, or the like ; it is enacted by the court, and hereby ordered, that the constables of each township of this jurisdiction, shall in their respective townes, take speciall notice of such p'sons and to admonish them, and if notwithstanding they shall p'sist on in such practices, thatt hee shall sett them in the stockes, and in case this will not reclaim them, that they returne theire names to the court.

1669.—It is enacted by the court, that all such lycenced ordinaries shall not suffer prophane singing, daunceing, or revelling in their houses, on the penaltie of ten shillings for every default, and that all ordinary keepers be ordered to keep good beer in their houses to sell by retaile, and that some one in every towne bee appointed to see that the beer they sell be suitable to the prise they sell it for.

Whereas great inconvenience hath arisen by single p'sons in this collonie being for themselves, and not betaking themselves to live in well governed families, it is enacted by the court, that henceforth noe single p'sons be suffered to live of himself or in any family, but as the Celect men of the towne shall approve of, and if any p'son or p'sons shall refuse or neglect to attend such order as shall be given them by the Celect men, that such p'son or p'sons shall be summoned to the court to be proceeded with as the matter shall require."

"It is ordered, that whosoever of the Freemen, do not appear at Election in person or by proxy, he shall be for such neglect, amerced to the treasury ten shillings.

If any Freeman of this corporation shall be discovered to be notoriously vitious or scandalous, as common lyars, Drunkards, Swearers, Apostates from the fundamentals of Religion or the like, or doth manifestly appear to be disaffected to this government, upon legal conviction of all or any of these, it shall be in the power of the general court to disfranchise him if they see cause, from the priviledge of a Freeman."

"It is ordered, that whosoever is Licenced to keep a public house of entertainment, shall be well provided of Bedding to entertain strangers and travellers, and shall also have convenient pasturing for Horses, and hay and provinder for their entertainment in the Winter, and shall not be without good beer ; and if any ordinary keeper do frequently fail in any or all of these, upon complaint, he shall lose his License.

It is further enacted, that no in-keeper or ordinary in this government, shall sell Beer for more than two pence the ale quart, upon penalty of three shillings and four pence for every such offence ; nor shall any Vintner or Tavern, gain more than eight pence upon the quart in any Wine or strong Waters that they retail, more than it cost them by the butte or caske as they bought it, on penalty of twenty shillings forfeiture for such offence duly proved.

And it is further enacted, that no single person, labourer or other, shall be dieted in any Inne or Ordinary in the town to which he belongeth.

And it shall and may be lawful for any man to seize any Liquor, cyder or Wine, found in the custody of an Indian or Indians, and have it for his pains, provided he bring the said Indian or Indians before a magistrate, or the selectmen of the town, to be further examined about it.

Whereas divers unruly persons, servants and others in several places of this colony, meet together to walk about in the night, to drink, revel or pilfer; the same tending to the corrupting and debauching of the youth; and many offend and prejudice the peaceable inhabitants of the several towns; for prevention whereof,

It is ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that all persons walking in the fields or streets after nine or ten o'clock at night, unless known peaceable and orderly inhabitants, shall be liable to be examined by the selectmen, constable or watch of the town: or if complained on by any other person of the town, and if they cannot give a satisfactory reason for their so doing, he or they shall be had before some magistrate or other person authorized, who upon the hearing of the case, it appear they have been rude or unreasonably drinking, revelling, gaming, sporting or any ways disturbing, or if it be servants or children, and it be without their Parents or Masters leave, they shall for the first offence be admonished, or pay five shillings to the country, or sit in the stocks an hour; and if transgress a second time, to pay ten shillings, or be whipt with ten lashes, and so from time to time as often as they transgress."

*Extracts from the Early Records of Connecticut.*—1636. Feb. "It is ordered that noe young man that is not married nor hath any servant, and be no public Officer, shall keep house by himself without consent of the towne where he lives first had, under paine of 20s. per week.

It is ordered that noe master of a family shall give habitation or entertainment to any young man to sojourn in his family but by the allowance of the inhabitants of the said towne where he dwells, under like penalty of 20s. p'r week, these two last orders to take effect the first of April next."

May, 1637. "It is ordered that there shall be an offensive war against Pequotts, and that there shall be ninety men levied out of the three plantations, Hartford, Weathersfield and Windsor, viz. out of Hartford forty two men, Windsor thirty, Weathersfield eighteen under the command of captain Jo'n. Mason, and in case of death or sickness under the command of Robert Seely, Lieut. and the eldest Sergeant or military officer surviving, if both these miscarry.

It is ordered that Hartford shall find 14 armour in this design, Windsor six.

It is ordered that there shall be one good hogshead of beer for the captain and minister, and sick men, and if there be only three or four gallons of strong water, two gallons of sacke.

It is ordered that Windsor shall provide sixty bushels of corne, Hartford eighty-four bushels, Weathersfield thirty six bushels of this,

each plantation to bake in biskett the one half, if by any means they can, the rest in ground meale, Weathersfield seven bushels to be allowed upon accompt.

Hartford is to provide three firkins of suet, two firkins of butter with that at the Rivers mouth, four bushels of oat meale, two bushels of pease, five hundred of fish, two bushels of salt. Weathersfield one bushel of Indian beans, Windsor fifty pieces of pork, 30*lbs.* rice, and four cheeses.

It is ordered that every souldier shall carry with him 1*lb.* of powder, 4*lbs.* of shott, 20 bulletts, one barrrell of powder from the rivers mouth, and a light gun if they can.

It is ordered that Mr. Pynchions shallop shall be taken, to be employed in this design."

Nov. 1637. "It is ordered that every common soldier that went in the late design against the enemy the Pequotts, shall have 1*s.* 3*d.* per day for their service, at six days to the week; the seargeant 2*s.* p'r. day the Lieutenant 20*s.* p'r. week, and the Captain 40*s.* p'r. week—Any man that was publicly employed in the said service and diet themselves, shall have 2*s.* per day, and that the said payment shall be for a month although in strictness there was but three weeks and three days due, such as did return from the Forts and never went into the service to be allowed but for 12 days.

It is ordered that the pay in the second design shall be the same as the former, and the time a month as abovesaid."

Hartford, Feb. 1637. "Whereas upon serious consideration we conceived that the Plantation in this River will be in some want of Indian corne and in the same consideration we conceive every man may be at liberty to trade with the Indians upon the River, where the supply of corn in all likelihood is to be had to furnish their necessities, the market of corn among the Indians may be greatly advanced to the prejudice of these plantations, we therefore think meet and do so order that no man in this River, nor agawam shall go to the River among the Indians or home at their houses to trade for corn, or make any contract or bargain among them for corn either privately or publicly upon the pain of 5*s.* for every bushell that he or they shall trade or contract for—This order to endure untill the next general court and untill there will be a settled order in the thing."

March, 1637. "It is ordered that Captn. Mason shall be a publick military officer of the plantations of Connecticut, and shall train the military men thereof, in each plantation, according to the days appointed, and shall have £40 pr. annum, to be paid out of the treasury quarterly, the pay to begin from the day of the date hereof. This order to stand in force for a year, and untill the general court make another order to the contrary.

It is also ordered, that Captn. Mason shall train the military men thereof in every plantation ten days in every year, (so as it be not in June or July,) giving a few weeks warning before hand, and whosoever is allowed a soldier, and fail to come at the time appointed by the said publick officer, to pay for his default 3*s.* 4*d.* for that time.

and if it be usual, for the second offence 5s. and if not amended, then the said delinquent is to be bound to answer it at the next court.

*Item.*—It is ordered, that all the sons shall bear arms, that are above the age of sixteen years, unless they do tender a sufficient excuse to court, and the court allow the same."

"1640. Notwithstanding the late order concerning the *Excess of apparel*, yet divers Persons of severall Ranks are observed still to exceede therein. It is therefore Ordered, that the Constables of every towne within there Libertyes shall observe and take notice of any particular *Person or Persons*, within thier several Lymits, and all such as they judge to exceed thier condition and Rank therein, they shall present and warn to appear at the particular Court, as also the said Constables are to present to the said Court all such persons as sell their commodities at *excessive rates*; and the said Court hath power to censure any disorders in the particular before mentioned.

1641. For as much as the Court having lately declared their apprehensions to the Country concerning the *excess in wages* amongst all sorts of artificers and workmen, and hoping thereby, men would have been a Law unto themselves, but finding little reformation thereon. The said Court hath therefore ordered, that sufficient able Carpenters, plowrights, wheelrights, masons, Joyners, Smithes, and coopers, shall not take above 20 pence for a day's work from the 10th of March to the 10th of October, and not above 18 pence a day for the other part of the yere, and to work ten hours in the day in the summer tyme, besides that which is spent in eating or sleeping, and six hours in the winter. Also, mowers for the time of mowing, shall not take above 20 pence for a day's work.

1641. It is ordered that all artificers or handicraftsmen and chief Labourers, shall not take above 1s 6d a day for the first halfe year, and not above 14d for the other part of the yeare; and if said worke is lett or taken by the great or parcell by any workmen, Labourers or artificers, it shall be valued by the proportion afores'd. Also, Sawyers, shall not take above 4s 2d for slit work, nor above 3s 6d for boards by the 100. It is also ordered, that four of the better sort of oxen or horses with the tacklin, shall not be valued at above 4s 6d the day from March to October."

"1642. It is Ordered that there shall be a guard of forty men to come compleat in their arms to the meeting every Sabbath, and Lecture Day, in every towne within these Lyberties upon the River.

1642. It is Ordered, that there shall be 90 Coats provided within these plantations within ten days basted with cotton wool, and made defensive against Indian arrows."

"1643. It is Ordered that every Town upon the\* River shall provide one man in each town to *doe execution*, uppon De linquents by *Whipping* or other correction as they shall be thereunto cauled, by order from the Magistrates."

1647. "If Mr. Whiting with any others shall make tryall and

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\* Whipper on Conn't. River.



prosecute a desyne for the taking of Whale within these libertyes, and if uppon tryall within the terme of two yeares, they shall like to goe on, noe others shall be sufferred to interrupt them for the tearme of seven yeares.

May 18, 1648. Whereas David Provost, and other Dutchmen (as the Court is informed,) have sould powder and shotte to severall Indians, against the expresse lawes both of the Inglishes, and Dutch, it is now ordered, that if uppon examination of Witnesses, the said default shall fully appeare, the penalty of the laws of this Commonwealth, shall be laid uppon such as shall be found guilty of such transgression, the which if such delinquents shall not subject unto, they shall be shipped for England, and sent to the Parliament."

"1650. Fforasmuch as the open contempt of Gods word and Messengers thereof, is the disolating sinne of civill states and churches, and that the preaching of the word, by those whom God doth send, is the chief ordinary means ordained by God, for the converting, edifying and saving the soules of the Elect through the presence and power of the Holy Ghost therevnto promised, and that the Ministry of the word is set vp by God, in his Churches, for these holy ends, and according to the respect or contempt of the same, and of those whome God hath set aparte for his own worke and employment, the weale or woe of all Christian States is much furthered and promoated.

It is therefore ordred and decreed: That if any Christian (so called) within this Jurisdiction, shall contemptuously behave himselfe towards the word preached or the messengers thereof, called to dispenche the same in any Congregation when he doth faithfully execute his service and office therein, according to the will and word of God, either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falsely with an error w'ch he hath not thought in the open face of the church, or like a sonne of Korah, cast vpon his true doctrine, or himself any reproach, to the dishonor of the Lord Jesus, who hath sent him, and to the dispaagement of that his holy ordinance, and making Gods wayes contemptible and ridiculous, that every such person or persons, (whatsoever censure the Church may passe,) shall for the first scandall bee convented and reproved openly by the Magistrates at some Lecture, and bound to their good behaviour. And if a second time thy breake forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the publique Treasure or stand two houres openly vpon a block or stoole four foot high vpon a Lecture day, with a paper fixd on his Breast, written with capital letters, AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES, that others may feare and bee ashamed of breaking out into the like wickness."

April, 1654. "It is also ordered, that, whatsoever Barbados liquors commonly called Rum, Kill-Divell, or the like, shall be landed in any place of this Jurisdiction, or any parte thereof, sould or drawne, in any vessell lying in any harbour or Roade in this commonwealth, after the publication of this order, shall bee all forfeited and confiscated to this Commonwealth; and it shall be lawfull for

any person within this Jurisdiction. to make seazory thereof, two third parts to belong to the publique Treasury and the other to the party seazing. And it is also further ordered, that every Ankor of liquor that is landed in any place within this Jurisdiction, shall pay to the public Treasury ten shillings, and every butt of Wine, forty shillings, or Hogshead of Wine, Twenty Shillings, or quarter Cask, Ten Shillings, whether they are full or noe. This order repealed, March 11th 1661.

"May, 1660. This Court doth order, that noe man or woman, within this Coll. who hath a wife or husband in forraigne parts, shal live here above two years, vpon penalty of 40s. pr. month, vpon every such offender, and any that haue bene aboue 3 years already, not to remaine within this Col. aboue one yeare longer, vpon the same penalty, except they haue liberty from ye Gen. Court."

May, 1662. "This Court orders, that the Bible that was sent to goodwife Williams, be by Serg't John Not, delivered to goodwife Harrison, who engageth to this Court to give vnto ye children of ye said Williams a Bushel of Wheat a piece, as they shal come out of their time; and John Not doth engage to give each of ye children 2 shillings a piece, as they come out of their time, to buy them Bibles, and John Not hath hereby power granted him, as is ordered, to dispose of ye rest of ye books to ye children of the said Williams."

May, 1676. "Whereas excess in apparel amongst us is unbecoming a wilderness condition and the profession of the gospell, whereby the riseing Generation is in danger to be corrupted, which practices are testified against in God's holy word, it is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that what person soever shall wear Gold or Silver Lace, or Gold or Silver Buttons, Silk Ribbons, or other costly superfluous trimings, or any bone Lace above three shillings p'r yard, or Silk Scarfes, the List makers of the respective Townes are hereby required to asseesse such persons so offending, (or their Husbands, parents, or masters under whose government they are) in the list of Estates at one hundred and fifty pound Estate; and they to pay their Rates according to that proportion, as such men use to pay, to whom such apparell allowed as suitable to their Rank, provided this law shall not extend to any magistrate, or a like publique officer of this Colony, their wives or children, whoe are left to their discretion in wearing of apparell, or any settled military commission officer, or such whose quality and Estate have been above the ordinary degree, though now decayed.

It is further ordered that all such persons as shall for the future make, or weave, or buy any apparell exceeding the quality and condition of their persons and Estates, or that is apparently beyond the necessary end of apparell for covering or comeliness, either of these to be Judged by the Grand Jury and County Court where such presentments are made, shall forfeit for every such offence ten shillings; and if any Taylor shall fashion any garment for any child or servant contrary to the mind of the Parent or Master of such a child or servant, he shall forfeit for every such offence ten shillings.

In 1642, the capital laws of Connecticut were nearly completed and put on record. The several passages on which they were founded, were particularly noticed in the statute. They were twelve in number; two more were added at a subsequent period. The following is a copy of these laws, excepting four which relate to unchastity.

#### CAPITALL LAWES.

1. If any man after legall conviction, shall have or worship any other God but the Lord God, hee shall be put to death. Deut. 13. 6.—17. 2.—Exodus 22. 20.

2. If any man or woman bee a Witch, that is, hath or consulteth with a familiar spiritt, they shall be put to death. Exodus 22. 18.—Levit. 20. 27.—Deut. 18. 10, 11.

3. If any person shall blaspheme the name of God the father, Sonne or holy Ghost, with direct, express, presumptuous or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse in the like manner, hee shall bee put to death. Lev. 24. 15, 16.

4. If any person shall committ any willfull murther, which is manslaughter committed upon malice, hatred or cruelty, not in a man's necessary and just defence, nor by mere casualty against his will, hee shall be put to death. Exodus 21. 12, 13, 15.—Numb. 35. 30, 31.

5. If any person shall slay another through guile, either by poisonings or other such Devellish practice, hee shall bee put to death.—Exo. 21. 14.

10. If any man stealeth a man or mankinde, hee shall bee put to death. Exodus 21. 16.

11. If any man rise up by false wittness, wittingly and of purpose to take away any man's life, hee shall bee put to death. Deut. 19. 16, 18, 19.

12. If any man shall conspire or attempt any invasion, insurrection or rebellion against the Commonwealth, hee shall bee put to death.

13. If any Childe or Children above sixteene years old and of sufficient understanding, shall Curse or smite their natural father or mother, hee or they shall bee put to death; unless it can bee sufficiently testified that the parents have beene very unchristianly negligent in the education of such children, or so provoke them by extreme and cruell correction that they have beene forced thereunto to preserve themselves from death, maiming. Exo. 21. 17.—Levit. 20.—Ex. 21. 15.

14. If any man have a stubborne and rebellious sonne of sufficient yeares and understanding, viz. Sixteene years of age, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them; then may his father and mother, being his natural parents, lay hold on him and bring him to the Magistrates assembled in Courte, and testifie unto them, that theire sonne is stubborne and rebellious and will not obey theire voice and Chastisement, but lives in sundry notorious Crimes such a sonne shall bee put to death. Deut. 21. 20, 21."

## ANCIENT LAWS OF NEW YORK.

The following laws are extracted from those established by the Duke of York for the government of New York, in the year 1664. This code (called the "Duke's Laws") was compiled under the direction of Nicolls, the first English Governor. It continued in force till the period of the Revolution in England, and ceased to have effect in 1691, when the General Assembly of the Province began to exercise a new legislative power under the sovereignty of King William.

*Capital Laws.*—"1. If any person within this Government shall by direct exprest, impious or presumptuous ways, deny the true God and his Attributes, he shall be put to death.

2. If any person shall Commit any wilful and premeditated Murder, he shall be put to Death.

3. If any person Slayeth another with Sword or Dagger who hath no weapon to defend himself; he shall be put to Death.

4. If any person forcibly Stealeth or carrieth away any mankind; He shall be put to death.

5. If any person shall bear false witness maliciously and on purpose to take away a man's life, He shall be put to Death.

6. If any man shall Traitorously deny his Majestyes right and titles to his Crownes and Dominions, or shall raise armies to resist his Authority, He shall be put to Death.

7. If any man shall treacherously conspire or Publiquely, attempt to invade or Surprise any Town or Towns, Fort or Forts, within this Government, He shall be put to Death.

8. If any Child or Children, above sixteen years of age, and of Sufficient understanding, shall smite their Natural Father or Mother, unless thereunto provoked and forct for their selfe preservation from Death or Mayming, at the Complaint of the said Father and Mother, and not otherwise, they being Sufficient witnesses thereof, that Child or those Children so offending shall be put to Death.

*Bond Slavery.*—No Christian shall be kept in Bondslavery vilenage or Captivity, Except Such who shall be Judged thereunto by Authority, or such as willingly have sould, or shall sell themselves, In which Case a Record of such Servitude shall be entered in the Court of Sessions held for that Jurisdiction where Such Matters shall Inhabit, provided that nothing in the Law Contained shall be to the prejudice of Master or Dame who have or shall by any Indenture or Covenant take Apprentices for Terme of Years, or other Servants for Term of years or Life.

*Church.*—Whereas the publique Worship of God is much discredited for want of painful and able Ministers to Instruct the people in the true Religion and for want of Convenient places Capable to re-

ceive any Number or Assembly of people in a decent manner for Celebrating Gods holy Ordinances. These ensuing Lawes are to be observed in every parish (Viz.)

1. That in each Parish within this Government a church be built in the most Convenient part thereof, Capable to receive and accommodate two Hundred Persons.

2. To prevent Scandalous and Ignorant pretenders to the Ministry from intruding themselves as Teachers; No Minister shall be Admitted to Officiate, within the Government but such as shall produce Testimonials to the Governour, that he hath Received Ordination either from some Protestant Bishop, or Minister within some part of his Majesties Dominions or the Dominions of any foreign Prince of the Reformed Religion, upon which Testimony the Governour shall induce the said Minister into the parish that shall make presentation of him, as duely Elected by the Major part of the Inhabitants householders.

3. That the Minister of every Parish shall Preach constantly every Sunday, and shall also pray for the Kinge, Queene, Duke of Yorke, and the Royall family. And every person affronting or disturbing any Congregation on the Lords Day and on such publique days of fast and Thanksgiving as are appointed to be observed. After the presentments thereof by the Churchwardens to the Sessions and due Conviction thereof he shall be punished by fine or Imprisonment according to the meritt and Nature of the offence, And every Minister shall also Publicly Administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper once every Year at the least in his Parish Church not denying the private benefit thereof to Persons that for want of health shall require the same in their houses, under the penalty of Loss of preferment unless the Minister be restrained in point of Conscience.

*Fasting Days and Days of Thanks givin To be observed.*—Whereas by an Act of Parliament the fifth Day of November is annually to be observed for the Great deliverance from the Gunpowder Treason, And whereas by one other Act of Parliament The thirtyeth Day of January is annually to be observed with Fasting and Prayer in all his Majesties Dominions to shew a hearty and Serious Repentance and Detestation of that Barbarous Murther Committed upon the Person of our late King Charles the first, thereby to divert Gods heavy Judgment from falling upon the whole Nation, as also by another Act of Parliament we are enjoyned thankfully to acknowledge the providence of God upon the Nine and Twentyeth Day of May for his Majesties Birth and Resturation to the Throne of his Royall Ancestors whereby Peace and unity is Established in all his Majesties Dominions, Every Minister within his Severall Parish is enjoyned to pray and Preach on these days and all other Persons are also enjoyned to abstain from their Ordinary Laboure and Calling According to the true intent of both the said Acts.

Every Person Licenced to keep an Ordinary shall always be provided of strong and wholesome Beer, of four bushels of malt, at the least to a Hoggshead which he shall not Sell at above two pence the

quart under the penalty of twenty Shillings, for the first Offence, forty shillings for the Second, and loss of his Licence, It is permitted to any to Sell Beer out of Doores at a peny the Ale quart or under.

No Licenced Person shall suffer any to Drink excessively or at unseasonable hours after Nine of the Clock at night in or about any their houses upon penalty of two shillings six pence for every Offence if Complaint and prooffe be made thereof.

All Injuries done to the Indians of what nature whatsoever; shall upon their Complaint and prooffe thereof in any Court have speedy redress gratis, against any Christian in as full and Ample manner, (with reasonable allowance for damage) as if the Case had been betwixt Christian and Christian.

No Indian whatsoever shall at any time be Suffered to Powaw or performe outward worship to the Devil in any Towne within this Government.

*Lying and False News.*—Every Person of age of discretion which shall be reputed of fourteen years or upwards, who shall wittingly and willingly forge or Publish fals newes whereof no Certain Auther nor Authentique Letter out of any part of Europe can be produced, whereby the minds of People are frequently disquieted or exasperated in relation to publike Affairs, or particular Persons injured in their good names and Credits by such Common deceites and abuses Upon due prooffe made by Sufficient witnesses before the Governour or any Court of Sessions the Person so Offending in ordinary Cases shall for the first offence be fined ten shillings, for the second offence twenty shillings and for the third offence forty Shillings and if the party be unable to pay the same he shall be Sett in the Stocks so longe, or publicly whipt with so many stripes as the Governor or any Court of Sessions shall think fitt not exceeding forty stripes; or four houres Sitting in the Stocks, and for the fourth offence he shall be bound to his good behaviour, paying Cost or Service to the Informer and witnesses, such as shall be judged reasonable satisfaction, But in Cases of high nature and publike Concernes, the fine or punishment shall be increast according to the discretion of the Governor and Council onely.

If any Masters or Dames shall Tyrannically and Cruelly abuse their Servants, upon Complaint made by the Servant to the Constable and Overseers, they shall take Speedy redress therein, by Admonishing the Master or Dame not to provoke their Servants, And upon the Servants Second Complaint, of the like usage It shall be Lawful for the Constable and Overseers to proteect and Sustaine such Servants in their Houses till due Order be taken for their Reliefe in the ensuing Sessions Provided that due Notice thereof be Speedily given to Such Masters or Dames, and the Cause why such Servants are Protected and Sustained, and in Case any Master, or Dame by such Tyranny and Cruelty, and not casually, shall smite out the Eye or Tooth of any such man or maid Servant, or shall otherwise Maim or disfigure them such Servants after due proof made shall be sett free

from their Service, And have a further allowance and recompence as the Court of Sessions shall judge meet.

But in Case any Servant or Servants shall causelessly Complain against their Master or Dame If they cannot make proove of a just occasion for such Complaints such Servants shall by the Justices of the Court of Sessions be enjoyned to serve three Months time extraordinary (Gratis) for every such vndue Complaint.

All Servants who have served Diligently; and faithfully to the benifit of their Masters or Dames five or Seaven yeares, shall not be Sent empty away, and if any have proved unfaithful or negligent in their Service, notwithstanding the good usage of their Masters, They shall not be dismiss, till they have made satisfaction according to the Judgment of the Constable and Overseers of the parish where they dwell.

No man Elected into any Military Office, shall refuse to accept thereof, or discharge his trust therein under the penalty of five pounds whereof one half to be paid to the Governour and the other halfe to him that is chosen in his place, and accepts thereof.

No man shall be Compeld to bear Armes or wage war by sea or Land, without the bounds and limits of this Government, But from Defensive warrs noe man shall be exempted.

At a sessions held at the City of New York, Oct. 6, 1694, in the 6th year of William and Mary, present the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and assistants of the Common Council.

For the better preservation of the Lords day, no servile work to be done, or any goods bought or sold on the Lords day, under the penalty of ten shillings the first offence, and double for every subsequent offence.

The Doors of Publick Houses, to be kept shut, no company to be entertained in them, or any sort of Liquor sold in time of Divine service; Strangers, Travellers, or such as lodge in such Houses excepted; also no person to drink excessively, or be drunk, the penalty 10s. for every offence.

No Negro or Indian servants to meet together, above the number of four, on the Lords Day, or any other day, within the City liberties; nor any slave to go around with Gun, Sword, Club, or any weapon, under penalty of ten lashes at the publick whipping post, or to be redeemed by his master or owner, at six shillings per head.

One of the Constables in the five wards on the south side the fresh Water, by turns to walk the streets of the city, in time of Divine Service, to see these laws observed, and to have power to enter into all publick Houses to put the same in execution.

The Constable to make enquiry after all strangers, and give in their names to the Mayor, or in his absence to the eldest Alderman, no keeper of publick house &c, to entertain or lodge any suspected person, or men or women of evil fame, both these heads under penalty of 10s. for each offence.

No person to keep shop or sell any goods by retail or exercise any

handy-craft trade, but such as are Freemen of the City, under penalty of 5s. every offence.

All Jesuits, Seminary Priests, Missionaries, or other Ecclesiastical person, made or ordained by any power or Jurisdiction derived or pretended from the Pope, or see of Rome, residing or being within the Province, to depart the same, on or before the first of Nov. 1700.

If any such continue, remain, or come into the Province, after the said first of November, he shall be deemed an Incendiary, a disturber of the publick peace, an Enemy to the true Christian Religion, and shall suffer perpetual imprisonment.

If any such person, being actually committed, shall break Prison and escape, he shall be guilty of Felony, and if retaken shall die as a Felon.

Persons receiving, harbouring, succouring, or concealing any such person, and knowing him to be such, shall forfeit the sum of 200 pounds, half to the King, for and towards the support of the Government, and the other half to the prosecutor, shall be set in the Pillory three days, and find sureties for their behaviour, at the discretion of the court.

Any Justice of peace may cause any person suspected to be of the Romish Clergy to be apprehended, and if he find cause, may commit him or them, in order to a trial.

Any person, without warrant, may seize, apprehend, and bring before a Magistrate, any person suspected of the crimes above, and the Governor, with the Council, may suitably reward such person as they think fit."

*Andross' attempt against Saybrook Fort.*—In 1674, at the conclusion of the war with the Dutch, the Duke of York, in order to remove all controversy respecting his property in America, took out a new patent from the King and commissioned Major Edmund Andross to be governor of his territories in America. By virtue of the Duke's patent, Andross claimed the land on the west side of the Connecticut, in prejudice of the Connecticut Charter which was granted in 1662.

"In 1675, it was discovered that Major Andross was about to make a hostile invasion of the colony, and to demand a surrender of its most important posts to the government of the Duke of York. Detachments from the militia were therefore sent, with the utmost expedition, to New London and Saybrook. Captain Thomas Bull, of Hartford, commanded the party sent to Saybrook.

About the 8th or 9th of July, the people of that town were surprised by the appearance of Major Andross, with an armed force, in the sound, making directly for the fort. They had received no intelligence of the affair, nor instructions from the governor and council how to conduct themselves upon such an emergency. They were, at first, undetermined whether to make any resistance

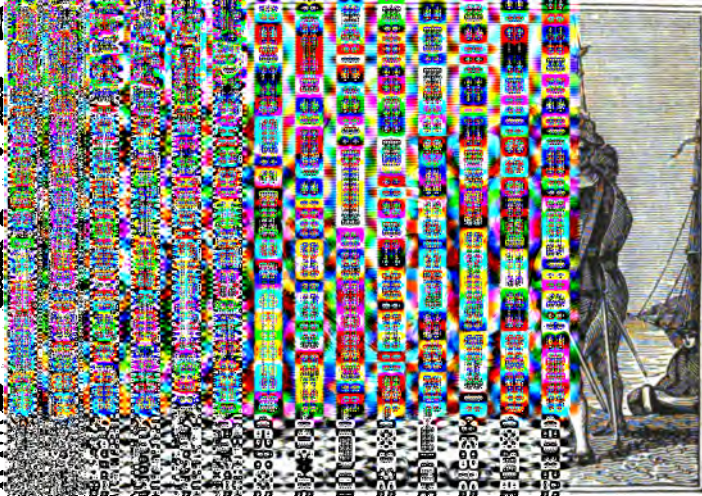


or not; but they did not hesitate long. As the danger approached and their surprise abated, the martial spirit began to enkindle; the fort was manned, and the militia of the town drawn out for its defence. At this critical juncture, Captain Bull with his company arrived, and the most vigorous exertions were made for the defence of the fort and town. On the 11th, Major Andross with several armed sloops drew up before the fort, hoisted the king's flag on board, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town. Captain Bull raised his majesty's colours in the fort and arranged his men in the best manner. They appeared with a good countenance, determined and eager for action. The major did not like to fire on the king's colours, and perceiving, that should he attempt to reduce the town by force, it would be a bloody affair, judged it expedient not to fire upon the troops. He nevertheless lay all that day, and part of the next, off against the fort. The critical state of the colony had occasioned the meeting of the assembly, at Hartford, on the 9th of July. They immediately proceeded to draw up a declaration, or protest, against the major, in the words following :

Whereas we are informed that Major Edmund Andross is come with some considerable force into this his majesty's colony of Connecticut, which might be construed to be in pursuance of his letter to us, to invade or intrude upon the same, or upon some part of our charter limits and privileges, and so to molest his majesty's good subjects, in this juncture, when the heathen rage against the English, and by fire and sword have destroyed many of his majesty's good subjects, our neighbours of Plimouth colony, and still are carrying their heads about the country as trophies of their good success; and yet are proceeding further in their cruel designs against the English; in faithfulness to our royal sovereign, and in obedience to his majesty's commands, in his gracious charter to this colony, we can do no less than publicly declare and protest against the said Major Edmund Andross, and these his illegal proceedings, as also against all his aiders and abettors, as disturbers of the peace of his majesty's good subjects in this colony; and that his and their actions, in this juncture, tend to the encouragement of the heathen to proceed in the effusion of christian blood, which may be very like to be the consequence of his actions, and which we shall unavoidably lay at his door, and use our utmost power and endeavour, (expecting therein the assistance of almighty God,) to defend the good people of this colony from the said Major Andross his attempts; not doubting but his majesty will countenance and approve our just proceedings therein, they being according to the commission we have received from his majesty, in his gracious charter to this colony; by which power and trust so committed unto us, we do again forewarn and advise the said Major Andross and all his aiders and abettors to forbear and desist such forenamed unjust and unwarrantable practices, as they expect to answer the same, with all such just damages and costs as may arise or accrue thereby. And we do further, in his majesty's name, require and command all the good people, his majesty's subjects, of this colony of Connecticut, under our present government, utterly to refuse to attend, countenance or obey the said Major Edmund Andross, or any under him, in any order, instruction, or command, diverse from or contrary to the laws and orders of this colony here established, by virtue of his majesty's gracious charter, granted to this colony of Connecticut, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

GOD SAVE THE KING

This was voted unanimously



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like appearance, said 'What's your name?' He replied, 'My name is Bull, Sir.' 'Bull,' said the governor, 'it is a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver.' Finding that he could make no impression upon the officers or people, and that the legislature of the colony were determined to defend themselves, in the possession of their chartered rights, he gave up his design of seizing the fort. He represented the protest as a slender affair, and an ill requital of his kindness. He said, however, he should do no more. The militia of the town guarded him to his boat, and going on board he soon sailed for Long Island.

"The general assembly considered this as a great abuse and insult to the colony, and, upon receiving an account of the major's conduct, came to the following resolution:

"This court orders, that this declaration shall forthwith be sent forth to the several plantations, sealed with the seal of the colony, and signed by the secretary, to be there published.

"Forasmuch as the good people of his majesty's colony of Connecticut have met with much trouble and molestation from Maj. Edmund Andross his challenge and attempts to surprise the main part of said colony, which they have so rightfully obtained, so long possessed, and defended against all invasions of Dutch and Indians, to the great grievance of his majesty's good subjects in their settlements, and to despoil the happy government, by charter from his majesty granted to themselves, and under which they have enjoyed many halcyon days of peace and tranquillity, . . . . . Hereupon, for the prevention of misrepresentations into England, by the said Maj. Andross against us, for our refusal, and withstanding his attempts, made with hostile appearances to surprise us at Saybrook, while we were approaching towards a savage Indian enemy that had committed much outrage and murder, by fire and sword, upon our neighbours about Plimouth; this court have desired the honorable John Winthrop and James Richards, Esquires, or either of them, (intending a voyage to England upon their own occasions,) to take with them the narrative and copies of all the transactions betwixt us, and to give a right understanding for clearing our innocence, and better securing our enjoyments as occasion shall offer."—*Trumbull's History of Conn*



[Fac simile of Andross' signature.]

*Andross, the Tyrant of New England.*—"In the year 1684, it was decided in the high Court of Chancery, that Massachusetts had forfeited her charter, and that henceforth her government should be placed in the hands of the King. This event was brought about chiefly by the instrumentality of Edmund Andross. This man had been sent over as a kind of spy on the colonies; he made it his business to collect charges against the colonies, and return to England and excite the jealousy of the British government. In this manner, the way was prepared for annulling the colonial charters. In December, 1686, Andross arrived at Boston, being commissioned by King James, as Governor General, and

Vice Admiral over New England, New York, and the Jerseys. Like all tyrants, Sir Edmund began his administration with professions of high regard for the public welfare. In a few months, however, the prospect was changed. The press was restrained, liberty of conscience infringed, and exorbitant taxes were levied. The charters being vacated, it was pretended all titles to land were destroyed; farmers, therefore, who had cultivated their soil for half a century, were obliged to take new patents, giving large fees, or writs of intrusion were brought, and their lands sold to others. To prevent petitions or consultations, town meetings were prohibited, excepting once in a year for the choice of town officers. Lest cries of oppression should reach the throne, he forbade any to leave the country without permission from the government.

In 1689, King James having abdicated the throne, William, Prince of Orange, and Mary, daughter of James, were proclaimed in February. A report of the landing of William in England, reached Boston, but before the news of the entire revolution in the British government arrived, a most daring one was effected in New England.

The Colonists had borne the impositions of Andross' government about three years. Their patience was now exhausted."

"A rumor, that a massacre was intended in Boston by the Governor's Guards, was sufficient to kindle their resentment into rage.\* On the morning of the 18th of April the town was in arms, and the people poured in from the country to the assistance of the capital. Andross and his associates, about fifty in number, were seized and confined. The old magistrates were restored, and the next month the joyful news of the revolution in England reached this country, and quieted all apprehension of the consequences of what had been done. After having been kept at the castle till February following, Andross was sent to England for trial.

*Preservation of the Connecticut Charter.*—Sir Edmund Andross, soon after his arrival at Boston in 1686, wrote to the colony of Connecticut to resign their charter, but without success. "The

\* This rumor might have been the more easily credited, on account of the military orders given out on the reception of a copy of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. "A proclamation was issued, charging all officers and people to be in readiness to hinder the landing of any forces which the Prince of Orange might send into those parts of the world."

Captain George, of the *Rose* frigate, was first seized and imprisoned; and, some hours after, Sir Edmund Andross was taken in his fort. No less than 1500 men surrounded the fort on Fort Hill, which surrendered. The next day, the governor was confined in the fort under strong guards. On that day also, the castle, on Castle Island, was summoned, and surrendered. Chalmers, i. 469, 470. Captain George was obliged to give leave to go on board his ship, and bring the sails on shore. The troops, which collected around Fort Hill, pointed the guns of the South battery toward the fort on the summit, and thus brought the governor's garrison to submission *Holmes' Annals.*

Assembly," says Dr. Trumbull, "met as usual, in October, and the government continued according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford when the assembly were sitting, and demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table where the assembly were sitting. By this time great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of Hon. Samuel Wyllis, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or the person who carried it away. Sir Edmund assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed in the following words:

'At a General Court at Hartford, Oct. 31st, 1687, his excellency Sir Edmund Andross, knight, and captain general and governor of his Majesty's territories and dominions in New England, by order of his Majesty James II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the Colony of Connecticut, it being by his Majesty annexed to Massachusetts, and other Colonies under his Excellency's government. FINIS.'

*The Regicides.*—Soon after the restoration of monarchy in England, many of the Judges who had condemned King Charles I. to death were apprehended. Thirty were condemned, and ten were executed as traitors; two of them, Colonels Goffe and Whalley, made their escape to New-England, and arrived at Boston, July 1660. They were gentlemen of worth, and were much esteemed by the colonists for their unfeigned piety. Their manners and appearance were dignified, commanding universal respect.



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and being at public worship, were suddenly surprised by the Indians, for a number of them immediately took to flight. Had they not been so much in confusion, they could have been of more service to the people there appearing from the inhabitant's direction, they remained in the town. He could account for the appearance of that person as being for their deliverance, that they had been otherwise, till fifteen years ago, when they became known at Hadley. The last account of the name they gave, (the name they gave) was, 'Whalley'. The last addition at Hadley is, and it is generally

supposed that their bodies were afterwards secretly conveyed to New Haven, and placed near Dixwell's."

"Colonel John Dixwell came from Hadley to New Haven before the year 1662, and was known here by the name of James Davids. During the seventeen years or more in which he lived in New Haven, nothing extraordinary occurred concerning him. From 1674, to 1685, the church had no settled minister with whom he might associate. The Rev. Nicholas Street, the minister at his first coming here, soon died. For above eleven years, the church was destitute of a pastor, and supplied by occasional and temporary preaching only, until Mr. Pierpont's settlement in 1685. With him the Colonel entered immediately into an open and unreserved communication; but this was only for the short space of three or four of the last years of his exile. During this short time, however, there was the greatest intimacy between them, which appears to have been concealed even from the minister's wife. For tradition says, that Madam Pierpont observing their remarkable intimacy, and wondering at it, used to ask him what he saw in that old gentleman, who was so fond of leading an obscure, unnoticed life, that they should be so intimate and take such pleasure in being together, for Mr. Dixwell's house being situated on the east corner of College and Grove streets, and Mr. Pierpont's near the corner of Elm and Temple streets, and their house lots being contiguous and cornering upon one another, they had beaten a path in walking across their lots to meet and converse together at the fence. In answer to his wife's question, Mr. Pierpont remarked; that the old gentleman was a very learned man, and understood more about religion, and all other subjects than any other person in the place, and that if she knew the value of him, she would not wonder at their intimacy."

"Colonel Dixwell carried on no secular business, but employed his time in reading and walking into the neighboring groves and woods adjacent to his house. Mr. Pierpont had a large library, from which, as well as from his own collection, he could be supplied with a variety of books. He often spent his evenings at Mr. Pierpont's, and when they were by themselves, retired to his study, where they indulged themselves with great familiarity and humor, had free and unrestrained conversation, upon all matters whether of religion or politics. But when in company, Mr. Pierpont behaved towards Colonel D. with caution and reserve. The Colonel spent much of his retirement in reading history, and as a token of his friendship for Mr. Pierpont, he, in his last will, presented him with Raleigh's History of the World.

After a pilgrimage of twenty nine years in exile from his native country, and banishment into oblivion from the world, of which seventeen years at least, probably more, were spent in New Haven by the name of James Davids, Esqr., Colonel Dixwell died in this place.



He and all the other Judges lived and died in the firm expectation of a revolution in England. This had actually taken place the November before his death, but the news not having arrived, he died ignorant of it, about a month before the seizure of Sir Edmund Andross at Boston. At his death, he discovered his true character to the people, and owned the name of John Dixwell, but requested that no monument should be erected at his grave, giving an account of his person, name, and character, alledging as a reason, "lest his enemies might dishonor his ashes"—requesting that only a plain stone might be set up at his grave inscribed with his initials, J. D. Esq., with his age and time of his death. Accordingly a plain rough stone was erected at his grave, close by the grave of Governor Eaton and Governor Jones, charged with an inscription as at first put up and engraved by his friends.

Whilst residing at New Haven, he was twice married, and at his death, he left a wife and two children. His will was afterwards exhibited, approved and recorded in the Probate office.

President Stiles, in his History of the Judges, says, "So late as the last French war, 1760, some British officers passing through New Haven, and hearing of Dixwell's grave, visited it, and declared with rancorous and malicious vengeance, that if the British ministry knew it, they would even then cause their bodies to be dug up and vilified. Often have we heard the crown officers aspersing and vilifying them; and some, so late as 1775, visited and treated the graves with marks of indignity too indecent to be mentioned." It was especially so, during Queen Anne's time, and even that of the Hanoverian family, there has been no time in which this grave has not been threatened by numerous sycophantic crown dependents, with indignity and ministerial vengeance."

*Surrender of New Amsterdam to the English.*—In 1664, Charles II. of England not wishing the Dutch to exercise authority in the midst of his colonies, determined to subject them to his will; for this purpose he made a grant to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany of all the territory claimed by the Dutch. Col. Richard Nicholls with several others were commissioned to take possession in the king's name, and to exercise jurisdiction. Col. Nicholls with four ships and an armed force arrived at Boston. Demanding and receiving assistance from Massachusetts and Connecticut, he about the 30th of August arrived in New York bay.

"One of the ships entered the bay of the North River, several days before the rest; and as soon as they were all come up, Stuyvesant sent a letter dated  $\frac{11}{12}$  of August, at Fort Anil, directed to the commanders of the English frigates, by John De-clyer, one of the chief council, the Rev. John Megapolensis, minister, Paul Lander Vander Grift, major, and Mr. Samuel Megapolensis, doctor in physic, with the utmost civility, to desire the reason of their approach, and continuing in the harbour of Naarlij, without giving notice to the Dutch, which (he writes) they ought to have done.

Colonel Nicolls answered the next day with a summons.

• To the honourable the governour, and chief council at the Manhattans.

'Right worthy sirs,

'I received a letter by some worthy persons intrusted by you, bearing date the  $\frac{22}{23}$  of August, desiring to know the intent of the approach of the English frigates: in return of which, I think it fit to let you know, that his majesty of Great Britain, whose right and title to these parts of America, is unquestionable, well knowing how much it derogates from his crown and dignity, to suffer any foreigners, how near soever they be allied, to usurp a dominion, and without his majesty's royal consent, to inherit in these, or any other of his majesty's territories, hath commanded me, in his name, to require a surrender of all such forts, towns, or places of strength, which are now possessed by the Dutch, under your commands; and in his majesty's name, I do demand the town, situate on the island, commonly known by the name of Manhattoes, with all the forts thereunto belonging, to be rendered unto his majesty's obedience and protection, into my hands. I am further commanded to assure you, and every respective inhabitant of the Dutch nation, that his majesty being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, doth by these presents, confirm and secure to every man his estate, life, and liberty, who shall readily submit to his government. And 'all those who shall oppose his majesty's gracious intention, must expect all the miseries of a war, which they bring upon themselves. I shall expect your answer by these gentlemen, Colonel George Carteret, one of his majesty's commissioners in America; Captain Robert Needham, Captain Edward Groves, and Mr. Thomas Delavall, whom you will entertain with such civility as is due to them, and yourselves, and yours shall receive the same, from,

"Dated on board his majesty's  
ship, the Guyny, riding be-  
fore Nych, the  $\frac{20}{21}$  of Aug.  
1664.

Worthy Sirs,

Your very humble servant,

*Richard Nicolls.'*

Mr. Stuyvesant promised an answer to the summons the next morning, and in the mean time convened the council and burgomasters. The Dutch governour was a good soldier, and had lost a leg in the service of the States. He would willingly have made a defence; and refused a sight of the summons, both to the inhabitants and burgomasters, lest the easy terms offered, might induce them to capitulate. The latter, however, insisted upon a copy, that they might communicate it to the late magistrates and principal burghers. They called together the inhabitants at the stad house, and acquainted them with the governour's refusal. Governour Winthrop, at the same time, wrote to the director and his council, strongly recommending a surrender. On the 22d of August, the burgomasters came again into council, and desired to know the contents of the English message from Governour Winthrop, which Stuyvesant still refused. They continued their importunity; and he, in a fit of anger, tore it to pieces: upon which, they protested against the act and all its consequences."

Determined upon a defence of the country, Stuyvesant wrote a long letter giving an historical account of the Dutch claims, and ended by saying "as touching the threats in your conclusion we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing, but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being in his gracious disposal, and we may as well be preserved by him, with small forces, as by a great army, which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection."

"While the Dutch governour and council were contending with the burgomasters and people in the city, the English commissioners pub-

lished a proclamation\* in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to submit, and promising them the king's protection and all the privileges of subjects; and as soon as they discovered by Stuyvesant's letter, that he was averse to the surrender, officers were sent to beat up for volunteers in Middleborough, Ulissen, Jamaica, and Hempsted. A warrant was also issued to Hugh Hide, who commanded the squadron, to prosecute the reduction of the fort; and an English ship then trading here, was pressed into the service. These preparations induced Stuyvesant to write another letter, on the 25th of August, old style, wherein, though he declares that he would stand the storm, yet to prevent the spilling of blood, he had sent John De Decker, counsellor of state, Cornelius Van Ruyven, secretary and receiver, Cornelius Steenwick, major, and James Cousseau, sheriff, to consult, if possible, an accommodation. Nicolls, who knew the disposition of the people, answered immediately from Gravesend, that he would treat about nothing but a surrender. The Dutch governour, the next day, agreed to a treaty and surrender, on condition the English and Dutch limits in America were settled by the crown and the States General. The English deputies were Sir Robert Carr, George Carteret, John Winthrop, governour of Connecticut, Samuel Wyllys, one of the assistants or council of that colony, and Thomas Clarke, and John Pyncheon, commissioners from the general court of the Massachusetts' bay, who but a little before, brought an aid from that province. What these persons agreed upon, Nicolls promised to ratify. At eight o'clock in the morning, of the 27th of August, 1664, the commissioners, on both sides, met at the governour's farm, and there signed the articles of capitulation."

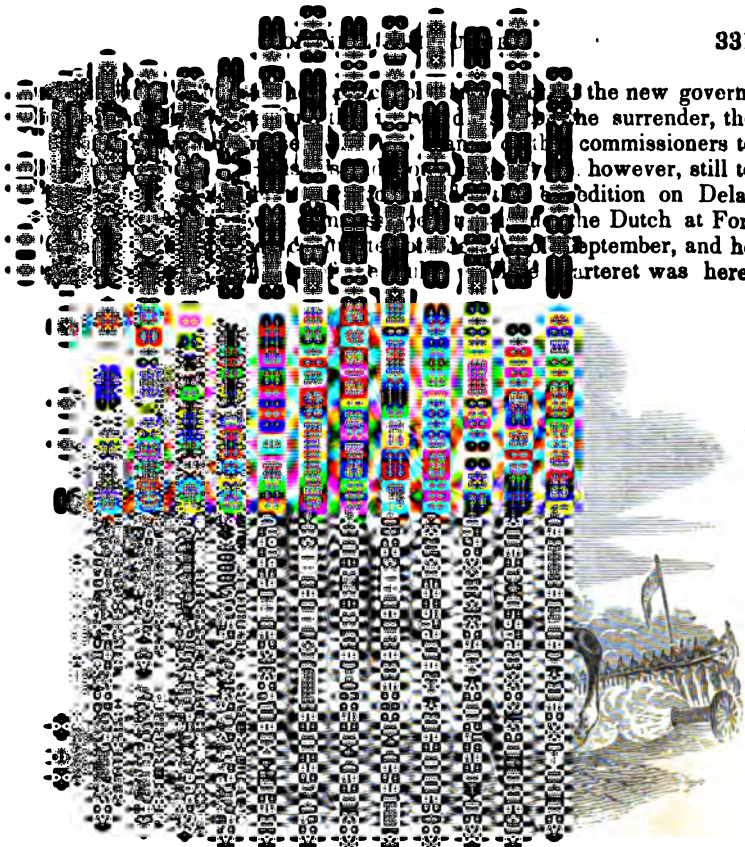
These articles, twenty-three in number, were highly favorable to the inhabitants; Stuyvesant, however, refused to ratify them, till two days after they were signed by the commissioners.

"The town of New-Amsterdam, upon the reduction of the island Mannhattans, took the name of New-York. It consisted of several small streets, laid out in the year 1656, and was not inconsiderable for the number of its houses and inhabitants. The easy terms of the

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\* It was in these words: "Forasmuch as his majesty hath sent us by commission under the great seal of England, amongst other things, to expel, or to reduce to his majesty's obedience, all such foreigners, as without his majesty's leave and consent, have seated themselves amongst any of his dominions in America, to the prejudice of his majesty's subjects, and diminution of his royal dignity; we his said majesty's commissioners, do declare and promise, that whosoever, of what nation soever, will upon knowledge of this proclamation, acknowledge and testify themselves, to submit to this his majesty's government, as his good subjects, shall be protected in his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatsoever God's blessing, and their own honest industry, have furnished them with; and all other privileges, with his majesty's English subjects. We have caused this to be published, that we might prevent all inconveniences to others, if it were possible; however, to clear ourselves from the charge of all those miseries, that may any way befall such as live here, and will [not] acknowledge his majesty for their sovereign, whom God preserve."

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"Governor Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch Rulers," in Watson's *Sketches of Olden Times in New York*. He was governor of New York seventeen years—from 1647 to 1664. At his death, his remains were placed in the family vault, once constructed within the walls of the second built Reformed Dutch church, which he had built at his personal expense on his own farm. The place where this church was built is now occupied by the present church of St. Mark. The original monumental stone in memory of Gov. Stuyvesant is to be seen on the outside wall of this latter church, inscribed as follows :

"In this vault, lied buried PETRUS STUYVESANT, late Captain General and Commander in chief of Amsterdam in New Netherland, now called New York, and the Dutch West India Islands. Died in August, A. D. 1682, aged eighty years."

*Negro Plot in New York.*—The following, giving an account of the extraordinary excitement against the unfortunate African slaves in New York, is copied from Smith's History, (the Continuation,) published in Albany in 1814.

"A robbery, which had been committed at the house of Robert Hogg, a merchant in New-York, on the 28th of February, 1740-1, seemed to have led to the discovery of a plot, which was afterwards called *the negro plot*. One Mary Burton, an indented servant to John Hughson, (a man of infamous character, and to whose house slaves were in the practice of resorting to drink and gamble, and of secreting the goods they had stolen,) was the instrument, in the hands of the magistrates, for the detection and punishment of the offenders. On the 18th of March after the robbery, a fire broke out in the roof of his majesty's house at Fort George, near the chapel, consuming the house, the chapel, and some other buildings adjacent. Most of the publick records in the secretary's office, over the fort gate, were fortunately rescued from the flames. A week after, another fire broke out at the house belonging to a Captain Warren, near the long bridge, at the southwest end of the city. Both these fires were, at first, supposed to be accidental. But about a week after the last fire, another broke out at the store house of a Mr. Van Zandt, towards the east end of the town. Three days after, a fourth alarm was given, and it was found that some hay was on fire in a cow stable near the house of a Mr. Quick, or a Mr. Vergereau. The fire was soon suppressed. The people, in returning from that fire, were alarmed by a fifth cry, at the house of one Ben Thompson, next door west of a Captain Sarly's house. It appeared that fire had been placed between two beds, in the loft of a kitchen, where a negro usually slept. The next morning coals were discovered under a hay stack, near the coach house and stables of Joseph Murray, esq. in Broadway. All these circumstances having occurred in quick succession, the people were induced to believe that some designing persons intended to destroy the city by fire. What strengthened this belief, was, a seventh alarm of fire the next day, at the house of a Sergeant Burns, opposite the fort garden, an eighth alarm occasioned by a fire breaking out the

same day, in the roof of a Mr. Hilton's house, near the fly market ; and again, the same afternoon, and within a few hours after, a ninth fire occurring, at Colonel Philipse's store house. This strange coincidence of events, leaves indeed little room for doubt, that some one or more of the fires occurred through design. It was soon rumoured that *the negroes* were the perpetrators. One *Quacko*, a negro, belonging to a Mr. Walter, was said to have made use of some mysterious language and threats, indicating his knowledge of a plot. A proclamation was issued, offering rewards for the discovery of the offenders. Quacko, and several other negroes were apprehended and closely interrogated, but without effect. The supreme court, at its April term, strictly enjoined the grand jury to make diligent enquiries as to the late robberies and fires within the city. Mary Burton, who had been apprehended as a witness, relative to the robbery at Mr. Hogg's, gave the grand jury reason to believe that she was also privy to the design to set fire to the city. After some difficulty, she made a disclosure, which, in all probability, was greatly exaggerated, though some of its parts might have been true. She stated that meetings of negroes were held at her master's [Hughson.] That their plan was to burn the fort and city. That one Cæsar, [a black] was to be *governour*, and Hughson, her master, *king* ! That they were to destroy the whites. That she had known *seven* or *eight* guns, and *some swords*, in her master's house ! That the meetings at her master's house, consisted of twenty or thirty negroes at a time ! Upon this evidence, warrants were issued, and many negroes committed to prison. One Arthur Price, a servant, charged with stealing goods, belonging to the lieutenant governour, likewise became informer. Being in prison himself, and having access to the negroes there committed, he received, or pretended to have received, much information from them. He was afterwards employed by the magistrates, to hold private conferences with the negroes in prison, and to use persuasion and other means to gain confessions from them. In this business he was peculiarly expert, and received the most unqualified approbation of the magistrates. Yet many of his stories are of such a chivalrous and romantic description as to excite suspicion of their truth. But every thing he related was implicitly believed. The more extravagant the tale, the more readily was it received and credited. A white woman, who was a common prostitute, and familiar even with negroes, of the name of Margaret or Peggy Salinburgh, *alias* Kerry, *alias* Sorubiero, likewise declared she could make great discoveries. The magistrates eagerly hastened to take her examination, and the consequence was, that fresh warrants were issued for the apprehension of many other negroes, not before implicated. Informers were now rapidly increasing. Arthur Price, while in prison, was making great discoveries. Operating on the fears and hopes of the negroes, many declared themselves accomplices. The magistrates were unceasingly engaged. The grand jury were daily presenting bills of indictment against the parties accused. To be inculpated by Mary Burton, Arthur Price, or Peggy Salinburgh.

was sufficient to authorize the indictment and conviction of any person. It is to be regretted that on proof of such suspicious characters, so many lives were placed in the hands of the executioner. Not that we dispute the fact that some of the fires were designedly set, but that we mean to be understood as doubting the extent and nature of the plot ascribed to the negroes. It is evident that Mary Burton was wholly unworthy of credit. Independent of the absurdity and improbability of many of her stories, she had, on the 22d April, in her first examination and disclosure under oath, declared, 'that she never saw any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, but her master, her mistress and Peggy;' yet, on the 25th of June following, she deposed that one John Ury, a Catholick priest, (a *white person*) was often at her master's, and 'that when he came to Hughson's, he (Ury) always went up stairs in the company of Hughson, his wife, and daughter, and Peggy, with whom the negroes used to be, at the same time, consulting about the plot;' and that 'the negroes talked in the presence of the said Ury about setting fire to the houses, and killing the white people.' She afterwards, on the 14th July following, declared, on oath, that one Corry, a dancing master, (also a *white person*) used to come to Hughson's, and talk with the negroes about the plot. Yet on evidence of this kind, Ury, who had previously been committed under the act against jesuits and popish priests, was indicted, tried, convicted and executed. At the place of execution, he solemnly denied the charge, and called on God to witness its falsity. But Ury was a Catholick, and the publick prejudice was so strong, that it required very little more to ensure his condemnation. Had not Ury been obnoxious, on account of his religion, the accusation against him would perhaps never have been made, or, if made, would have been little regarded. Mary Burton received the hundred pounds which had been promised as a reward for discovering the persons concerned in setting fire to the city. We shall now dismiss this article, after giving the number who were accused, tried, and suffered on this occasion, with some remarks, which grow out of this subject.

One hundred and fifty-four negroes were committed to prison, of whom fourteen were burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported, and the rest pardoned, or discharged for want of proof. Twenty white persons were committed, of whom two only, John Hughson and John Ury, were executed. At this time, the city of New-York contained a population of about twelve thousand souls, of whom one sixth were slaves. If a plot, in fact, existed for the destruction of the city and the massacre of its inhabitants; and if that plot was conducted by Ury, it certainly betrayed greater imbecility of intellect, and want of caution and arrangement, together with less union of action, than could have been expected from one who was evidently, if we believe his own account, a man of classical education, and profound erudition. It is worthy of remark, that Corry, the dancing master, accused by Mary Burton, was discharged for want of proof! It seems that Mary's testimony began, at length

to be doubted. Indeed, it well might; for had the prosecutions continued much longer, she would, more than probable, have accused a great portion of the white citizens of New-York, as being concerned in this plot. Daniel Horsmanden, esq. published, at the time, a history of this conspiracy, and laboured hard to prove its existence and extent. But it is evident that that hostility to Catholicism, which the British government so industriously inculcated, tintured his mind, and gave it a bias unfriendly to the fair developement of truth, or to the full and impartial examination of facts and circumstances. The negroes were without defence. All the counsel in the city were arrayed against them, and volunteered their services on behalf of the crown, on the trial of those unfortunate slaves. The want of education, and utter ignorance of those infatuated wretches easily made them the victims of craft and imposition. The hopes of life, and the promise of pardon, influenced some of them to make confessions. Yet falsehood was so ingeniously, and artfully blended with truth, that it was not an easy task to separate the one from the other. It must, however, be admitted, that many circumstances aided the opinion that the plot, in fact, existed, and if the people were mistaken in this, it was an error into which they might naturally fall at the moment of confusion and distress, and under the attending circumstances. A day of publick thanksgiving for the deliverance of his majesty's subjects, from the alledged conspiracy, was appointed by the lieutenant governour, and was devoutly and reverently observed by the inhabitants."

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## RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

The articles of Religious Faith and Discipline held by the first planters of New England are stated by Dr. Dwight in the following manner :

1. "That the Scriptures only contain the true Religion; and that nothing, which is not contained in them, is obligatory upon the conscience ;
2. That every man has the right of judging for himself; of trying doctrines by them; and of worshiping according to his apprehensions of their meaning;
3. That the Doctrinal Articles of the Reformed Churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, the Palatinate, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces, are agreeable to the Holy Oracles;
4. That the pious members of all these Churches were to be admitted to their communion;
5. That no particular Church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch over one another, and usually meet, and worship in one congregation.



6. That every such Church is to consist of those only, who appear to believe in Christ and to obey him ;

7. That any competent number of such persons have a right to embody themselves in a church, for their mutual edification ;

8. That this ought to be done by an *express covenant*.

9. That when embodied, they have a right to choose all their officers ;

10. That these officers are Pastors or Teaching Elders, Ruling Elders and Deacons ;

11. That Pastors are to oversee, rule, teach, and administer the Sacraments ; and that they are to be maintained ;

12. That the Ruling Elders are not temporary, but permanent officers ; who are to aid the pastor in overseeing, and ruling ;

13. That the Pastors and Ruling Elders constitute the Presbytery ; which should be found in every particular Church ;

14. That the Deacons are the Treasurers, and Almoners, of the Church ; and are also to administer at the sacramental table ;

15. That these officers can only rule and administer, with the consent of the brethren ;

16. That no church, or church officers have any power over any other church, or church officers ; but all are equal in their rights, and independent in the enjoyment of them ;

17. That Baptism is a seal of the covenant of grace ; and should only be administered to visible believers, together with their unadulterated children ; and that, without the sign of the cross, or any other invented ceremony ;

18. That the Lord's Supper should be received, as it was at first, in the table posture ;

19. That excommunication should be wholly spiritual, and not involve any temporal penalties ;

20. That the Lord's day was to be strictly observed throughout ; and that fasts and thanksgivings are to be observed, as the state of providence requires.

*Difficulties with Roger Williams.*—Roger Williams, a Puritan minister, the founder of Rhode Island, came over to New England in 1631, and settled at Salem, as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Skelton. His settlement was opposed by the magistrates, because he refused to join with the church at Boston, because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the Church of England; while in their native country. In consequence of this opposition Mr. Williams removed to Plymouth and became the assistant of Mr. Smith in the ministry at that place. After remaining here about two years, upon the invitation of the people at Salem, he returned there as the successor of Mr. Skelton. Mr. Williams' tenets remaining unchanged, he was still opposed by the magistrates, and was at length banished from the colony. The following extracts from Winthrop's

Journal, give an authentic account of the proceedings against Mr. Williams.

"1634, Nov. 27. The Court was informed, that Mr. Williams, of Salem, had broken his promise to us, in teaching publicly against the King's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, &c. and for usual terming the churches of England antichristian. We granted summons to him for his appearance at the next Court."

"1635, Mo. 2, 30.\* The Governor and Assistants sent for Mr. Williams. The occasion was, for that he had taught publicly, that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man, for that we thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God and cause him to take the name of God in vain. He was heard before all the ministers, and very clearly confuted. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but he gave place to the truth.

"1635, Mo. 5, 8. At the General Court, Mr. Williams, of Salem, was summoned and did appear. It was laid to his charge, that being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz: 1. That the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace; 2. that he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; 3. that a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, &c.; 4. that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meat, &c.† and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem to admonish him of these errors; notwithstanding, the church had since called him to [the] office of teacher. Much debate was about these things. The said opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers, (who were desired to be

\* That is April 30. Winthrop adopted, a few months before, this mode of denoting time. It seems to have arisen from a desire to avoid the Roman nomenclature, as beathenish. Perhaps an aversion to the Romish Church had a share in producing the change. The custom continued for more than fifty years, when it was gradually abandoned, except by the Friends, or Quakers, and Hutchinson thinks, that the popular prejudice against them hastened the decline of the custom. The months were called 1st, 2d, &c. beginning with March, and the days of the week were designated in the same way.

† It is worthy of remark, here, that while Winthrop states this charge as a general proposition, Hubbard (207) and Morton (153) assert, that Mr. Williams refused to "pray or give thanks at meals with his own wife or any of his family." This was probably an inference from Mr. Williams' abstract doctrine. Several of the charges against him might be thus traced to the disposition to draw inferences. A curious instance is given by Cotton Mather, (*Magnalia*, b. vii. ch. ii. § 6.) Mr. Williams, he says, "complained in open Court, that he was wronged by a slanderous report, as if he held it unlawful for a father to call upon his child to eat his meat. Mr. Hooker, then present, being moved to speak something, replied, "Why, you will say as much again, if you stand to your own principles, or be driven to say nothing at all." Mr. Williams expressing his confidence that he should never say it, Mr. Hooker proceeded: "If it be unlawful to call an unregenerate person to pray, since it is an action of God's worship, then it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to pray for a blessing upon his own meat. If it be unlawful for him to pray for a blessing upon his meat, it is unlawful for him to eat it, for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer, unsanctified. (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.) If it be unlawful for him to eat it, it is unlawful for you to call upon him to eat it, for it is unlawful for you to call upon him to sin."

present) to be erroneous and very dangerous, and that the calling of him to office, at that time, was judged a great contempt of authority. So, in fine, time was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the Court, or else to expect the sentence ; it being professedly declared by the ministers (at the request of the Court to give their advice) that he who should obstinately maintain such opinions (whereby a church might run into heresy, apostacy, or tyranny and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle) were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to request the magistrates so to do."

"At this General Court, Mr. Williams, the teacher of Salem, was again convented, and all the ministers in the Bay being desired to be present, he was charged with the said two letters, that to the churches, complaining of the magistrates for injustice, extreme oppression, &c. and the other to his own church, to persuade them to renounce communion with all the churches in the Bay, as full of antichristian pollution, &c. He justified both these letters, and maintained all his opinions ; and, being offered further confidence or disputation, and a month's respite, he chose to dispute presently. So Mr. Hooker was chosen to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his errors. So, the next morning, the Court sentenced him to depart out of our jurisdiction within six weeks, all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence ; and his own church had him under question also for the same cause ; and he, at his return home, refused communion with his own church, who openly disclaimed his errors, and wrote an humble submission to the magistrates, acknowledging their fault in joining with Mr. Williams in that letter to the churches against them," &c.

The sentence was in these terms : "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates ; as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retractation ; it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which, if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the Governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court."

"11 mo. January. The Governor and Assistants met at Boston to consider about Mr. Williams, for that they were credibly informed, that, notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon the liberty granted him to stay till the spring,) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, he did use to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been censured for ; and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was, because he had drawn above twenty persons to his opinion, and they were intended to erect a plantation about the Nar-

raganset Bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches, (the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness.) Whereupon a warrant was sent to him, to come presently to Boston to be shipped, &c. He returned answer (and divers of Salem came with it,) that he could not come without hazard of his life, &c. Whereupon a pinnace was sent with commission to Capt. Underhill, &c. to apprehend him, and carry him aboard the ship, (which then rode at Nantasket;) but, when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before; but whither they could not learn.

"He had so far prevailed at Salem, as many there, (especially of devout women) did embrace his opinions, and separated from the churches, for this cause, that some of their members, going into England, did hear the ministers there, and when they came home the churches here held communion with them."

*Ann Hutchinson, her opinions, &c.*—Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable New England planters, came over to Boston in 1636. She was treated with respect and much noticed by Mr. Cotton and other principal persons, particularly by Mr. Vane, the Governor. Being a woman of superior abilities, she set up religious meetings of her own, where she repeated the sermons which were delivered on the Lord's day before, adding her remarks and expositions. Her lectures, which made much noise, were attended by 60 or 80 of the principal women. Countenanced and encouraged for a time by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane, she advanced doctrines and opinions which involved the colony in disputes and contentions, which seemed to threaten ruin both to the church and state. Mr. Wheelwright, her brother in law, a minister of learning and piety, was firmly attached to her, and suffered with her on account of his tenets. The progress of her sentiments occasioned the *Synod* of 1637. Mrs. Hutchinson was finally banished to Rhode Island, and from thence, in 1642, after her husband's death, she removed into the Dutch country beyond New Haven, and the next year she and all her family, consisting of sixteen persons, were killed by the Indians, excepting one daughter whom they carried into captivity.—The following extracts from Winthrop's Journal, will serve to show the proceedings against her, and the opinions which she advanced.

1637, mo. 10. "The court also sent for Mrs. Hutchinson, and charged her with divers matters, as her keeping two public lectures every week in her house, whereto 60 or 80 persons did usually resort, and for reproaching most of the ministers, viz. all except Mr. Cotton, for not preaching a covenant of free grace, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, nor were able ministers of the new testament, which were clearly proved against her tho' she thought to shift it off, and after many speeches to and fro, at last she was so full as she could not

contain, but vented her revelations, amongst which this was one, that she had it revealed to her that she should come into New England, and should here be presented, and that God would ruin us and our posterity and the whole state for the same. So the court proceeded and banished her; but because it was winter they committed her to a private house where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else.

mo. 10. "Upon occasion of the censures of the court upon Mrs. Hutchinson and others, divers other foul errors were discovered which had been secretly carried by way of inquiry, but after were maintained by Mrs. Hutchinson and others, and so many of Boston were tainted with them, as Mr. Cotton finding how he had been abused, and made (as himself said) their stalking horse (for they pretended to hold nothing but what Mr. Cotton held and himself did think the same) did spend most of his time both publicly and privately, to discover these errors, and to reduce such as were gone astray. And also the magistrates calling together such of the elders as were near, did spend two days in consulting with them about the way to help the growing evils. Some of the secret opinions were these, That there is no inherent righteousness in a child of God—That neither absolute nor conditional praises belong to a christian—That we are not bound to the law not as a rule &c.—That the sabbath is but as other days—That the soul is mortal 'till it be united to Christ, and then it is annihilated, and the body also, and a new given by Christ—That there is no resurrection of the body.

1638. mo. 1, 22. Mrs. Hutchinson appeared again. She had been licensed by the court, in regard she had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's house, that both he and Mr. Davenport might have the more opportunity to deal with her, and the articles being again read to her, and her answer required, she delivered it in writing, wherein she made a retraction of near all, but with such explanations and circumstances as gave no satisfaction to the church, so as she was required to speak further to them.

After she was excommunicated, her spirit which seemed before to be somewhat dejected, revived again, and she gloried in her sufferings, saying that it was the greatest happiness next to Christ, that ever befel her. Indeed it was a happy day to the church of Christ here, and to many poor souls who had been seduced by her who by what they heard and saw that day, were, thro' the grace of God, brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth.

At this time the good providence of God so disposed, divers of the congregation (being the chief men of the party, her husband being one) were gone to Naragansett to seek out a new place for plantation, and taking liking of one in Plymouth patent, they went thither to have it granted them, but the magistrates there knowing their spirit, gave them a denial, but consented they might buy of the Indians an island in the Naragansett Bay.

After two or three days the Governor sent a warrant to Mrs. Hutchinson to depart this jurisdiction before the last of this month, accord-

ing to the order of court, and for that end set her at liberty from her former constraint, so as she was not to go forth of her own house 'till her departure; and upon the 28th, she went by water to her farm at the Mount, where she was to take water with Mr. Wheelwright's wife and family to go to Piscat: but she changed her mind and went by land to Providence and so to the Island in the Narragansett Bay, which her husband and the rest of that sect had purchased of the Indians and prepared with all speed to remove unto. For the court had ordered that except they were gone with their families by such a time, they should be summoned to the General Court.

1641. Mrs. Hutchinson and those of Aquiday island broached new heresies every year. Divers of them turned professed anabaptists, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among christians, and maintained that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such, and that the church was to wait these all the time she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was. Her son Francis and her son in law Mr. Collins (who was driven from Barbadoes where he had preached a time and done some good, but so soon as he came to her was infected with her heresies) came to Boston and were there sent for to come before the Governor and council, but they refused to come except they were brought, so the officer led him, and being come (there were divers of the elders present) he was charged with a letter he had written to some in our jurisdiction, wherein he charged all our churches and ministers to be anti-christian, and many other reproachful speeches, terming our king, king of Babylon, and sought to possess the people's hearts with evil thoughts of our government and of our churches &c. He acknowledged the letter, and maintained what he had written, yet sought to evade the confessing there was a true magistracy in the world and that christians must be subject to it. He maintained also that there were no gentile churches (as he termed them) since the apostles times, and that none now could ordain ministers &c. Francis Hutchinson did agree with him in some of these, but not resolutely in all; but he had reviled the church of Boston (being then a member of it) calling her a strumpet. They were both committed to prison; and it fell out that one Stoddard, being then one of the constables of Boston, was required to take Francis Hutchinson into his custody 'till the afternoon, and said withal to the Governor, sir, I came to observe what you did, that if you should proceed with a brother otherwise than you ought, I might deal with you in a church way. For this insolent behaviour he was committed, but being dealt with by the elders and others, he came to see his error, which was that he did conceive that the magistrate ought not to deal with a member of the church before the church had proceeded with him. So the next Lord's day in the open assembly, he did freely and very affectionately confess his error and his contempt of authority, and being bound to appear at the next court he did the like there to the satisfaction of all; yet for example's sake he was fined 20s. which, tho' some of the magistrates would have had it much less,

or rather remitted, seeing his clear repentance and satisfaction in public left no poison or danger in his example, nor had the commonwealth or any person sustained danger by it. At the same court Mr. Collins was fined £100 and Francis Hutchinson £50 and to remain in prison 'till they gave security for it. We assessed the fines the higher, partly that by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept close prisoners) and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the synod and other occasions to the value of £500 at least: but after, because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them to £40 and £20 but they seemed not willing to pay any thing. They refused to come to the church assemblies except they were led, and so they came duly. At last we took their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them.

Other troubles arose in the island by reason of one Ni: Eason, a tanner, a man very bold, tho' ignorant, he using to teach at Newport where Mr. Coddington their Governor lived, maintained that man hath no power or will in himself, but as he is acted by God, and that seeing God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and so he must needs be the author of sin &c. and that a christian is united to the essence of God. Being shewed what blasphemous consequences would follow hereupon, they professed to abhor the consequences, but still defended the propositions, which discovered their ignorance, not apprehending how God could make a creature as it were in himself, and yet no part of his essence, as we see by familiar instances. The light is in the air, and in every part of it, yet it is not air, but a distinct thing from it. There joined with Ni: Eason, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeshall and some others, but their minister Mr. Clark and Mr. Lenthall and Mr. Harding and some others dissented and publicly opposed, whereby it grew to such heat of contention, that it made a schism among them.

*Difficulties with Gorton.*—Samuel Gorton, the first settler of Warwick, R. I. came to this country in 1636, and in a few years occasioned a good deal of disturbance by the religious principles which he advanced. Leaving Boston, he went to Plymouth, and disturbing the church there, he was whipped and required to find sureties for his good behavior, which not being able to do, he was driven, it is said, to Rhode Island. At Newport he was also whipped for his contempt of the civil authority. From this place he went to Providence, where Roger Williams, with his usual humanity, although he disliked his principles and practice, gave him a shelter. Gorton afterwards purchased some lands of the Indians, and having made some encroachments, complaints were entered against him in the court of Massachusetts. Being required to answer for his conduct, by the court, he treated their summons with contempt. In May, 1643, Capt. Cook, with about 40 soldiers, were sent against Gorton and his associates, who were taken prisoners and carried to Boston. He was sentenced to imprison-

ment and hard labor; for which banishment was afterwards substituted. In 1644 Gorton went to England and obtained an order from Parliament, securing to him the peaceable possession of his lands. He died after the year 1676 at an advanced age. The following, relative to Gorton, is from Winthrop's Journal :

1643, 8 m. 13. "The next Lord's day in the forenoon the prisoners would not come to the meeting, so as the magistrate determined they should be compelled. They agreed to come, so as they might have liberty after sermon to speak if they had occasion. The magistrates answer was, that they did leave the ordering of things in the church to the elders, but there was no doubt but they might have leave to speak so as they spake the words of truth and sobriety. So in the afternoon they came and were placed in the fourth seat right before the elders. Mr. Cotton (in his ordinary text) taught them out of Acts 19. of Demetrius pleading for Diana's silver shrines or temples &c. After sermon Gorton desired leave to speak, which being granted, he repeated the points of Mr. Cotton's sermon, and coming to that of the silver shrines, he said that in the church there was nothing now but Christ, so that all our ordinances, ministers, sacraments &c. were but men's inventions for shew and pomp and no other than those silver shrines of Diana. He said also that if Christ lived eternally, then he died eternally; and it appeared both by his letters and examinations that he held that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and that he was that image of God wherein Adam was created, and that the chief work and merit was in that his incarnation in that he became such a thing, so mean &c. and that his being born after of the Virgin Mary and suffering &c. was but a manifestation of his sufferings &c. in Adam. Likewise in his letters he condemned and reviled magistracy calling it an idol, alledging that a man might as well be a slave to his belly as to his own species: yet being examined he would acknowledge magistracy to be an ordinance of God in the world as marriage was, viz. no other magistracy but what was natural, as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary prince over his subjects."

"After this they were brought before the court severally to be examined (divers of the elders being desired to be present) and because they had said they could give a good interpretation of all they had written, they were examined upon the particular passages, but the interpretation they gave being contradictory to their expressions, they were demanded then if they would retract those expressions, but that they refused, and said still that they should then deny the truth."

"One of the elders had been in the prison with them, and had conferred with them about their opinions, and they expressed their agreement with him in every point, so as he intended to move for favor for them, but when he heard their answer upon their examination, he found how he had been deluded by them, for they excel the jesuits in the act of equivocation, and regard not how false they speak to all other men's apprehensions, so they keep to the rules of their own meaning. Gorton maintained that the image of God wherein Adam



was created was Christ, and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in generation was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former. In their letters &c. they condemned all ordinances in the church, calling baptism an abomination, and the Lord's supper the juice of a poor silly grape turned into the blood of Christ by the skill of our magicians &c. yet upon examination they would say they did allow them to be the ordinances of Christ; but their meaning was that they were to continue no longer than the infancy of the church lasted (and but to novices then) for after the revelation was written they were to cease, for there is no mention of them, say they, in that book.

They were all illiterate men, the ablest of them could not write true English, no not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turns: as to give one instance for many. Mr. Cotton pressing them with that in Acts 10. 'Who can forbid water why these should not be baptized—so he commanded them to be baptized' they interpret thus. Who can deny but these have been baptized, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost &c. so he allowed them to have been baptized. This shift they were put to that they might maintain their former opinion, That such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost need not the outward baptism.

The court and the elders spent near a whole day in discovery of Gorton's deep mysteries which he had boasted of in his letters, and to bring him to conviction, but all was in vain. Much pains was also taken with the rest, but to as little effect. They would acknowledge no error or fault in their writings, and yet would seem sometimes to consent with us in the truth.

After all these examinations the court began to consult about their sentence. The judgment of the elders also had been demanded about their blasphemous speeches and opinions, what punishment was due by the word of God. Their answer was first in writing, that if they should maintain them as expressed in their writings, their offence deserved death by the law of God. The same some of them declared after in open court. But before the court would proceed to determine of their sentence, they agreed first upon their charge, and then calling them all publicly they declared to them what they had to charge them without of their letter and speeches. Their charge was this, viz. They were charged to be blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy ordinances, and likewise of all civil government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded whether they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and did submit to it, or what expectations they had against it. They answered they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they took no particular exceptions to it, but fell into some caviling speeches, so they were returned to prison again. Being in prison they behaved insolently towards their keeper, and spake evil of the magistrates—Whereupon some of the magistrates

were very earnest to have irons presently put upon them. Others thought it better to forbear all such severity 'till their sentence were passed. This latter opinion prevailed. After divers means had been used both in public and private to reclaim them, and all proving fruitless, the court proceeded to consider of their sentence : in which the court was much divided. All the magistrates, save three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die, but the greatest number of the deputies dissenting, that vote did not pass. In the end all agreed upon this sentence—for seven of them, viz. that they should be dispersed into seven several towns, and there kept to work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, and not to depart the limits of the town, nor by word or writing maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death, only the exception for speech with any of the elders, or any other licensed by any magistrate to confer with them ; this censure to continue during the pleasure of the court.”

“The court finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them 14 days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the court being already passed &c.”

*Account of the Quakers, their Persecutions, &c.\**—“In the year 1656 began what has been generally and not improperly called the persecution of the Quakers. Two years before, an order had been made that every inhabitant who had in their custody any of the books of John Reeves and Lodowick Muggleton, ‘who pretend to be the two last witnesses and prophets of Jesus Christ,’ which books were said to be full of blasphemies, should bring or send them in to the next magistrate within one month on pain of ten pounds for each book remaining in any person’s hands after that time, but no person appeared openly professing the opinions of the quakers until July, 1656, when Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived from Barbados. A few weeks after arrived in the ship Speedwell of London, Robert Lock, master, nine more of these itinerants, whose names ‘after the flesh,’ the language they used to the officers sent to make enquiry, were William Brend, Thomas Thurston, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Richard Smith, Mary Prince, Dorothy Waugh, Sarah Gibbons, and Mary Witherhead. On the 8th of September they were brought before the court of assistants and being examined and each of them questioned how they could make it appear that God sent them, after a pause they answered that they had the same call which Abraham had to go out of his country ; to other questions they gave rude and contemptuous answers, which is the reason assigned for committing them to prison. A great number of their books which they had brought over with intent to scatter them about the country were seized and reserved for

\* This account is copied from Gov. Hutchinson’s “History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.” It is believed to be the most authentic and unprejudiced account to be found, which was written at that period.

the fire. Soon after this, as the governor was going from the public worship on the Lord's day to his own house, several gentlemen accompanying him, Mary Prince called to him from a window of the prison, railing at and reviling him, saying Woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor ; and denouncing the judgments of God upon him. Not content with this, she wrote a letter to the governor and magistrates filled with opprobrious stuff. The governor sent for her twice from the prison to his house and took much pains to persuade her to desist from such extravagancies. Two of the ministers were present, and with much moderation and tenderness endeavoured to convince her of her errors, to which she returned the grossest railings, reproaching them as hirelings, deceivers of the people, Baal's priests, the seed of the serpent, of the brood of Ishmael and the like.

The court passed sentence of banishment against them all, and required the master of the ship in which they came, to become bound with sureties to the value of five hundred pounds to carry them all away, and caused them to be committed to prison until the ship should be ready to sail. At this time there was no special provision by law for the punishment of quakers ; they came within a colony law against hereticks in general. At the next sessions of the general court, the 14th of October following, an act passed laying a penalty of one hundred pounds upon the master of any vessel who should bring a known quaker into any part of the colony, and requiring him to give security to carry them back again, that the quaker should be immediately sent to the house of correction and whipped twenty stripes, and afterwards kept to hard labor until transportation. They also laid a penalty of five pounds for importing and the like for dispersing quakers books, and severe penalties for defending their heretical opinions. And the next year an additional law was made by which all persons were subjected to the penalty of forty shillings for every hour's entertainment given to any known quaker, and any quaker after the first conviction if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other, a woman, each time to be severely whipped, and the third time man or woman to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron, and every quaker, who should become such in the colony, were subjected to the like punishments. In May 1658 a penalty of ten shillings was laid on every person present at a quaker's meeting, and five pounds upon every one speaking at such meeting. Notwithstanding all this severity, the number of quakers, as might well have been expected, increasing rather than diminishing, in October following a further law was made for punishing with death all quakers who should return into the jurisdiction after banishment. That some provision was necessary against these people so far as they were disturbers of civil peace and order, every one will allow, but such sanguinary laws against particular doctrines or tenets in religion are not to be defended. The most that can be said for our ancestors is that they tried gentler means at first, which they found utterly ineffectual, and that they followed the example of the authorities in most other states and in most ages of the world, who with the like absurdity have

supposed every person could and ought to think as they did, and with the like cruelty have punished such as appeared to differ from them. We may add that it was with reluctance that these unnatural laws were carried into execution, as we shall see by a further account of proceedings. Nicholas Upshall was apprehended in October 1656, fined twenty pounds and banished for reproaching the magistrates and speaking against the law made against quakers, and returning in 1659 was imprisoned. At the same court William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Mary Dyer and Nicholas Davis were brought to trial. The first gave no particular account of himself. Stephenson had made a publick disturbance in the congregation at Boston the 15th of June before. He acknowledged himself to be one of those the world called quakers, and declared that in the year 1656 at Shipton in Yorkshire as he was at plough he saw nothing but heard an audible voice saying, 'I have ordained thee to be a prophet to the nations,' &c. Dyer declared that she came from Rhode Island to visit the quakers, that she was of their religion which she affirmed was the truth, and that the light within her was the rule, &c. Davis came from Barnstable, he came into court with his hat on, confessed he had forsaken the ordinances and resorted to the quakers. The jury found 'that they were all quakers.' Robinson was whipped 20 stripes for abusing the court, and they were all banished on pain of death.

Patience Scott, a girl of about eleven years of age, came I suppose from Providence, her friends lived there, and professing herself to be one of those whom the world in scorn calls quakers was committed to prison, and afterwards brought to court. The record stands thus. 'The court duly considering the malice of Satan and his instruments by all means and ways to propagate error and disturb the truth, and bring in confusion among us, that Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child not being of the years of discretion, nor understanding the principles of religion, judge meet so far as to slight her as a quaker as only to admonish and instruct her according to her capacity and so discharge her, Capt. Hutchinson undertaking to send her home.' Strange that such a child should be imprisoned! it would have been horrible if there had been any further severity.

Robinson, Stephenson and Dyer at the next general court were brought upon trial, and 'for their rebellion, sedition, and presumptuous obtruding themselves after banishment upon pain of death,' were sentenced to die; the two first were executed the 27th of October. Dyer, upon the petition of William Dyer her son, was reprieved on condition that she departed the jurisdiction in 48 hours and if she returned to suffer the sentence. She was carried to the gallows and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. She was so infatuated as afterwards to return and was executed June 1st, 1660. The court thought it advisable to publish a vindication of their proceedings; they urge the example of England in the provision made against jesuits, which might have some weight against a charge brought from thence, but in every other part of their vindication, as may well be supposed from the nature of the thing, there is but the

bare shadow of reason. Christopher Holder who had found the way into the jurisdiction again, was at this court banished upon pain of death. At the same court seven or eight persons were fined, some as high as ten pounds, for entertaining quakers, and Edward Wharton for piloting them from one place to another was ordered to be whipped twenty stripes and bound to his good behavior. Divers others were then brought upon trial 'for adhering to the cursed sect of quakers not disowning themselves to be such, refusing to give civil respect, leaving their families and relations and running from place to place vagabonds like,' and Daniel Gold was sentenced to be whipped thirty stripes, Robert Harper fifteen, and they with Alice Courland, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton banished upon pain of death, William Kingsmill whipped fifteen stripes, Margaret Smith, Mary Trask and Provided Southwick ten stripes each, and Hannah Phelps admonished. The compassion of the people was moved and many resorted to the prison by day and night, and upon a representation of the keeper a constant watch was kept round the prison to keep people off.

Joseph Nicholson and Jane his wife were also tried and found quakers, as also Wendlock Christopherson, who declared in court that the scripture is not the word of God, and Mary Standley, and all sentenced to banishment, &c. as was soon after Benjamin Bellflower, but John Chamberlain though he came with his hat on yet refusing directly to answer, the jury found him, 'much inclining to the cursed opinions of the quakers,' and he escaped with an admonition.

Nicholson and his wife returned and were apprehended, but upon their petition had liberty with several others then in prison to go for England. Christopherson returned also and was sentenced to die. It is said he desired the court to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings. 'For the last man (says he) that was put to death here are five come in his room, and if you have power to take my life from me God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants and send them among you in my room that you may have torment upon torment.' He was ordered to be executed the fifth day sevensnight after the 14th of March 1660, afterwards reprieved till the 13th of June, but he was set at liberty upon his request to the court and went out of the jurisdiction.

Bellflower afterwards in court renounced his opinions, as also William King (Kingsmill I suppose) the only instances upon record. Chamberlain was afterwards apprehended again and found a quaker and committed to close prison, but no further sentence appears.

In September, 1660, William Ledea was tried and convicted of being a quaker and sentenced to banishment, &c. but returning and being apprehended, the general court gave him liberty notwithstanding to go to England with Nicholson and others, but he refused to leave the country and was brought upon trial for returning into the jurisdiction after sentence of banishment, acknowledged himself to be the person but denied their authority, and told the court that 'with the spirit they called the devil he worshipped God, and their ministers were deluders and they themselves murderers.' He was told that he

might have his life and be at liberty if he would. He answered I am willing to die, I speak the truth. The court took great pains to persuade him to leave the country but to no purpose. The jury brought him in guilty and he was sentenced to die and suffered accordingly March 14th, 1660.

Mary Wright of Oyster-bay was tried at the court in September 1660. She said she came to do the will of the Lord and to warn them to lay by their carnal weapons and laws against the people of God, told the court they thirsted for blood. The court asked her what she would have them do, she said 'repent of your bloodshed and cruelty and shedding the blood of the innocent William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer.' She said her tears were her meat many days and nights before she gave up herself to this work of the Lord, but added that if she had her liberty she would be gone quickly. Being found a quaker she was banished.

Edward Wharton who had been whipped before, was now indicted for being a quaker, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment and afterwards to banishment. Judah Brown and Peter Pierson stood mute. They were sentenced to be whipped at the cart's tail in Boston, Roxbury and Dedham.

John Smith of Salem for making disturbance at the ordination of Mr. Higginson, crying out 'What you are going about to set up our God is pulling down,' was committed to prison by order of court.

Philip Verin was also tried and imprisoned, Josias Southwick, first banished and returning, whipped at the cart's tail, and John Burstowe bound to his good behavior. These are all who were tried by the court of assistants or by the general court. Some at Salem, Hampton, Newbury and other places, for disorderly behavior, putting people in terror, coming into the congregations and calling to the minister in the time of publick worship, declaring their preaching, &c. to be an abomination to the Lord, and other breaches of the peace, were ordered to be whipped by the authority of the county courts or particular magistrates. At Boston one George Wilson, and at Cambridge Elizabeth Horton went crying through the streets that the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with them. Thomas Newhouse went into the meeting-house at Boston with a couple of glass bottles and broke them before the congregation, and threatened 'Thus will the Lord break you in pieces.' Another time M. Brewster came in with her face smeared and as black as a coal. Deborah Wilson went through the streets of Salem naked as she came into the world,\* for which she was well whipped. For these and such like disturbances they might be deemed proper subjects either of a mad-house or house of correction, and it is to be lamented that any greater severities were

\* One of the sect apologizing for this behavior said, "If the Lord did stir up any of his daughters to be a sign of the nakedness of others, he believed it to be a great cross to a modest woman's spirit, but the Lord must be obeyed." Another quoted the command in Isaiah, cap. 20. — *R. Williams*. One Faubord of Grindleton carried his enthusiasm still higher, and was sacrificing his son in imitation of Abraham, but the neighbours hearing the lad cry, broke open the house and happily prevented it.

made use of. After all that may be said against these measures, it evidently appears that they proceeded not from personal hatred and malice against such disordered persons, nor from any private sinister views, as is generally the case with unjust punishments inflicted in times of party rage and discord, whether civil or religious, but merely from a false zeal and an erroneous judgment. In support of their proceedings they brought several texts of the old testament. 'Come out of her my people,' &c. 'If thy brother entice thee to serve other gods thou shalt surely put him to death,' and 'for speaking lies in the name of the Lord his father shall thrust him through when he prophesieth,' and the example of Solomon who first laid Shimei under restraint and then for his breach put him to death, as also many passages of the new testament requiring subjection to magistrates, &c. and thus from a zeal to defend the holy religion they professed, they went into measures directly opposite to its true spirit and the great design of publishing it to the world.

That I may finish what relates to the quakers it must be further observed that their friends in England solicited and at length obtained an order from the King Sept. 9th, 1661, requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporal punishment of those of his subjects called quakers, and that such as were obnoxious to be sent to England."

Cotton Mather in his "Magnalia" gives a circumstantial account of many things relative to the Quakers. Although some of his narratives are to be received with some grains of allowance; yet it is believed that whatever he states as a matter of fact, is substantially correct. The following is extracted from the Magnalia:

"Although Quakerism has been by the new turn, that such ingenious men as Mr. Penn have given to it become quite a new thing; yet the old Foxian Quakerism, which then visited New England, was the grossest collection of blaaphemies and confusions that ever was heard of. They stiled those blind beasts and liars, who should say that the scriptures reveal God; and affirmed it, the greatest error in the world, and the ground of all errors, to say, the scriptures are a rule for Christians. They said, that the scripture does not tell people of a Trinity, nor three persons in God, but that those three persons are brought in by the Pope. They held, that justification by that righteousness, which Christ fulfilled in his own person without us, is a doctrine of devils. They held, that they that believe in Christ are not miserable sinners, nor do those things they ought not to do. They said, if the bodies of men rise again, then there is a pre-eminence in the bodies of men above the bodies of beasts, which is to give Solomon the lie. They said, they are like to be deceived who are expecting that Christ's second coming will be personal. They said, those things called ordinances, as baptism, bread and wine, rose from the Pope's invention. They said, as for that called, the Lord's day, people do not understand what they say; every day is the Lord's day. And for prayer itself, they said all must cease from their own words, and from their own time, and learn to be silent, until the Spirit

give them utterance. They said—But it would be endless to enumerate their heresies ; what we have already enumerated is enough to astonish us ; in all of which I solemnly protest unto the reader, that I have not wronged them at all, but kept close to their own printed words. Reader, thou canst not behold these heresies, without the exclamation ordinarily used by the blessed Polycarp, when he heard any such matters uttered ; “ *good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me !*”

There are many grounds of hope, that the days of prevailing Quakerism will be but threescore years and ten ; and if by reason of mens weakness they be fourscore years, yet the strength of it will then be wasted, it will soon be cut off and fly away. And among those grounds, I cannot but reckon the alterations which the sect of Quakers do experience, not only in the points of their faith, but also in that odd symptom of quaking, which by its using to arrest the bodies of their converts, gave denomination to them ; for as one of their own expresses it, The mighty motions of the bodies of the Friends are now ceased, and Friends are still cool and quiet ; the shaking and quaking of Friends bodies were to purge out sin ; but the stillness being come, the mind is brought into a capacity to discern the voice of the Lord.”

“ Reader, I can foretell what usage I shall find among the Quakers for this chapter of our church history ; for a worthy man that writes of them has observed, for pride, and hypocrisie, and hellish reviling against the painful ministers of Christ, I know no people can match them. Yea, prepare, friend Mather, to be assaulted with such language as Fisher the Quaker, in his pamphlets, does bestow upon such men as Dr. Owen ; thou fiery fighter and green-headed trumpeter ; thou hedgehog and grinning dog ; thou bastard that tumbled out of the mouth of the Babilonish bawd ; thou mole ; thou tinker ; thou lizzard ; thou bell of no metal, but the tone of a kettle ; thou wheelbarrow ; thou whirlpool ; thou whirligig. O thou firebrand ; thou adder and scorpion ; thou louse ; thou cow-dung ; thou moon-calf ; thou ragged tatterdemallion ; thou Judas ; thou livest in philosophy, and logick which are of the devil.”

*Westminster Assembly of Divines, &c.*—“ In the year 1642, letters came to Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, signed by several of the nobility, divers members of the house of commons, and some ministers, to call them or some of them, if all could not come, to assist in the assembly of divines at Westminster.\* Such of the magistrates and ministers as were near Boston met together, and most of them were of opinion that it

\* “The expression of the desires of those honorable and worthy personages of both houses of parliament who call and wish the presence of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport to come over with all possible speed, all or any of them, if all cannot. The conditoyon whearein the state of things in this kingdom doth now stand wee suppose you have from the relations of others, wheareby you cannot but understand how greate need there is of the heelp of prayer and improvement of all good meanes from all parts for the seatlinge and composing the affaires of the church. Wee therefore present unto you our earnest desires of you all. To shewe whearein or howe many wayes you may be useful would easely bee done by us and fownd by you weare you present with us. In all likelyhood you will finde opportunity enough to draw forth all that healepefullness that God shall affoord by you. And wee doubt not these ad-



was a call of God, but Mr. Hooker did not like the business, and thought it was not a sufficient call to go a thousand leagues to confer about matters of church government. Mr. Davenport thought otherwise, but his churches having but one minister would not spare him. Mr. Cotton thought it a clear call and would have undertaken the voyage if others would have gone with him. Soon after, other letters were received which diverted them from any thoughts of proceeding.\* Mr. Hooker was about that time preparing for press a vindication of congregational churches, or rather framing a system or plan of church government, which he designed for the New England churches, let the determination at Westminster be what it would. Had the churches of New England appeared there by their representatives, or any of the principal divines appeared as members of the assembly greater exception might have been taken to their building after a model of their own framing. Several persons who came from England in 1643 made a muster to set up presbyterian government under the authority of the assembly at Westminster, but a New England assembly, the general court, soon put them to the rout."

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### PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.

"IN 1650, a society in England, instituted for propagating the gospel, began a correspondence with the commissioners of the United Colonies, who were employed as agents for the society. In consequence, exertions were made to christianize the Indians. The Rev. Mr. Eliot, minister of Roxbury, had distinguished himself in this pious work. He had established towns, in which he collected Indian families, taught them husbandry, the mechanic arts, and a prudent management of their affairs, and instructed them with unwearied attention in the principles of the christian religion. For his zeal and success he has been called the Apostle of New England.

He began his labours about the year 1646, being in the forty second year of his age. The first pagans, who enjoyed his labours, resided at Nonantum, now the east part of Newton. Waban, a principal chief there, became a convert, and was distinguished for his piety. Being encouraged by the success of his first attempt, he soon after opened a lecture at Neponset, within the present bounds of Dorchester. These two lectures he continued several years without any reward or encouragement, but the satisfaction of doing good to the souls of men. Beside preach-

vantages will be such as will fully answer all inconveniencies your selves, churches or plantations may sustaine in this your voyage and short absence from them Only the sooner you come the better."

\* Hubbard.

ing to them, he formed two catechisms, one for the children, the other for adults. They readily learned these, seriously attended his public lectures, and very generally prayed in their families, morning and evening.

After a number of years, certain individuals in England, affected by his pious and disinterested labours, raised some generous contributions for his encouragement; he gratefully received these, declaring that he never expected any thing. By such timely aid he was enabled to educate his five sons at college. All these were distinguished for their piety, and all, excepting one, who died while a member of college, were preachers of the gospel. His eldest son preached several years to the Indians at Pakemitt, now Stoughton, and at Natick, and other places. Other ministers, in different parts of New England, by the example of Mr. Eliot, zealously engaged in the missionary work. Messrs. Bourne and Cotton in Plymouth colony, studied the Indian language, and preached at Martha's Vineyard, and other places. At Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Mr. Mayhew and son entered on the work; and in Connecticut Messrs. Pierson and Fitch preached Jesus and the resurrection to the heathen in their vicinity.

That the natives might have the word of life in their own language, which alone was able to make them wise unto salvation, Mr. Eliot translated the bible for their use. The New Testament was published in 1661, and the whole bible soon after. The expense was borne by the society for propagating the gospel in New England. Beside this, he translated and composed several other books, as a primer, a grammar, singing psalms, the practice of piety, Baxter's call, and several other things. He took care that schools should be opened in the Indian settlements, where their children were taught to read; some were put into schools of the English, and studied Latin and Greek. A building was erected for their reception, and several of them sent to Cambridge college. The legislature instituted judicial courts among the natives, answering to the county courts of the colony. In these courts, one English judge was united with those chosen by the natives. They had rulers and magistrates elected by themselves, who managed their smaller matters.

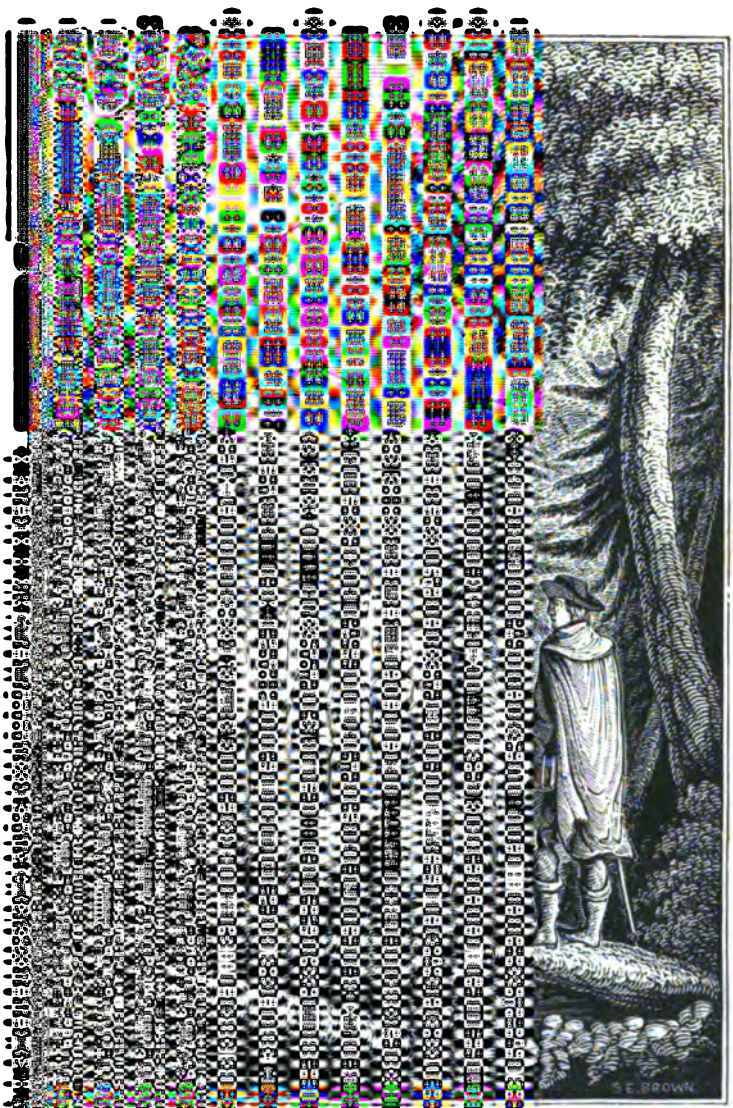
The first church of christianized pagans was gathered at Natick; they had two instructors of their own body, when the English preachers could not attend. In 1670, they had between forty and fifty communicants. The second praying town was Pakemitt, or Punkapaog, now Stoughton; their first teacher was of their own number, William Ahawton, 'a pious man, of good parts.' The second church of Indians was at Hassanamessit, now Grafton; their teacher's name was Takuppa-willin, 'a pious and able man, and apt to teach.' They had a meeting house built after the

English manner; their communicants were sixteen, their baptized persons thirty.

At Okommakummessit, or Marlborough, was a society, with a teacher. Wamesit, or Tewksbury, was the fifth praying society; their teacher was called Samuel, who could read and write. Annually a judicial court was held there. Here Mr. Eliot used to go and preach at that season, on account of the strangers, who resorted there. In 1674, after he had been preaching from Matth. xxiii. concerning the marriage of the king's son, at the wigwam of Wannalancet, near the falls, this man, who was the oldest son of the sachem or king, who had always been friendly to the English, but openly rejected the gospel, after sermon, rose and said, 'Sirs, you have been pleased, for four years, in your abundant love, to apply yourselves particularly to me and my people, to exhort, press and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge, I have all my days used to pass in an old canoe, and you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, which I have always opposed; but now I yield myself up to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter.' He ever after persevered in a christian course, though on this account several of his people deserted him. The sixth society gathered from the Indians, was at Nashobah, now Littleton: their teacher was called John Thomas. In this place, and at Marlborough, the Indians had orchards set out by themselves. Mungunkook, or Hopkinton, was the next place where a christian society was gathered; the families were twelve, their teacher was Job.

Several years after, seven other societies of praying Indians, with Indian teachers, were formed further west. One in Oxford, one in Dudley, three in different parts of Woodstock, which then was claimed by Massachusetts, one in Worcester, and one in Uxbridge. Several other places about the same time received christian preachers. The places mentioned received teachers selected from the natives, who had been instructed by Mr. Eliot. The whole number of those called praying Indians, in these places, was about 1100.

But the gospel was preached with still greater effect in Plymouth colony. The Rev. Mr. Bourne had under his care, on Cape Cod and its vicinity, about 500 souls; of whom about 200 could read, and more than 70 could write. He had formed one church of 27 communicants; 90 had been baptized. Beside these, Mr. Cotton of Plymouth preached occasionally to about half a hundred on Buzzard's Bay. Mr. Mayhew and son began to instruct the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in 1648 or 9. They were remarkably successful. The greatest part of them were



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soon considered as praying Indians. On this island and Chappaquiddick, were 300 families; on the latter, sixty, of whom fifty nine were praying families. On Nantucket was a church, and many praying families. In 1694, there were on this island three churches and five assemblies of praying Indians. In 1685, the praying Indians in Plymouth colony were 1439, beside children under 12 years of age. At one time, in different parts, were 24 congregations. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, but little success attended the gospel among the Indians. The sachems of Narraganset and Mohegan violently opposed their people's hearing the gospel. The Rev. Mr. Fitch of Norwich, took great pains, gave some of the Mohegans lands of his own, that they, who were disposed to hear the gospel, might be nearer him, and also freed from the revilings of their companions; at one time he had about 30 under his care.

The legislatures of the several colonies enacted salutary laws for restraining the evil conduct of the natives; means were also furnished for their receiving presents or rewards for distinguishing themselves in what was laudable. In Connecticut, the legislature in 1655, having appointed a governor over the Pequots, gave him the following laws, to which the people were to subject themselves. They shall not blaspheme the name of God, nor profane the sabbath. They shall not commit murder, nor practice witchcraft, on pain of death. 'They shall not commit adultery, on pain of severe punishment. Whoever is drunk shall pay ten shillings, or receive ten stripes. He that steals shall pay double damages.'—*Morse's and Parish's Hist.*

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## RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS, HISTORY, &c.

The following account of some of the religious usages of the first New England churches is copied from Gov. Hutchinson's History, vol. I.

"Most of the churches, not all, had one or more ruling elder. In matters of offence, the ruling elder, after the hearing, asked the church if they were satisfied; if they were not, he left it to the pastor or teacher to denounce the sentence of excommunication, suspension or admonition, according as the church had determined. Matters of offence, regularly, were first brought to the ruling elder in private, and might not otherwise be told to the church. It was the practice for the ruling elders to give public notice of such persons as desired to enter into church fellowship

with them, and of the time proposed for admitting them, if no sufficient objection was offered; and when the time came, to require all persons who knew any just grounds of objections to signify them. Objections were frequently made, and until they were heard and determined, the ruling elder seems to have moderated in the church, but the churches consent to the admission was asked by the pastor or teacher, who also rehearsed, and proposed the church covenant and declared them members. When a minister preached to any other than his own church, the ruling elder of the church, after the psalm sung, said publicly, 'if this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on.' The ruling elder always read the psalm. When the member of one church desired to receive the sacrament at another, he came to the ruling elder who proposed his name to the church for their consent. At the communion they sat with the minister. I find nothing further relating to this officer in their public assemblies. They were considered, without doors, as men for advice and counsel in religious matters, they visited the sick, and had a general inspection and oversight of the conduct of their brethren. Every thing which I have mentioned as the peculiar province of the ruling elder, so far as it is in itself necessary or proper, may with propriety enough be performed by the minister. It is not strange therefore that this office in a course of years sunk into almost an entire desuetude in the churches. Indeed the multiplying unnecessary and mere nominal officers, or officers whose duties and privileges are not with certainty agreed upon and determined, seems rather to have a natural tendency to discord and contention than to harmony and peace.

We meet with nothing peculiar, in the beginning of the churches, relative to the office of deacons. Mention is made of the duty of deaconesses or widows, who were 'to shew mercy with cheerfulness, and to minister to the sick and poor brethren,' but I find no instance of any specially chosen or appointed to this service.

The ministers of the several churches in the town of Boston have ever been supported by a free weekly contribution. I have seen a letter from one of the principal ministers of the colony expressing some doubts of the lawfulness of receiving a support in any other way. In the country towns, compulsory laws were found necessary; and in the year 1654 the county courts were empowered to assess upon the inhabitants of the several towns which neglected the support of the ministry a sum sufficient to make up the defect.

In Boston, after prayer and before singing, it was the practice for several years for the minister to read and expound a chapter.

Whether it was because this carried the service to too great a length, or any other reason could be given for it, in a few years it was laid aside, except when it came in place of a sermon.\* Exceptions, may we not say cavils, have been made, by some learned serious ministers, against reading the scriptures as part of the divine service without an exposition. The other parts of religious public worship, and the manner of administering the sacraments, not differing from what is at this day the practice of the churches of New England and of the churches of Scotland, it is unnecessary to take any notice of them.

From a sacred regard to the religion of the Christian sabbath, a scruple arose of the lawfulness of calling the first day of the week Sunday, and they always, upon any occasion, whether in a civil or religious relation to it, stiled it either the Lord's-day or the Sabbath. As the exception to the word Sunday was founded upon its superstitious idolatrous origin, the same scruple naturally followed with respect to the names of all the other days of the week, and of most of the months, which had the same origin; accordingly, they changed Monday, Tuesday, &c. into the second and third days of the week, and instead of March and April, used the first and second month, and instead of the third Tuesday in May, the language was, the third day of the third month, and so of the rest.† All their records and other writings are dated in the common form, which they brought from England with them, until the year 1636, when Mr. Vane was governor, but after that, the alteration seems to have been very strictly observed in all public and private writings and discourse for many years together. In the interregnum it much obtained in England, but the scruple there went off at once, upon the restoration, here, it abated, and it continues scarce any where at this day, except among the people called Quakers. Perhaps the great dislike to some other peculiarities of that people caused the decline of that custom in the colony, and made them consider the singularity in the same light with some others of the same nature, which they condemned.‡

That every thing, approaching to an acknowledgment of the authority of the pope and his power of canonization might be avoided, they never used the addition of saint when they spake

\* To preach a sermon which was not composed by the preacher himself, was looked upon, if not criminal, yet highly disreputable. One Mr. Bond having taken this liberty, and being discovered, presently after removed to Barbados. *MS.*

† This was a scruple of the Brownists.

‡ They began the Sabbath the evening of the last day of the week. It was some time before this custom was settled. Mr. Hooker, in a letter without date, but wrote about the year 1640, says, 'The question touching the beginning of the sabbath is now on foot among us, hath once been spoken to, and we are to give in our arguments each to the other, so that we may ripen our thoughts touching that truth, and if the Lord will it may more fully appear.' And in another letter, March, 1640, 'Mr. Huist hath not answered our arguments against the beginning the sabbath at morning.'



of the apostles and the ancient fathers of the christian church, and even the usual names of places were made to conform. The Island of Saint Christophers was always wrote Christophers, and by the same rule all other places to which saint had been prefixed. If any exception was made, an answer was ready: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had as good right to this appellation as Peter, James and John.

They laid aside the fasts and feasts of the church of England, and appointed frequently, as occasion required, days of fasting and thanksgiving, but, besides these occasional fasts and thanksgivings, they constantly, every spring, appointed a day for fasting and prayer to implore the divine blessings upon their affairs in the ensuing year; and in the fall a day of thanksgiving and public acknowledgment of the favors conferred upon them in the year past. If they more readily fell into this practice from the example of the people of God of old, yet they might well have been justified without any example. It has continued without interruption, I suppose, in any one instance, down to this day. This is a custom to which no devout person of any sect will take exception. By a law of the colony, every person absenting himself from the public worship, on these days, without sufficient excuse, was liable to five shillings fine. It would have been as well, perhaps, if this provision had been omitted.

These were the principal of the special ecclesiastical or religious customs. There were some attempts to introduce singularities into some of the churches, particularly Mr. Davenport of New-Haven, who afterwards removed to Boston, required all his congregation to stand up whilst the text was naming; the principal reason which was given for it being, that it was the word of God and deserved peculiar honor;\* and Mr. Williams of Salem required all the women of his congregation to wear veils; but neither of these customs spread, or were of any long continuance."

*Synods, Cambridge and Saybrook Platforms.*—The first synod held in America was convened at Newtown in 1637, on account of the prevalence of the sentiments of Ann Hutchinson which were generally termed *familistic* and *Antinomian*. This synod was composed of all the teaching elders of the country and messengers of the several churches: "the magistrates were also present, and were not hearers only, but speakers also, as they saw fit. This body, which held a session of three weeks condemned eighty-two opinions which then prevailed as erroneous.

\* 'At Quinnipack (New-Haven) Mr. Davenport preached in the forenoon that men must be uncovered and stand up at the reading the text, and in the afternoon the assembly jointly practised it.'—*Mr. Hooker to Shepard, March 20, 1640.*

In 1646 a Synod was convened at *Cambridge* by the general court of Massachusetts, for the purpose of settling a uniform scheme of ecclesiastical discipline. Most of the New England churches were represented in this body. The Synod continued its sessions by adjournments for two years, when it adopted the platform of church discipline called the *Cambridge platform*, and recommended it, with the Westminster Confession of Faith, to the General Court and to the churches. The New England churches in general complied with the recommendation; and the "Cambridge Platform," with the ecclesiastical laws formed the religious constitution of the New England Colonies, for more than thirty years.

In 1679, by the desire of the General Court a Synod was holden at Boston called the "Reforming Synod." At this period evils of various kinds prevailed, and this Synod "enquired what were the provoking sins of the times,\* and what duties to be done to recover the divine favor. They unanimously approved of the Cambridge Platform, "desiring that the churches may continue stedfast in the order of the gospel, according to what is therein declared by the word of God."

"The next year, May 12, 1680, another synod met in Boston, to adopt a confession of faith. Mr. Increase Mather was chosen moderator. 'The confession of faith consented to by the congregational churches of England,' which was nearly the same which was agreed to by the reverend assembly at Westminster, and afterward by the general assembly of Scotland, was approved, with a few variations, as the faith of New-England. The synod chose to use the confessions of faith adopted in Europe, 'that so they might, not only with one heart, but with one mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ.†

The fathers of the Plymouth colony had adopted the articles of the church of England, and the confession of faith, professed by the French reformed churches;‡ or, in other words Calvinism, as the articles of their faith, or the substance of their creed. In the synod of

\* "The synod voted, that the provoking sins of New England were a great decay of the power of godliness; also, pride, manifested in violating order, and a spirit of contention; that the rising generation were not mindful of the obligations resulting from their baptism; that a profanation of God's name, sabbath breaking, want of family religion, in daily prayer, and reading the scriptures; intemperance, and uncleanness, "temptations to which are common in naked arms, and necks, and naked breasts," violation of promises, and inordinate zeal for the world, shown in individuals, by forsaking their churches for greater farms, or more valuable merchandize, who ought to remember, that when Lot left Canaan and the church for better accommodations in Sodom, "God fired him out of all;" opposing the work of reformation; selfishness; and undervaluing the gospel of Christ, are matters of the Lord's controversy." That as several of them were sins not punished by human laws, therefore there were special reasons to expect, that God himself would punish them.—*Morse and Parish's Hist.*

† Mather.

‡ Hazard.

New-England, 1648, there was a unanimous vote expressive of the same opinions.

In the synod of 1680, is a language explicit on the most discriminating points. 'In the unity of the godhead there be three persons,' say they, 'of one substance, power and eternity.' 'God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained unto everlasting death.' 'The first pair 'being the root, and by God's appointment standing in the room of all mankind, a corrupt nature is conveyed to all their posterity.' 'The Lord Jesus Christ, the eternal God, hath fully satisfied the justice of God, and hath purchased reconciliation, and an eternal inheritance.' 'God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature, determined to do good or evil.' 'Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things, which God commands, yet because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the word, nor to a right end, the glory of God; they are therefore sinful, and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive the grace of God. 'The works of creation and providence, with the light of nature, make no discovery of Christ, much less do they enable men, destitute of revelation, to attain saving faith or repentance.'

In 1703, the trustees of the College in Connecticut wrote a circular letter to the ministers of the colony for a general synod. The proposal was acceptable, and the churches and ministers met in a consociated council, and adopted the Savoy and Westminster confessions of faith, and drew up certain rules of discipline, preparatory to a general synod.

In 1708, a synod was convened at Saybrook, composed of ministers and delegates from the colony, with two or more messengers from a convention of the churches in each county. They drew up that system of church government and discipline, called the *Saybrook Platform*. It was passed into a law, and became the constitution of Connecticut churches. A distinguishing feature of this Platform is the negative it gives the ministers to the vote of the church: but this authority is seldom exercised. In 1724, the convention of ministers petitioned the general court to call a synod; but the attorney and solicitor general, gave it as their opinion, that it was not lawful for a synod to meet without authority from the king, and the design was laid aside."<sup>\*</sup>

*Half-way Covenant.*—"About the year 1650, an unhappy controversy arose in the Church at Hartford, respecting church membership. Hitherto, great watchfulness had been exercised,

\* Chalmers.

to admit only such as gave visible evidence of piety. The choice of pastors, also, had been confined exclusively to the Church, and all the honours and offices of the state had been distributed to professors of religion, who only had the right of suffrage, in meetings of a political character.

During the lives of the first generation, little trouble had arisen on these points, as most of the first emigrants were professors of religion. But the fathers were nearly all now removed; a new generation had succeeded, many of whom, on account of their not belonging to the church, were excluded from their proper influence in the community. Most of them had been baptized, and by virtue of this, it was claimed, that they might own their covenant, have their children baptized, and thus perpetuate the Church.

The controversy which thus arose in the church at Hartford, soon extended to other Churches; until, at length, the whole of New England became more or less agitated on the subject. In 1657, the disputed subject was referred to a council, composed of the principal ministers of New England, at Boston. In consequence of the decision of this council, the *half-way covenant*, as it has since been termed, was introduced, and adopted by many of the Churches.

The decision of this council declared, 'That it was the duty of those come to years of discretion, baptized in infancy, to own the covenant, that it is the duty of the Church to call them to this; that if they refuse, or are scandalous in any other way, they may be censured by the Church. If they understand the grounds of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant, giving up themselves and their children to the Lord, baptism may not be denied to their children. In consequence of this decision, many owned their covenant, and presented their children for baptism, but did not unite with the Church in the celebration of the Supper. Hence, it was termed the *half-way covenant*.

The decision of the above council was far from producing peace in the Churches. Those of Massachusetts generally adopted the practice recommended; but those of Connecticut, for many years refused, and in some Churches the practice was never introduced. Toward the conclusion of the 18th century, the practice was generally abandoned, throughout New England."

*Revival of Religion in New England.*—"The general attention to the subject of religion about the year 1740, is generally designated in the religious history of New England as the period of the *Great Revival*. 'It began' says Dr. Trumbull, 'in several places in Massachusetts and Connecticut as early as the

years 1735, and 1736, but became more extraordinary, and much more general in 1740, and 1741.' The attention to religious subjects received a powerful impulse by the zealous labors of the Rev. Mr. Whitfield, a pious young clergyman of the church of England. This celebrated minister landed in Philadelphia in Nov. 1738; on his arrival he was invited to preach in various churches, and people of all denominations flocked in crowds to hear him. He passed through New Jersey to New York, from whence he returned to Philadelphia and continued by land to Georgia, and while on his route preached to immense congregations. Mr. Whitfield having received pressing invitations, embarked from Charleston for New England, and arrived at Rhode Island in September, 1740. From thence he went to Boston, where his labors were followed with the most powerful effect. From Boston he went northward to Portsmouth, and on his return to New York visited Northampton, and most of the principal places in Massachusetts and Connecticut.—The following relative to the revival at this period is taken from the Rev. Jonathan Edwards' treatise "on the Revival of Religion in New England about the year 1740."

"There has been of late a very uncommon influence upon the minds of a very great part of the inhabitants of New England, from one end of the land to the other, that has been attended with the following effects, viz. a great increase of a spirit of seriousness, and sober consideration of the things of the eternal world; a disposition to hearken to any thing that is said of things of this nature, with attention and affection; a disposition to treat matters of religion with solemnity, and as matters of great importance; a disposition to make these things the subject of conversation; and a great disposition to hear the word of God preached, and to take all opportunities in order to do it; and to attend on the public worship of God, and all external duties of religion in a more solemn and decent manner; so that there is a remarkable and general alteration in the face of New England in these respects: multitudes in all parts of the land, of vain, thoughtless, regardless persons, are quite changed, and become serious and considerate: There is a vast increase of concern for the salvation of the precious soul, and of that inquiry, *what shall I do to be saved?* The hearts of multitudes have been greatly taken off from the things of the world, its profits, pleasures and honors; and there has been a great increase of sensibleness and tenderness of conscience: Multitudes in all parts have had their consciences awakened, and have been made sensible of the pernicious nature and consequences of sin, and what a dreadful thing it is to lie under guilt and the displeasure of God, and to live without peace and reconciliation with him: They have also been awakened to a sense of the shortness and uncertainty of life, and the reality of another world and future judgment, and of the necessity of an interest in Christ: They are more afraid of sin,

more careful and inquisitive that they may know what is contrary to the mind and will of God, that they may avoid it, and what he requires of them that they may do it; more careful to guard against temptations, more watchful over their own hearts, earnestly desirous of being informed what are the means that God has directed to, for their salvation, and diligent in the use of the means that God has appointed in his word, in order to it. Many very stupid, senseless sinners, and persons of a vain mind, have been greatly awakened. There is a strange alteration almost all over New England amongst young people: By a powerful, invisible influence on their minds, they have been brought to forsake those things in a general way, as it were at once, that they were extremely fond of, and greatly addicted to, and that they seemed to place the happiness of their lives in, and that nothing before could induce them to forsake; as their frolicking, vain company keeping, night walking, their mirth and jolity, their impure language, and lewd songs: In vain did ministers preach against those things before, and in vain were laws made to restrain them, and in vain was all the vigilance of magistrates and civil officers; but now they have almost every where dropped them as if it were of themselves. And there is a great alteration amongst old and young as to drinking, tavern haunting, profane speaking, and extravagance in apparel. Many notoriously vicious persons have been reformed, and become externally quite new creatures: Some that are wealthy, and of a fashionable, gay education; some great beaux and fine ladies, that seemed to have their minds swallowed up with nothing but the vain shews and pleasures of the world, have been wonderfully altered, and have relinquished these vanities, and are become serious, mortified and humble in their conversation. It is astonishing to see the alteration that is in some towns, where before was little appearance of religion, or any thing but vice and vanity: And so remote was all that was to be seen or heard amongst them from any thing that savored of vital piety or serious religion, or that had any relation to it, that one would have thought, if they had judged only by what appeared in them, that they had been some other species from the serious and religious, which had no concern with another world, and whose natures were not made capable of those things that appertain to Christian experience, and pious conversation; especially was it thus among young persons: And now they are transformed into another sort of people; their former vain, worldly and vicious conversations and dispositions seem to be forsaken, and they are as it were, gone over to a new world: their thoughts, and their talk, and their concern, affections, and inquiries, are now about the favor of God, an interest in Christ, a renewed sanctified heart, and a spiritual blessedness, and acceptance and happiness in a future world. And through the greater part of New England, the Holy Bible is in much greater esteem and use than it used to be; the great things that are contained in it are much more regarded, as things of the greatest consequence, and are much more the subjects of meditation and conversation; and other books of piety that have long been of established reputation, as the most excellent, and most tend-

ing to promote true godliness, have been abundantly more in use. The Lord's day is more religiously and strictly observed: And abundance has been lately done at making up differences, and confessing faults one to another, and making restitution; probably more within these two years, than was done in thirty years before: It has been so undoubtedly in many places. And surprising has been the power of that spirit that has been poured out upon the land, in many instances, to destroy old grudges, and make up long continued breaches, and to bring those that seemed to be in a confirmed irreconcilable alienation, to embrace each other in a sincere and entire amity.

Great numbers under this influence have been brought to a deep sense of their own sinfulness and vileness; the sinfulness of their lives, the heinousness of their disregard of the authority of the great God, and the heinousness of their living in contempt of a Saviour: They have lamented their former negligence of their souls, and neglecting and losing precious time. Their sins of life have been extraordinarily set before them; and they have also had a great sense of their sins of heart; their hardness of heart, and enmity against that which is good, and proneness to all evil; and also of the worthlessness of their own religious performances, how unworthy their prayers, praises, and all that they did in religion, was to be regarded of God: And it has been a common thing that persons have had such a sense of their own sinfulness, that they have thought themselves to be the worst of all, and that none ever was so vile as they: And many seem to have been greatly convinced that they were utterly unworthy of any mercy at the hands of God, however miserable they were, and though they stood in extreme necessity of mercy; and that they deserved nothing but eternal burnings: And have been sensible that God would be altogether just and righteous in inflicting endless damnation upon them, at the same time they have had an exceeding affecting sense of the dreadfulness of such endless torments, and have apprehended themselves to be greatly in danger of them. And many have been deeply affected with a sense of their own ignorance and blindness, and exceeding helplessness, and so of their extreme need of the divine pity and help. And so far as we are worthy to be credited one by another, in what we say, (and persons of good understanding and sound mind, and known and experienced probity, have a right to be believed by their neighbors, when they speak of things that fall under their observation and experience) multitudes in *New England* have lately been brought to a new and great conviction of the truth and certainty of the things of the gospel; to a firm persuasion that Christ Jesus is the son of God, and the great and only Saviour of the world; and that the great doctrines of the gospel touching reconciliation by his blood, and acceptance in his righteousness, and eternal life and salvation through him, are matters of undoubted truth; together with a most affecting sense of the excellency and sufficiency of the Saviour, and the glorious wisdom and grace of God shining in this way of salvation; and of the wonders of Christ's dying love, and the sincerity of Christ in the invitations of the gospel, and a consequent affiance

and sweet rest of soul in Christ, as a glorious Saviour, a strong rock and high tower, accompanied with an admiring and exalting apprehension of the glory of the divine perfections, God's majesty, holiness, sovereign grace, &c. with a sensible, strong and sweet love to God, and delight in him, far surpassing all temporal delights, or earthly pleasures ; and a rest of soul in him as a portion and the fountain of all good, attended with an abhorrence of sin, and self-loathing for it, and earnest longings of soul after more holiness and conformity to God, with a sense of the great need of God's help in order to holiness of life ; together with a most dear love to all that are supposed to be the children of God, and a love to mankind in general, and a most sensible and tender compassion for the souls of sinners, and earnest desires of the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world. And these things have appeared to be in many of them abiding, now for many months, yea more than a year and a half ; with an abiding concern to live an holy life, and great complaints of remaining corruption, longing to be more free from the body of sin and death. And not only do these effects appear in new converts, but great numbers of those who were formerly esteemed the most sober and pious people, have under the influence of this work, been greatly quickened, and their hearts renewed with greater degrees of light, renewed repentance and humiliation, and more lively exercises of faith, love and joy in the Lord. Many, as I am well knowing, have of late been remarkably engaged to watch, and strive, and fight against sin, and cast out every idol, and sell all for Christ, and give up themselves entirely to God, and make a sacrifice of every worldly and carnal thing to the welfare and prosperity of their souls. And there has of late appeared in some places an unusual disposition to bind themselves to it in a solemn covenant with God. And now instead of meetings at taverns and drinking houses, and meetings of young people in frolics and vain company, the country is full of meetings of all sorts and ages of persons, young and old, men, women and little children, to read and pray, and sing praises, and to converse of the things of God and another world. In very many places the main of the conversation in all companies turns on religion, and things of a spiritual nature. Instead of vain mirth amongst young people, there is now either mourning under a sense of the guilt of sin, or holy rejoicing in Christ Jesus ; and instead of their lewd songs, are now to be heard from them, songs of praise to God, and the Lamb that was slain to redeem them by his blood. And there has been this alteration abiding on multitudes all over the land, for a year and a half, without any appearance of a disposition to return to former vice and vanity. And under the influences of this work, there have been many of the remains of those wretched people and dregs of mankind, the poor Indians, that seemed to be next to a state of brutality, and with whom, till now, it seemed to be to little more purpose to use endeavors for their instruction and awakening, than with the beasts ; whose minds have now been strangely opened to receive instruction, and have been deeply affected with the concerns of their precious souls and have reformed their



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 —in literal accordance

*Old Lights, New Lights, Separates, &c.*—At the period of the great attention to religious subjects about the year 1740, the religious part of the community were mostly divided into two parties, the *New Lights*, and the *Old Lights*. The *New Lights* were active and zealous in the discharge of every thing which they conceived to be their religious duty, and were in favor of Mr. Whitfield and others itinerating through the country, stirring up the people to reform, &c. The *Old Lights* considered much of their zeal as wild fire, and endeavoured to suppress it. The contention between these two parties grew so bitter, that those who were of the *New Light* party in some instances withdrew and formed *separate* churches from those of the standing order. About thirty *separate* congregations (as they were called) were formed from 1740 to 1750.

Although it may be safely stated that the cause of genuine Christianity was greatly advanced throughout the land, by the religious excitement of 1740, yet it cannot be denied that in some instances a degree of extravagance\* prevailed which produced an unhappy effect. The following account given of Mr. Davenport by Dr. Trumbull will serve as an example of the proceedings of some of the *separate* preachers at this period

"At the same time, there was a Mr. James Davenport, of Southhold, on Long-Island, who had been esteemed a pious, sound, and faithful minister, but now became zealous beyond measure; made a visit to Connecticut, and preached in New Haven, Branford, Stonington, and various other places; and went on as far as Boston. He gave an unrestrained liberty to noise and outcry, both of distress and joy in time of divine service. He promoted both with all his might, raising his voice to the highest pitch, together with the most violent agitations of

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\* "Some of them carried their enthusiasm to a greater extent than others. In New-London, they carried it to such a degree, that they made a large fire to burn their books, clothes, and ornaments, which they called their idols; and which they now determined to forsake and utterly to put away. This imaginary work of piety and self-denial they undertook on the Lord's day, and brought their clothes, books, necklaces and jewels together, in the main street. They began with burning their erroneous books: dropping them one after another into the fire, pronouncing these words, 'If the author of this book died in the same sentiments and faith in which he wrote it, as the smoke of this pile ascends, so the smoke of his torment will ascend forever and ever. Hallelujah. Amen.' But they were prevented from burning their clothes and jewels. John Lee, of Lyme, told them his idols were his wife and children, and that he could not burn them; it would be contrary to the laws of God and man: That it was impossible to destroy idolatry without a change of heart, and of the affections

How much they held to a miraculous and immediate assistance of the Spirit, in their performances, may appear by a charge given to elder Paul Parks, of Preston, at his ordination. He was solemnly charged not to premeditate, or think, before hand, what he should speak to the people; but to speak as the Spirit should give him utterance. The preachers of this denomination were laymen, and their ordinations were of the same sort.

body. With his unnatural and violent agitations of the body, he united a strange singing tone which mightily tended to raise the feelings of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers. This odd, disagreeable tuning of the voice, in exercises of devotion, was caught by the zealous exhorters, and became a characteristic of the separate preachers. The whole sect were distinguished by this sanctimonious tone. It was Mr. Davenport's manner when a number had cried out, and there had been great agitations of body, to pronounce them tokens of divine favor; and what was still worse, he would declare those persons who were the subjects of those outcries and agitations, to be converted; or that they had come to Christ; which were gross and dangerous errors. Bodily agitations and outcries were no evidences of grace. He was further, the great encourager, if not the first setter up of public exhorters, not restricting them according to the gospel rule of brotherly exhortation; but encouraging any who were reputed to be lively, zealous christians, to exhort publicly in full assemblies, with ministerial assurance and authority, though altogether raw and unskilful in the word of righteousness. What had still a more mischievous influence than all the rest, was his undertaking to examine his brethren in the ministry, as to their spiritual state, and publicly to decide concerning them, whether they were converted or unconverted. Some, whom he had privately examined, and to all appearance, men of as much grace as himself, he would in his public prayers pronounce unconverted. Such as refused to be examined by him, were certain to be denounced, as either unconverted, or in a very doubtful condition. Thus, disorder, jealousy and confusion, were sown in the churches. He represented it as a dreadful thing to hear unconverted ministers; that their preaching was worse than poison; and he warned the people against it.

His brethren remonstrated against these wild measures, and represented to him, that he must be under the influence of a wrong spirit; but he persisted in his measures. At Charlestown, in Massachusetts, he withdrew from the communion, on the Lord's day, pretending that he had scruples as to the conversion of the minister. The Boston ministers disapproved of his conduct, and rejected him. He was complained of, and brought before the general court of Massachusetts, and was dismissed as not being of a sound mind.

His conduct had a pernicious influence on the people, and seems to have given rise to many errors which sprang up in the churches about this time, and to have been instrumental in the separation which soon took place in several of the churches, and gave great occasion of scandal to the enemies of the revival. Every thing was said reproachful of it, which its enemies could invent. By some it was termed a distemper, which affected the mind and filled it with unnecessary concern and gloominess; by others it was termed the work of the devil; by others, quakerism, enthusiasm, antinomianism and distraction. The zealous experimental christians were termed *new lights*, following an *ignis fatuus*, which would lead them to destruction.

*Brainerd's Mission to the Delaware Indians.*—The pious and devoted missionary, David Brainerd, after having preached about a year to the Indians at *Kaunaumeeek*, a place in the woods between Stockbridge and Albany, without much apparent success, turned his attention to the Indians at the forks of Delaware, at a place called *Crosweeksung*, near Freehold in New Jersey. Mr. Brainerd labored here a number of months under many discouragements, till at length his efforts were crowned with remarkable success. In less than a year he baptised seventy-seven persons, of whom thirty were adults. They became reformed in their lives, and appeared very humble and devout, and united in christian affection. The following extracts from Mr. Brainerd's journal will show the effect which followed his preaching.

(Aug. 8th, 1744.) "In the afternoon I preached to the Indians, their number was now about sixty-five persons, men, women, and children. I discoursed from Luke xiv. 16—23, and was favored with *uncommon* freedom.

There was much concern among them while I was discoursing publicly; but afterwards, when I spoke to one and another more particularly, whom I perceived under concern, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly. 'Like a rushing mighty wind,' and with an astonishing energy bore down all before it.

I stood amazed at the influence that seized the audience almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly than a mighty torrent, that bears down and sweeps before it whatever is in its way. Almost all persons, of all ages, were bowed down together, and scarce one was able to withstand the shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women, who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children, not more than six or seven years of age, appeared in distress for their souls, as well as persons of middle age. And it was apparent these children were not *merely* frightened with seeing the general concern, but were made sensible of their danger, the badness of their hearts, and their misery without Christ. The most stubborn hearts were now obliged to bow. A principal man among the Indians, who before thought his state good, because he knew more than the generality of the Indians, and who with great confidence the day before, told me, 'He had been a Christian more than ten years,' was now brought under solemn concern for his soul, and wept bitterly. Another man, considerable in years, who had been a *murderer*, a *pawwaw*, and a notorious *drunkard*, was likewise brought now to cry for mercy with many tears, and to complain much that he could be no more concerned when he saw his danger so great.

There were almost universally praying and crying for mercy in every part of the house, and many out of doors, and numbers could neither go nor stand; their concern was so great, each for himself, that none seemed to take any notice of those about them, but each prayed for themselves; and were, to their own apprehension, as much

retired as if every one had been by himself in a desert, or, rather, they thought nothing about *any* but themselves, and so were every one praying *apart*, although all *together*.

It seemed to me there was an exact fulfilment of that prophecy, Zech. xii, 10, 12, 'for there was now 'A great mourning, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon;'—and each seemed to 'Mourn apart.' Methought this had a near resemblance to the day of God's power, mentioned Josh. x, 14, for I must say, I never saw *any day like it* in all respects; it was a day wherein the Lord did much destroy the kingdom of darkness among this people.

"This concern was most rational and just: those who had been awakened any considerable time, complained especially of the badness of their hearts; those newly awakened, of the badness of their *lives and actions*; and all were afraid of the anger of God; and of everlasting misery as the desert of their sins. Some of the white people, who came out of curiosity to 'Hear what this babbler would say,' to the poor ignorant Indians, were much awakened, and appeared to be wounded with a view of their perishing state.

Those who had lately obtained relief, were filled with comfort; they appeared calm, and rejoiced in Christ Jesus; and some of them took their distressed friends by the hand, telling them of the goodness of Christ, and the comfort that is to be enjoyed in him, and invited them to come and give up their hearts to him. And I could observe some of them, in the most unaffected manner, lifting up their eyes to heaven, as if crying for mercy, while they saw the distress of the poor souls around them.

Aug. 9th. "In the afternoon I discoursed to them publicly. There were now present about seventy persons. I opened and applied the parable of the sower, and was enabled to discourse with much plainness. There were many tears among them while I was discoursing, but no considerable cry: yet some were much affected with a few words spoken from Matt. xi, 29, with which I concluded. But while I was discoursing near night to two or three of the awakened persons, a Divine influence seemed to attend what was spoken, which caused the persons to cry out in anguish of soul, although I spoke not a word of terror: but, on the contrary, set before them the fulness of Christ's merits, and his willingness to save all that came to him.

The cry of these was heard by others, who, though scattered before, immediately gathered round. I then proceeded in the same strain of gospel invitation, till they were all melted into tears and cries, except two or three; and seemed in the greatest distress to find and secure an interest in the great Redeemer.—Some who had but little more than a *ruffle* made in their *passions* the day before, seemed now to be deeply affected, and the concern in general appeared near as prevalent as the day before. There was indeed a very *great mourning* among them, and yet every one seemed to mourn apart. For so great was their concern, that almost every one was praying and crying for himself, as if none had been near. *Guttum-*

*maukalumme guttummaukalumme*, i. e. 'Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me;' was the common cry.

It was very affecting to see the poor Indians, who the other day were yelling in their idolatrous feasts, now crying to God with such importunity, for an interest in his dear Son !

*Shakers.*—The history of these people has, in a summary manner, been published by themselves, in an octavo volume entitled "The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing."

"In the introduction of this work we are informed, that 'a few of the French prophets came over to England, about the year 1706. A few of the people' who became, it would seem, ultimately their followers, at Bolton, and Manchester, in England, united themselves 'in a Society, under the special ministry of James and Jane Wardley.' These persons were both tailors by occupation, and of the sect of Quakers ; 'but, receiving the spirit of the French prophets, their testimony, according to what they saw by vision and revelation from God, was, that the second appearing of Christ was at hand ; and that the Church was rising in her full and transcendent glory, which would effect the final downfall of Antichrist.' The meetings of these people were held alternately in Bolton and Manchester, and sometimes in Mayortown. The manner of public devotion, practised by them at these places, was the following : 'Sometimes, after assembling together, and sitting a while in silent meditation, they were taken with a mighty trembling, under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected, under the power of God, with a mighty shaking ; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor, under the influence of spiritual signs, shoving each other about, or swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind. From these strange exercises the people received the name of Shakers.

About the year 1770, we are informed, that 'the present testimony of salvation and eternal life was fully opened, according to the special gift and revelation of God, through Anne Lee ; that extraordinary woman, who, at that time, was received by their society, as their spiritual *Mother*.' This woman was born at Manchester, in England.

About the year 1758 she joined herself to the society of Shakers ; 'and there, by her perfect obedience to all that she was taught, attained to the full knowledge and experience of those who stood in the foremost light.' Still, it seems, 'finding in herself the seeds or remains of human depravity, and a lack of the divine nature, she was frequently in such extreme agony of soul, that, clinching her hands together, the blood would flow through the pores of her skin.' At length, however, she received, by special

and immediate revelation from God, the testimony of God against the whole corruption of man in all.

From 'the light and power of God which attended her Ministry, she was received and acknowledged, as the first *Mother* or spiritual parent, in the line of the female; and the second heir in the Covenant of life, according to the present display of the Gospel.' This has been her only title, among her followers to the present day. To such as addressed her by the customary titles, used by the world, she would reply, 'I am Anne, *the Word*.' After having been imprisoned in England, and confined in a mad-house, she set sail for America, in the spring of 1774, with a number of her followers; particularly Abraham Stanley her husband, William Lee her brother, James Whitaker, and John Hocknell; and arrived at New-York the following August. During the voyage the ship sprang a leak. When the seamen were nearly wearied out, Mother and her companions put their hands to the pumps, and thus prevented the ship from sinking. From this circumstance plain intimations are given, that their working at the pumps was something supernatural. Mother remained in New-York, as we are informed, almost two years. She then went to Albany, and thence, in the following September, to Nisquena. In 1781 she began a progress through various parts of the country, particularly of New-England, which lasted, we are told, about two years and four months.

She died at Nisquena in 1784. The following, taken from a poem entitled a 'Memorial to mother Anne,' in a Shakerwork, will serve to show in what light she is viewed by her followers.

" Let names, and sects and parties, no longer be rever'd,  
Since in the name of mother, salvation hath appeared :  
Appointed by kind Heaven the Saviour to reveal,  
Her doctrine is confirmed with an eternal seal.

At Manchester, in England, this burning truth began,  
When Christ made his appearance in blessed Mother Ann;  
A few at first received it and did their lust forsake,  
And soon their testimony brought on a mighty shake.

For Mother's safe protection, good angels flew before,  
Towards the land of promise, Columbia's happy shore ;  
Hail thou victorious Gospel, and that auspicious day,  
When Mother safely landed in North America.

About four years she labor'd with the attentive throng,  
While all their sins they open'd and righted ev'ry wrong.  
At length she closed her labors and vanish'd out of sight,  
And left her faithful children increasing in the light.

How much they are mistaken who think that Mother's dead,  
When through her ministrations so many souls are fed !  
In union with the Father, she is the second Eve,  
Dispensing full salvation to all who do believe."

The leading characteristic in the worship of this people, is their dancing. This they describe as the involuntary result of the exhilarating and overpowering delight received through the outpouring of divine grace upon their hearts. The evolutions and changes in the dance, by constant practice, become as precisely correct as the manœuvres of a regiment of experienced soldiers ; it becomes in fact a mechanical movement. No one ever makes a mistake, or throws the rank in disorder from inattention or inexperience ; but every thing is conducted in the most exact order, as if every step and movement of the body was directed by a gauge and rule. Dances are sometimes held in private houses, when variations are frequently introduced. On some occasions it is said their movements are so rapid that the eye can scarce follow or keep pace with their swift motions.

The principal doctrines of the Shakers are a belief in the *second appearance of Christ* in the person of the holy mother. They admit of but two persons in the Godhead, God the Father, and God the Mother, which they say is according to the order of nature, being male and female. To redeem the depraved race of man, they believe that it became necessary for God to take upon him the real character of human nature as it is, male and female, and that his first appearance was in the person of man, and the second in the person of woman, whereby the work of redemption was finished and completed. The confusion and wickedness that prevailed in the Catholic Church, during the long period which preceded and followed the reformation, they ascribe to the work of redemption not being completed in Christ's first appearance, it being the necessary period that must intervene between the making and fulfilment of the promise of Christ, that he would establish his law of righteousness on earth. They believe in perfect holiness, and insist that salvation from *sin* here is necessary to salvation from misery hereafter. They regard the Bible as a testimony of Christ's first appearance, but deny that it contains the word of God, or of life, as they consider a belief in the second appearance of Christ, or in the spiritual character and mission of the holy mother, as indispensable to salvation.

*Religious State, &c. of New York.*—The following account of the religious denominations in the province of New York, previous to the Revolutionary war, is taken from Smith's History, first published in 1767.

"The principal distinctions among us, are the episcopalians, and the Dutch and English presbyterians ; the two last, together with all the other protestants in the colony, are sometimes (perhaps here improperly) called by the general name of dissenters ; and, compared to them, the episcopalians are, I believe, scarce in the proportion of one to fifteen. Hence partly arises the general discontent on account of the ministry acts ; not so much that the provision made by them is engrossed by the minor sect, as because the body of the people, are for an equal, universal, toleration of protestants, and utterly averse to



any kind of ecclesiastical establishment. The dissenters, though fearless of each other, are all jealous of the episcopal party, being apprehensive that the countenance they may have from home, will foment a lust for dominion, and enable them, in process of time, to subjugate and oppress their fellow subjects. The violent measures of some of our governours have given an alarm to their fears, and if ever any other gentleman, who may be honoured with the chief command of the province, begins to divert himself, by retrenching the privileges and immunities they now enjoy, the confusion of the province will be the unavoidable consequence of his folly. For though his majesty has no other subjects upon whose loyalty he can more firmly depend, yet an abhorrence of persecution, under any of its appearances, is so deeply rooted in the people of this plantation; that as long as they continue their numbers and interest in the assembly, no attempt will probably be made upon the rights of conscience, without endangering the public repose.

All the Low Dutch congregations, in this and the province of New Jersey, worship after the manner of the reformed church in the United Provinces. With respect to government, they are in principle presbyterians; but yet hold themselves in subordination to the classis of Amsterdam, who sometimes permit, and at other times refuse, them the powers of ordination. Some of their ministers consider such a subjection as anti-constitutional, and hence, in several of their late annual conventions, at New York, called the *Cœtus*, some debates have arisen among them; the majority being inclined to erect a classis, or ecclesiastical judicatory, here, for the government of their churches. Those of their ministers, who are natives of Europe, are, in general, averse to the project. The expense attending the ordination of their candidates, in Holland, and the reference of their disputes to the classis of Amsterdam, is very considerable.

As to the episcopal clergy, they are missionaries of the English society for propagating the gospel, and ordinarily ordained by the bishop of London, who, having a commission from the king to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, commonly appoints a clergyman here for his commissary. The ministers are called by the particular churches, and maintained by the voluntary contribution of their auditors and the society's annual allowance, there being no law for tithes.

The English presbyterians are very numerous. Those inhabiting New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the three Delaware counties, are regularly formed, after the manner of the church of Scotland, into consistories or kirk sessions, presbyteries and synods, and will probably soon join in erecting a general assembly. The clergy are ordained by their fellows, and maintained by their respective congregations. I except those missionaries among the Indians, whose subsistence is paid by the society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge. None of the presbyterian churches in this province are incorporated, as is the case of many in New Jersey. Their judicatories are upon a very proper establishment, for they have no authority by legal sanctions to enforce their decrees. Nor indeed is

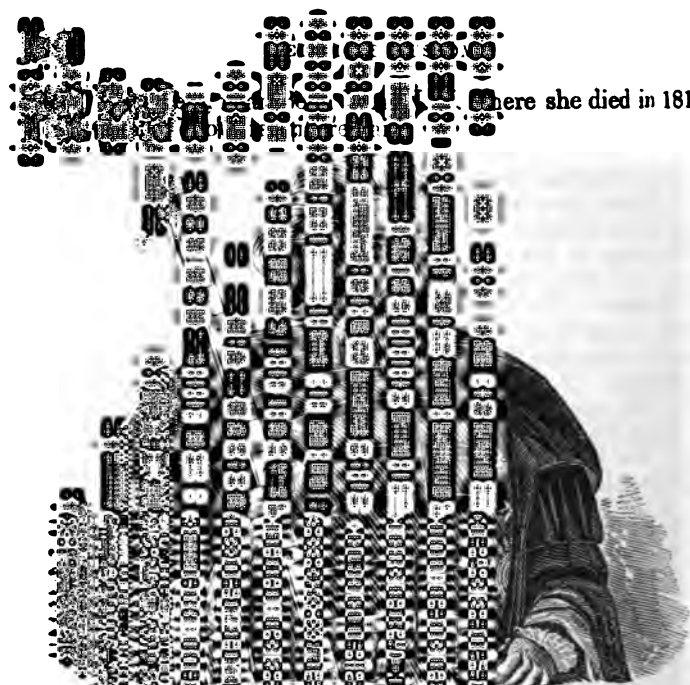
any religious sect, amongst us, legally invested with powers prejudicial to the common privileges of the rest. The dominion of all our clergy is, as it ought to be, merely spiritual. The episcopalians, however, sometimes pretend, that the ecclesiastical establishment in South Britain extends here; but the whole body of the dissenters are averse to the doctrine.

The clergy of this province are, in general, but indifferently supported: it is true they live easily, but few of them leave any thing to their children. The episcopal missionaries, for enlarging the sphere of their secular business, not many years ago, attempted, by a petition to the late Governor Clinton, to engross the privilege of solemnizing all marriages. A great clamor ensued and the attempt was abortive. Before that time the ceremony was even performed by justices of the peace, and the judges at law have determined such marriages to be legal. The Governor's licenses now run to 'all protestant ministers of the gospel.'"

*Jemima Wilkinson.*—This founder of a small religious sect, was born in Cumberland in Rhode Island, about the year 1753, and was educated among the Friends. Recovering from an apparent suspension of life which she experienced when about 23 years of age, during a fit of sickness, she gave out that she had been raised from the dead, and claimed to be invested with divine attributes and authority to instruct mankind in religion. It is also said she pretended to foretell future events, to discern the secrets of the heart, and to have the power of healing diseases; and if any person who made application to her, was not healed, she attributed it to a want of faith.

She professed to be able to work miracles, and offered to demonstrate it by walking on the water. Accordingly a frame was constructed for the purpose on the banks of Seneca Lake, in the State of New York. At the appointed time, having approached within a few hundred yards of the lake shore, she alighted from an elegant carriage, and the road being strewn by her followers with white handkerchiefs, she walked to the platform, and having announced her intention of walking across the lake on the water, she stepped ankle deep into the clear element, when suddenly pausing, she addressed the multitude; inquiring whether or not, they had *faith* that she could pass over; for if otherwise, she could not. On receiving an affirmative answer, she returned to her carriage, declaring, as they believed in her power, it was unnecessary to display it. Jemima, or the "Universal Friend," as she was called, was rather illiterate, but of respectable appearance, and possessed of a very retentive memory, and had, as it is said, "the Bible at her tongue's end." Her followers emigrated to Western New York about 1790. Jemima settled on a tract

where she died in 1819;



*Robes.*

Oldest Mathews, or as he is  
when brought into the  
covered with an olive cloak  
laced with silk velvet.  
with silver stars on the  
and a two-edged sword in  
occasionally put on, was a  
green, and the rear angle  
glory. With his two-  
destroy the Gentiles, as  
six feet rule, he was to  
into lots for those who  
was a native of Wash-  
extraction. He was a  
in that business in the  
olives induced him to shake his  
is now notorious, we have been  
at Albany about the year 1790,  
"wa," and asserted divine power  
doctrines at Albany; for shortly  
York and proclaimed his doctrines  
pretended Jewish preacher, put  
been once or twice arrested and

imprisoned for preaching in the streets, by means of which riotous assemblages were drawn together. He undoubtedly met with little success at first; but it appears that in the autumn of 1833 he had ingratiated himself into the favour of a number of individuals, among whom were three of the most wealthy and respectable merchants of Pearl street. He represented himself to them to be the Spirit of Truth which had disappeared from the earth at the death of Matthias mentioned in the New Testament; that the spirit of Jesus Christ entered into that Matthias, whom he now represented, having arisen again from the dead. He pretended to possess the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, and that he now at this second appearance of the spirit, was the Father, and had power to do all things, forgiving sins, and communicating the Holy Ghost to such as believe on him. And what was most astonishing and unparalleled, these men who were before professors of the Christian religion, were blind enough to believe and confide in all he imposed on them.

So completely did he succeed in deluding these men and in impressing them with the belief that he was actually a high priest of the order of the mysterious Meichlaedek, upon a divine mission to establish the kingdom of God upon the earth, that he obtained entire control over them, and their estates."

"In August, 1833, two of his friends, and proselytes, Messrs. Pierson and Folger, were residing at Sing Sing, Westchester Co. Thither about that time Matthias repaired and took up his residence with Mr. Folger and family. After the lapse of a week, Matthias came to the conclusion that his dwelling place did not correspond with his character, and accordingly suggested to Folger and Pierson that it was their duty to hire him a house which he might consecrate entirely to himself. In this he was accommodated, as it appears without hesitation, and indeed with the acknowledgment that the request was reasonable. More reasonable and proper however did it soon appear to Matthias' mind, that his habitation should not be subject to worldly interests or infidel intrusion; and accordingly presumed to require of his two obedient followers the purchase of a house to be exclusively his own! With this request, they agreed to comply. Before it was accomplished however, Matthias manifested some new attribute of his character, and accompanied the revelation by an effort to make Folger believe that the house in which he then resided at Sing Sing, and had purchased sometime previous for the use of himself and family, was purchased at the instigation of the Spirit of Truth, for him, Matthias; Folger having been the instrument under the influence of that Spirit for that purpose! So complete was Matthias' control, that Folger believed even this! And having resided with Messrs. Folger and Pierson about two months, he took this house thus miraculously purchased into his own especial charge. Matthias then required these gentlemen to give him an account of their property; and having obtained this statement which exhibited their easy circumstances, he required them both to enter into an agreement to support him, assuring them they should receive the continued blessing of God by so doing. This agreement was accordingly entered into, and Matthias enjoyed the full benefits of it, until the month of March last, when Mr. Folger became bankrupt. The wants of this impostor were supplied however by Pierson who resided with him at Sing Sing, until August last, when Mr. Pierson died. This event took place under very suspicious circumstances."

In April, 1835, Matthews was tried for the murder of Mr. Pierson, but was acquitted by the jury. In Stone's account of 'Matthias and his impostures,' the author states "there are various reasons which compel us to believe that he is labouring under monomania, partly hereditary and partly superinduced by religious fanaticism and phrenzy. Still he has not been without 'method in his madness'; and it seems clear to the writer, that with a tinge of insanity, he is also much of a knave, and probably a dupe likewise in part to his own imposture."

**Mormons.**—Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, was born, it appears, in Royalton, Vermont, and removed to Manchester, Ontario county, N. Y., about the year 1820, at an early age, with his parents, who were in quite humble circumstances. He was occasionally employed as laborer by persons in Palmyra, and was generally considered by them as a lazy, lounging sort of a boy; his education and natural abilities rather below mediocrity. Smith and his father were, according to the testimony of many respectable persons in Palmyra, persons of doubtful character, addicted to disreputable habits, and quite superstitious, believing in the existence of witchcraft, &c. They procured a mineral rod and made a business of digging in various places for money. Smith says, that when digging he has seen the pot or chest which contained the money, but was never fortunate enough to get it into his hands. He placed a singular sort

of a stone in his hat, and by the light of it, pretended to make many wonderful discoveries of gold, silver and other treasures deposited in the earth. Smith commenced his career as the founder of the new sect, when about the age of 18 or 19 years; he appointed a number of meetings in Palmyra, for the purpose of declaring the divine revelations which he said were made to him. He was not able, however, to produce any excitement in the village; hardly any person would take the trouble to hear him speak. Smith not having the means to print his revelations, applied to Mr. Crane of the Society of Friends, and told him that he was moved by the spirit to call upon him for assistance. Mr. C. told him to go to work, or he would get into the States' Prison. Smith had better success with Martin Harris, an industrious and thrifty farmer in Palmyra, who was worth about ten thousand dollars, who became one of his leading disciples. By the assistance of Harris, five thousand copies of the Mormon Bible (so called) were published at an expense of about three thousand dollars. It is possible that Harris might have advanced this money with the expectation of making a profitable speculation, as a great sale for the book was anticipated. This book is a duodecimo volume, containing 590 pages, and is perhaps one of the weakest productions ever attempted to be palmed off as a divine revelation. The book is mostly a blind mass of words, interwoven with scriptural language and quotations, without much of a leading plan or design. It is, in fact, just such a book as might be expected from a person of Smith's abilities and turn of mind. The following is a copy of the title page:

**"THE BOOK OF MORMON: AN ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF MORMON, UPON PLATES TAKEN FROM THE PLATES OF NEPHI."**

"Wherefore it is an abridgment of the record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites, which are a remnant of the house of Israel, and also to the Jew and Gentile, written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of Prophecy and Revelation. Written and sealed up and hid up to the Lord that they may not be destroyed, to come forth by the gift and power of God unto the interpretation thereof, sealed by the hand of Moroni and hid up unto the Lord to come forth in due time by the way of the Gentile: the interpretation thereof by the gift of God, an abridgment taken from the book of Ether. Also, which is a Record of the People of Jared, which were scattered at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people when they were building a tower to get to Heaven, which is to shew unto the remnant of the house of Israel how great things the Lord hath done unto their fathers, and that they may know the covenants of the Lord, and that they are not cast off forever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that Jesus is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting Himself unto all nations. And now if there are faults it be the mistake of men, wherefore condemn not the things of God that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of Christ."

"By Joseph Smith, Junior, Author and Proprietor, Palmyra. Printed by E. B. Grandin, for the Author, 1830."

At the close of the book is "the testimony of three witnesses," viz: Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, in which they state unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, that they have seen the plates containing the record, and the engravings upon them, &c. On the last page is contained the testimony of eight witnesses, of which the following is a copy:

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and people unto whom this book shall come, that Joseph Smith, Jr., the Author and Proprietor of this work, hath shewed unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hands, and we also saw the engravings thereof, all of which has the appearance of ancient work and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record, with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shewn unto us, for we have seen and HEFTED and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we

give our names unto the world that which we have seen and we lie not, God bearing witness of it. Christian Whitmer, Jacob Whitmer, Peter Whitmer, Jr., John Whitmer, Hiram Page, Joseph Smith, Senior, Hyrum Smith, Samuel H. Smith."

Smith, in the Preface of the book, states that the plates of which have been spoken were found "in the township of Manchester, Ontario county, New York." It is stated by persons in Palmyra, that when Smith exhibited these plates to his followers, they were done up in a canvas bag, that if they uncovered them, the Almighty would strike them dead. It is said that no one but Smith could read what was engraved upon them; he was enabled to do it by looking through a peculiar kind of spectacles found buried with the plates. Soon after the publication of the Mormon Bible, one Parley B. Pratt, a resident of Lorain county, Ohio, happening to pass through Palmyra, on the canal, hearing of the new religion, called on the prophet and was soon converted. Pratt was intimate with Sidney Rigdon, a very popular preacher of the denomination called "Reformers" or "Disciples." About the time of the arrival of Pratt at Manchester, it appears that the Smiths were fitting out an expedition for the Western country, under the command of Cowdery, in order to convert the Indians or Lamanites, as they called them. In October, 1830, this mission, consisting of Cowdery, Pratt, Peterson and Whitmer, arrived at Mentor, Ohio, the residence of Rigdon, well supplied with the new Bibles. Near this place, in Kirkland, there were a few families belonging to Rigdon's congregation, who became considerably fanatical and were daily looking for some wonderful event, to take place in the world. Seventeen of these persons readily believed in Mormonism and were all re-immersed, in one night, by Cowdery. By the conversion of Rigdon, soon after, Mormonism received a powerful impetus, and more than one hundred converts were speedily added. Rigdon visited Smith at Palmyra, where he tarried about two months, receiving revelations, preaching, &c. He then returned to Kirkland, Ohio, and was followed a few days after by the prophet Smith and his connections. Thus from a state of almost beggary, the family of Smith were furnished with the "fat of the land" by their disciples, many of whom were wealthy. In 1833, the number of Mormons amounted to 1200. A Mormon temple was erected at an expense of \$50,000. They also set up a bank and commenced mercantile operations; most of them removed to Missouri, where many outrages were perpetrated against them; they raised an armed force to "drive off the infidels." They were, however, obliged to leave that State. By the last accounts, they were establishing themselves at Nauvoo, Ill.

## EVENTS IN THE REVOLUTION.

*Stamp Act, &c.*—The immediate cause of the revolution which ended in the Independence of the United States, was the attempt of the British parliament to keep the colonies and all their interests in subjection to those of the mother country. As early as 1750 an act was passed in parliament to prevent the erection of any mill in the colonies for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge, or furnace for making steel. The purpose of the British government was to check the growth of manufactures in the colonies, and to compel them to export their iron, and import the manufactures of Great Britain. In 1765, the British parliament in order to raise a revenue from the colonies, passed the famous *Stamp Act*. This act required, that all paper and parchment used in the transaction of business, should be stamped, for which a duty should be paid, and all writing on unstamped materials was declared null and void. When the news of the stamp act reached America, it excited the indignation of the people, and a determination to oppose its execution.

In the month of August 1765, "the spirit of opposition broke forth in tumult and disorder. New modes of expressing resentment against the stamp-act, and all its abettors, began to display themselves in the several colonies. They began in Boston, where the inhabitants until this time had been more orderly and peaceable than in several of the other colonies. Early in the morning, on the fourteenth of the month, there appeared on the limb of a large tree in the most public street toward the entrance of the town, two uncommon effigies: by the labels, it appeared that one was designed to represent the stamp master, the other was a jack-boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. The report of them instantly spread, and great numbers both from town and country collected to view them. A spirit of enthusiasm spread almost instantaneously among the multitude. No sooner was it evening, than the images were cut down and carried in funeral procession, while the populace shouted, 'Liberty and property forever, and no stamps.' They took their route to a new building of Mr. Oliver's, which they imagined he had erected for a stamp office. This they soon demolished. Hence they proceeded to his dwelling house in the front of which they beheaded his effigy, and broke his windows. After burning his effigy, on Fort Hill, they returned to his house, broke into the lower part of it, destroyed his furniture, and did further injuries to it.

About twelve days after, the tumult and outrage became far more enormous and alarming. A numerous mob attacked the house of Mr. William Storer, deputy register of the court of Admiralty, and after breaking his windows, forced into his dwelling house, de-

stroyed the books and files belonging to said court, and ruined the principal part of his furniture. Thence they proceeded to the house of Mr. Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs for Boston, and besides committing similar excesses, they drank and destroyed the liquors in his cellars, robbed him of wearing apparel, and of more than thirty pounds sterling in money. Many by this time were heated with liquor, and the number of the mob was greatly increased; it became therefore more riotous and prepared for every mischief. These madmen determined now to wreak their vengeance on Mr. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor of the province. After all his efforts to save himself, he was driven with his family from his house, and the rioters carried off all his plate, family pictures, household furniture of all kinds, his own, his children's and servant's wearing apparel, and robbed him of above nine hundred pounds sterling. The house was so destroyed that nothing but the bare walls and floors remained. The mob scattered and destroyed all his manuscripts and other papers, which he had been collecting for more than thirty years. Many public papers, which were in his custody, shared the same fate. The damage was irreparable, not only to him, but to the public. Never had there before been such an outrage in New-England. The town of Boston condemned the whole proceeding, and all sober people viewed it with grief and abhorrence. A small number of the lowest of the mob were taken up and committed, but they broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment.

These lawless proceedings were not confined to Boston. The very next day similar outrages were committed at Newport in Rhode-Island. The people exhibited three effigies, representing Messieurs Howard, Moffatt, and Johnson, in a cart with halters about their necks: after hanging them for some time, they cut them down and burnt them amidst the shouts of thousands of the inhabitants. The day following, the inhabitants collected at the house of Martin Howard, an attorney, who had been writing in defence of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and destroyed every thing in it, and left the house but a mere shell. They then made a similar visit to Dr. Moffatt's, who had been a warm supporter of the parliamentary rights. The Doctor not only lost his property, but was obliged to make his escape on board a ship of war. Johnson made his peace with the people by a resignation of his office.

In Connecticut no such violences were committed. Mr. Ingersoll was burnt in effigy in several towns in the month of August, and on the 19th of September a large body of people, to the amount of a thousand, assembled, and overtaking Mr. Ingersoll on the road to Hartford, whither he was going to meet the assembly of the colony, they obliged him publicly to resign his office of distributor of stamps, in the Great-street, at Wethersfield, and to give 'liberty and property' with three cheers. This was followed with the loud acclamations of the people. A man then took him by the hand and told him he was now restored to their former friendship. The people were all undisguised and well dressed, headed by officers of the militia, in scarlet, with laced hats. They had marched, some twenty and some thirty miles, in three divisions, through the country in the most orderly manner, and made a junction at Wethersfield. From Wethersfield they proceeded to Hartford, where the general assembly was sitting; and forming four abreast, preceded by three trumpeters sounding, they marched round the court-house. Then forming in a semi-circle, at the door of an adjoining tavern, they caused Mr. Ingersoll to read his resignation within the hearing of the assembly. This was succeeded with 'liberty and property,' and three cheers. 'The



people then in the most quiet and peaceable manner, retired to their respective towns and habitations. Though they were assembled nearly three days, in such numbers, on this business, and marched through such a tract of country, yet no man was injured in his person or property.

The governor had met some of the heads of the people, on his way to Hartford, and said whatever he thought proper to one of them, to dissuade him from his purpose, representing to him the danger of the measures the people were pursuing, and charging him to go and tell them to return. He assured the governor, that he considered the affair as the cause of the people, and that it was their determination not to take directions respecting it from any man. The members of the assembly were generally as warmly opposed to the proceedings of parliament, as the people; and they so well knew the state of the public mind, that they judged it expedient to take no notice of the transaction.

In New-York, as the stamp officer had been induced to resign, Lieutenant-Governor Colden had deposited the stamp papers in Fort George. The people, disliking his political sentiments, and his thus securing the papers, on the first of November, the day the stamp-act was to take place, broke open his stable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph through the principal streets, to the gallows. On one end of it they suspended the effigy of the Lieutenant-Governor, bearing in his right hand a stamped bill of lading, and in his left, a figure of the devil. After parading, for some time, the apparatus was conveyed to the gate of the fort, and thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns; they there burned the coach and whole apparatus. Thence they went to the house of Major James, a known friend to the stamp-act, which they stripped of a good library and of every other valuable article, destroyed his garden, and finished their riot with another bonfire.

The next evening they assembled again, and obliged the Lieutenant-Governor to deliver the stamped papers to the corporation, and deposit them in the city hall. The same excesses were not practised in the more southern colonies; but means were every where adopted to make the stamp officers resign. Some of them were obstinate, and held out long, but they were ultimately obliged to submit to the requisitions of the people. They did not judge the cause worth dying for, and they saw no other alternative, but to resign or die.\*

As the first of November, the time when the stamp-act was to commence its operation, approached, every art was used to prevent it, and to render the act odious and contemptible among the people. Ten boxes of stamped paper, sent for the use of Connecticut, were seized by

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\* The following persons were appointed distributors of Stamps in nine of the states, viz:—George Meserve, Esq. New-Hampshire—Andrew Oliver, Esq. Massachusetts—Augustus Johnson, Esq. Rhode Island—Jared Ingersoll, Esq. Connecticut:—McEvers, Esq. New-York—William Coxe, Esq. New-Jersey—John Hughes, Esq. Pennsylvania—Zachariah Hood, Esq. Maryland—Colonel Mercer, Virginia.

the populace at New-York and burned. The masters of ships who brought over the stamped papers, unless defended by some man of war, were obliged either to depart with their execrated cargoes, or to deliver them into the hands of the enraged people, to save themselves from insult and violence.

At Boston, and other places, the first of November was ushered in by the shutting up of shops and stores, and by a funeral tolling of the bells. The effigies of the planners and abettors of the stamp-act were carried in procession through the public streets in public contempt, and were then torn in pieces and committed to the flames.

The general abhorrence of the stamp-act was demonstrated in similar, and in a great variety of ways, in different towns and cities. The proceedings were generally conducted with great decorum. They had not their origin in the lowest of the people, but were planned by men of character and general influence. Knowing how much more the great body of the people are led by their senses, than their reason, they excited and countenanced these public exhibitions with a view of making the stamp-act, and all its contrivers and supporters, as contemptible and odious as possible."

To give system and efficacy to the opposition to the stamp-act, Massachusetts proposed a meeting of deputies from the several colonies, to be held at New-York, in October 1765. This body, consisting of deputies from nine of the Colonies, 'agreed on a declaration of their rights and grievances, asserted their exemption from taxes not imposed by their own representatives; and sent a petition to the king, with a memorial to both houses of parliament. This spirited opposition, seconded by the energetic eloquence of Mr. Pitt, and other friends of America, produced a repeal of the stamp law, on the 18th of March, 1766. The news of this event was received in America with bonfires, ringing of bells, and other unusual demonstrations of joy.

*Boston Massacre in 1770*—The British ministry still persisting in their design to raise a revenue from the colonies, laid a duty on glass, painters colors, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. To enforce these obnoxious acts of parliament, and to overawe the inhabitants, four regiments of troops were sent over in 1768 and stationed at Boston. To a free and high spirited people, the presence of an insolent military force was provoking; and it was hardly possible that harmony could long subsist between the inhabitants and the British troops.

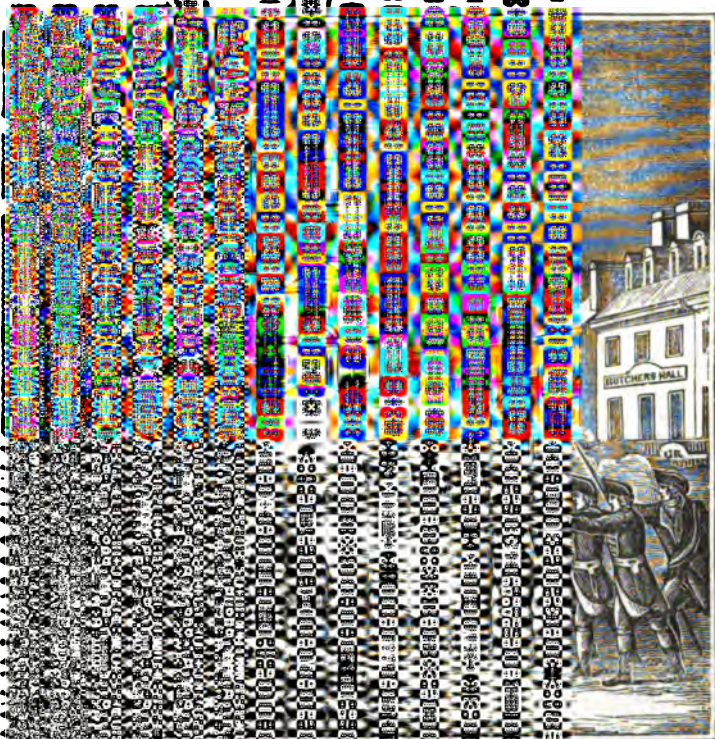
"On the second of March, 1770, a fray took place in Boston, near Mr. Gray's rope walk, between a private soldier of the 29th regiment, and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several, on both sides, were involved in the consequences. On the fifth a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted and

pelted by a mob armed with clubs, sticks, and snow balls covering stones. They were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers, who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such was the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, in order to express the indignation of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren, by soldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Captain Preston who commanded the party which fired on the inhabitants, was committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain, and six of the men, were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared, on the trial, that the soldiers were abused, insulted, threatened and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to make a favorable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams, (the late President of the United States) and Josiah Quincy, Esqrs. the counsel for the prisoners; and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The people, not dismayed by the blood of their neighbors thus wantonly shed, determined no longer to submit to the insolence of military power. Col. Dalrymple, who commanded in Boston, was informed the day after the riot in King-Street, 'that he must withdraw his troops from the town within a limited term, or hazard the consequences.'

The inhabitants of the town assembled in Faneuil Hall, where the subject was discussed with becoming spirit, and the people unanimously resolved that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside in the capital; that if the king's troops were not immediately withdrawn by their own officers, the governor should be requested to give orders for their removal, and thereby prevent the necessity of more rigorous steps. A committee from the body was deputed to wait on the governor, and request him to exert that authority which the exigencies of the times required from the supreme magistrate. Mr. Samuel Adams, the chairman of the committee, with a pathos and address peculiar to himself, exposed the illegality of quartering troops in the town in the midst of peace; he urged the apprehensions of the people, and the fatal consequences that might ensue if their removal was delayed.

But no arguments could prevail on Mr. Hutchinson; who either from timidity, or some more censurable cause, evaded acting at all in the business, and grounded his refusal on a pretended want of authority. After which, Col. Dalrymple, wishing to compromise the matter, consented that the twenty-ninth regiment, more culpable than any



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of a standing army—the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were represented to the public view under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

*Destruction of Tea at Boston, in 1773.*—In 1770, owing to the petitions and remonstrances of the colonies, the duties on all the commodities imported in America were taken off, except the duty on tea; this the British government determined to enforce in order to maintain the right of raising a revenue from the colonies. Finding it difficult to effect their purposes by constraint, they attempted to do it by policy.

“The measures of the colonists had already produced such diminutions of exports from Great Britain, that the ware-houses of the East India company contained about seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The unwillingness of that company to lose their commercial profits, and of the ministry to lose the expected revenue from the sale of the tea in America, led to a compromise for the security of both. The East India company were authorised by law to export their tea, free of duties, to all places whatever; by which regulation tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to America, than before it had been made a source of revenue. The crisis now approached, when the colonies were to decide, whether they would submit to be taxed by the British parliament, or practically support their own principles, and meet the consequences. One sentiment appears to have pervaded the entire continent. The new ministerial plan was universally considered as a direct attack on the liberties of the colonists, which it was the duty of all to oppose. A violent ferment was every where excited; the corresponding committees were extremely active; and it was very generally declared, that whoever should, directly or indirectly, countenance this dangerous invasion of their rights, is an enemy to his country. The East India company, confident of finding a market for their tea, reduced as it now was in its price, freighted several ships to the colonies with that article, and appointed agents for the disposal of it. Some cargoes were sent to New York; some, to Philadelphia; some, to Charlestown (South Carolina); and some, to Boston. The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London. The inhabitants of Charlestown unloaded the tea, and stored it in cellars.\* The inhabitants of Boston, having tried every measure to send back the ships, but without success, a number of persons, disguised like Indians, boarded them, and threw the tea into the dock.†

\* “Where it could not be used, and where it finally perished.”

† Gordon, i. Lett. vii. Marshall, ii. chap. iii. Pres. Adams. Lett. i. Ramsey, S. Car

It is said that there was 342 chests of tea destroyed, and the number of persons engaged in its destruction, disguised as Indians, was about seventy-five. The following circumstantial account is from a retent publication, entitled "The Boston Tea Party," the particulars of which were derived from Mr. Hewes, an actor in the scene.

"The tea destroyed was contained in three ships, laying near each other, at what was called at that time Griffin's wharf, and were surrounded by armed ships of war; the commanders of which had publicly declared, that if the rebels, as they were pleased to style the Bostonians, should not withdraw their opposition to the landing of the tea before a certain day, the 17th day of December, 1773, they should on that day force it on shore, under the cover of their cannon's mouth. On the day preceding the seventeenth, there was a meeting of the citizens of the county of Suffolk, convened at one of the churches in Boston, for the purpose of consulting on what measures might be considered expedient to prevent the landing of the tea, or secure the people from the collection of the duty. At that meeting a committee was appointed to wait on Governor Hutchinson, and request him to inform them whether he would take any measures to satisfy the people on the object of the meeting. To the first application of this committee, the governor told them he would give them a definite answer by five o'clock in the afternoon. At the hour appointed, the committee again repaired to the governor's house, and on inquiry found he had gone to his country seat at Milton, a distance of about six miles. When the committee returned and informed the meeting of the absence of the governor, there was a confused murmur among the members, and the meeting was immediately dissolved, many of them crying out, Let every man do his duty, and be true to his country; and there was a general huzza for Griffin's wharf. It was now evening, and I immediately dressed myself in the costume of an Indian, equipped with a small hatchet, which I and my associates denominated the tomahawk, with which, and a club, after having painted my face and hands with coal dust in the shop of a blacksmith, I repaired to Griffin's wharf, where the ships lay that contained the tea. When I first appeared in the street, after being thus disguised, I fell in with many who were dressed, equipped and painted as I was, and who fell in with me, and marched in order to the place of our destination. When we arrived at the wharf, there were three of our number who assumed an authority to direct our operations, to which we readily submitted. They divided us into three parties, for the purpose of boarding the three ships which contained the tea at the same time. The name of him who commanded the division to which I was assigned, was Leonard Pitt. The names of the other commanders I never knew. We were immediately ordered by the respective commanders to board all the ships

i 15, 16. Coll. Hist. Soc. ii. 45. There were about 17 persons, who boarded the ships; and they emptied 342 chests of tea.

at the same time, which we promptly obeyed. The commander of the division to which I belonged, as soon as we were on board the ship, appointed me boatswain, and ordered me to go to the captain and demand of him the keys to the hatches and a dozen candles. I made the demand accordingly, and the captain promptly replied, and delivered the articles; but requested me at the same time to do no damage to the ship or rigging. We then were ordered by our commander to open the hatches, and take out all the chests of tea and throw them overboard, and we immediately proceeded to execute his orders; first cutting and splitting the chests with our tomahawks, so as thoroughly to expose them to the effects of the water. In about three hours from the time we went on board, we had thus broken and thrown overboard every tea chest to be found in the ship; while those in the other ships were disposing of the tea in the same way, at the same time. We were surrounded by British armed ships, but no attempt was made to resist us. We then quietly retired to our several places of residence, without having any conversation with each other, or taking any measures to discover who were our associates; nor do I recollect of our having had the knowledge of the name of a single individual concerned in that affair, except that of Leonard Pitt, the commander of my division, who I have mentioned. There appeared to be an understanding that each individual should volunteer his services, keep his own secret, and risk the consequences for himself. No disorder took place during that transaction, and it was observed at that time, that the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months.

During the time we were throwing the tea overboard, there were several attempts made by some of the citizens of Boston and its vicinity, to carry off small quantities of it for their family use. To effect that object, they would watch their opportunity to snatch up a handful from the deck, where it became plentifully scattered, and put it into their pockets. One Captain O'Conner, whom I well knew, came on board for that purpose, and when he supposed he was not noticed, filled his pockets, and also the lining of his coat. But I had detected him, and gave information to the captain of what he was doing. We were ordered to take him into custody, and just as he was stepping from the vessel, I seized him by the skirt of his coat, and in attempting to pull him back, I tore it off; but springing forward, by a rapid effort, he made his escape. He had however to run a gauntlet through the crowd upon the wharf; each one, as he passed, giving him a kick or a stroke.

The next day we nailed the skirt of his coat, which I had pulled off, to the whipping post in Charlestown, the place of his residence, with a label upon it, commemorative of the occasion which had thus subjected the proprietor to the popular indignation.

Another attempt was made to save a little tea from the ruins of the cargo, by a tall aged man, who wore a large cocked hat and white wig, which was fashionable at that time. He had slightly slipped a little into his pocket, but being detected, they seized him, and taking

his hat and wig from his head, threw them, together with the tea, of which they had emptied his pockets, into the water. In consideration of his advanced age, he was permitted to escape, with now and then a slight kick.

The next morning, after we had cleared the ships of the tea, it was discovered that very considerable quantities of it was floating upon the surface of the water ; and to prevent the possibility of any of its being saved for use, a number of small boats were manned by sailors and citizens, who rowed them into those parts of the harbor wherever the tea was visible, and by beating it with oars and paddles, so thoroughly drenched it, as to render its entire destruction inevitable."

*Boston Port Bill, Provincial Assembly, &c.*—"Intelligence of the destruction of the tea at Boston was communicated, March 7th, [1774] in a message from the throne to both houses of parliament. In this communication, the conduct of the colonists was represented, as not merely obstructing the commerce of Great Britain, but as subversive of the British constitution. Although the papers, accompanying the royal message, rendered it evident, that the opposition to the sale of the tea was common to all the colonies ; yet the parliament, enraged at the violence of Boston, selected that town as the object of legislative vengeance. Without giving the opportunity of a hearing, a bill was passed, by which the port of Boston was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping goods, wares and merchandise. This act, which shut up the harbor of Boston, was speedily followed by another, entitled, An act for the better regulating the government of Massachusetts. The object of this act was to alter the charter of the province, so as essentially to abridge the liberties of the people.\* In the apprehension that, in the execution of these acts, riots would take place, and that trials or murders committed in suppressing them, would be partially decided by the colonists ; it was provided by law, that if any person were indicted for murder, or for any capital offence, committed in aiding magistracy, the governor might send the person, so indicted, to another colony, or to Great Britain, to be tried. These

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\* The object of this act was to make the following alterations in the charter of the province. The council, heretofore elected by the general court, was to be appointed by the crown ; the royal governor was invested with the power of appointing and removing all judges of the inferior courts of common pleas, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provost martial, justices, sheriffs, &c. ; town meetings, which were sanctioned by the charter, were, with few exceptions, expressly forbidden, without leave previously obtained of the governor or lieutenant governor in writing, expressing the special business of said meeting, and as a farther restriction, that no matter should be treated of at these meetings, excepting the election of public officers, and the business expressed in the governor's permission ; jurymen, who had been elected before by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns, were to be all summoned and returned by the sheriffs of the respective counties ; the whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people, and the nomination of all important officers invested in the king, or his governor



three acts were passed in such quick succession, as to produce the most inflammatory effects in America, where they were considered as forming a complete system of tyranny. 'By the first,' said the colonists, 'the property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away, for the act of a few individuals; by the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated; and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity.'

General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the royal forces in North America, arrived at Boston, May 13th, with the commission of Governor of Massachusetts. At the moment of his arrival, the people were in great agitation at the news of the Port Bill; notwithstanding which, the General was received with respect, and treated with politeness. Shortly after, two regiments with artillery and military stores arrived, indicating the determination of the British government to reduce the colonies to submission by force of arms.

On the day designated by the port act, business was finished at Boston at twelve o'clock, at noon; and the harbor shut up against all vessels. The day was devoutly kept at Williamsburg, in Virginia, as a day of fasting and humiliation. In Philadelphia it was solemnized with every manifestation of public grief; the inhabitants shut up their houses; and, after divine service, "a stillness reigned over the city, which exhibited an appearance of the deepest distress." In other places it was observed as a day of mourning.

The inhabitants of Boston, distinguished for politeness and hospitality, no less than for industry and opulence, were sentenced, on the short notice of twenty days, to a deprivation of the means of subsistence. The rents of landholders ceased, or were greatly diminished. The immense property in stores and wharves was rendered in a great measure useless. Laborers and artificers, and many others, employed in the numerous occupations, created by an extensive trade, shared the general calamity. Those of the people, who depended on a regular income, and those who earned their subsistence by daily labor, were equally deprived of the means of support. Animated, however, by the spirit of freedom, they sustained their sufferings with inflexible fortitude. These sufferings were soon mitigated by the sympathy, and relieved by the charity of the other colonists. Contributions were every where raised for their relief. Corporate bodies, town meetings, and provincial conventions, sent them letters and addresses, applauding their conduct, and exhorting them to perseverance. The inhabitants of Marblehead generously offered the Boston merchants the use of their harbor, wharves, warehouses, and their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free of all expense. The inhabitants of Salem concluded an address to Governor Gage, in a manner that reflected great honor on their virtue and patriotism. "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals

in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors.

Governor Gage had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly at Salem on the fifth of October; but afterward judged it expedient to counteract the writs by a proclamation for suspending the meeting of the members returned. The legality of the proclamation however was questioned; and the new members, to the number of ninety, meeting according to the precept, and, neither the governor nor any substitute attending, they resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and soon adjourned to Concord. They there chose Mr. John Hancock president; and appointed a committee to wait on the governor with a remonstrance, concluding with an earnest request, that he would desist from the construction of the fortress at the entrance into Boston, "and restore that pass to its neutral state." The governor expressed himself indignantly at their supposition of danger from English troops to any, excepting enemies; and warned them to desist from their illegal proceedings. Without regarding his admonition, they adjourned to Cambridge; and, when re-assembled, they appointed a committee to draw up a plan for the immediate defence of the province; resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants, to be in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning; elected three general officers\* to command those minute men and the militia, in case of their being called out to action; and appointed a committee of safety, and a committee of supplies. The same congress, meeting again in November, resolved to get in readiness twelve thousand men, to act on any emergency; and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted, as minute men, and receive pay; appointed two additional general officers;† and sent persons to New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut, to inform those colonies of its measures, and to request their co-operation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. A committee was appointed to correspond with the inhabitants of Canada; and a circular letter was addressed to the several ministers in the province, requesting their assistance in averting the threatened slavery.‡

Toward the close of the year, a proclamation, that had been issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Great Britain, reached America. The people of Rhode Island no sooner

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\* Hon. Jedidiah Prebble, Hon. Artemas Ward, and Col. Pomeroy.

† Col. Thomas, and Col. Heath.

‡ The form of the letter was as follows: "Rev. Sir, We cannot but acknowledge the goodness of heaven, in constantly supplying us with preachers of the gospel, whose concern has been the temporal and spiritual happiness of this people. In a day like this, when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do therefore recommend to the ministers of the gospel, in the several towns and other places in this colony, that they assist us in avoiding that dreadful slavery, with which we are now threatened."

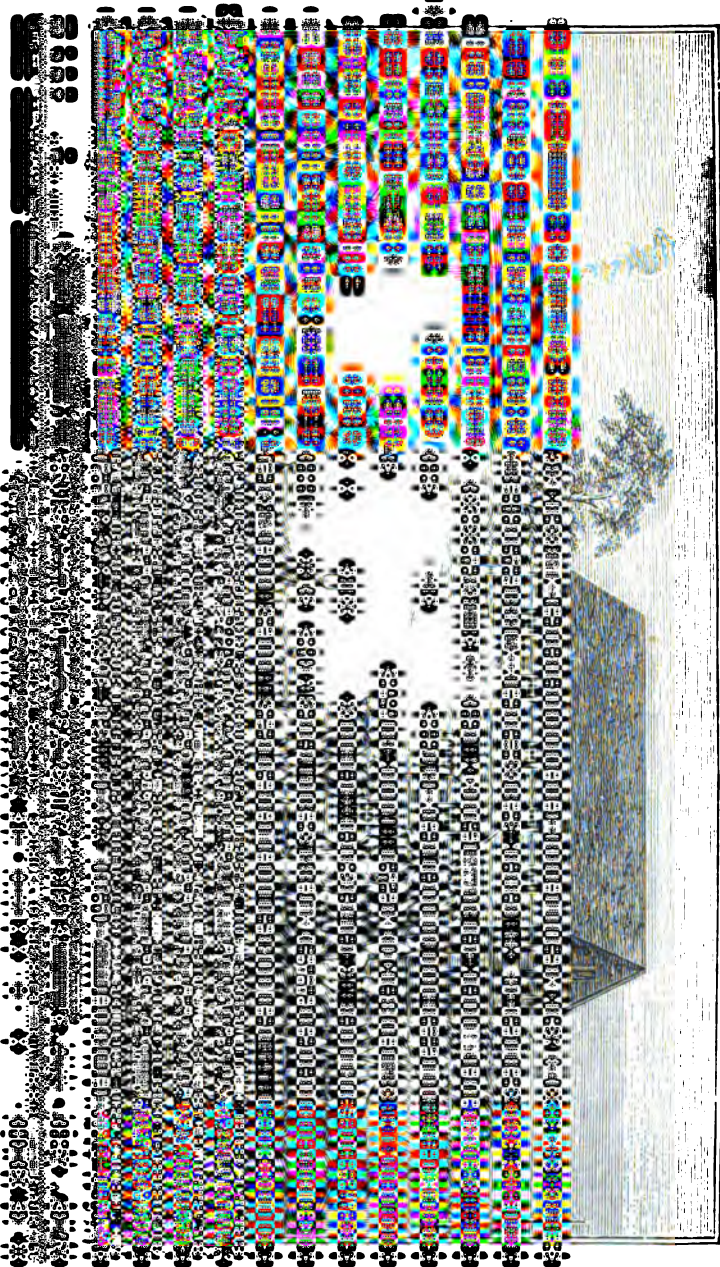
received an account of it, than they moved from the public battery about forty pieces of cannon; and the assembly of the colony passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores, and for raising and arming the inhabitants. In New Hampshire, four hundred men assailed his majesty's castle at Portsmouth; stormed it; and confined the garrison till they had broken open the powder-house, and taken away the powder.\*—*Holmes' Annals*.

*Action at Lexington and Concord.*—“A considerable quantity of military stores having been deposited at Concord, an inland town about eighteen miles from Boston, General Gage purposed to destroy them. For the execution of this design, he, on the night preceding the nineteenth of April, detached lieutenant colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry; who at eleven o'clock embarked in boats at the bottom of the common in Boston, crossed the river Charles, and, landing at Phipps' farm in Cambridge, commenced a silent and expeditious march for Concord. Although several British officers, who dined at Cambridge the preceding day, had taken the precaution to disperse themselves along the road leading to Concord, to intercept any expresses that might be sent from Boston to alarm the country; yet messengers,† who had been sent from town for that purpose, had eluded the British patrols, and given an alarm, which was rapidly spread by church bells, signal guns, and volleys. On the arrival of the British troops at Lexington, toward five in the morning, about seventy men, belonging to the minute company of that town, were found on the parade, under arms. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, galloping up to them, called out, ‘Disperse, disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse.’ The sturdy yeomanry not instantly obeying the order, he advanced nearer; fired his pistol; flourished his sword, and ordered his soldiers to fire. A discharge of arms from the British troops, with a huzza, immediately succeeded; several of the provincials fell; and the rest dispersed. The firing continued after the dispersion, and the fugitives stopped and returned the fire. Eight Americans were killed;‡ three or four of them

\* Ramsay *Americ. Revol.* vol. i. ch. v; and S. Car. i. 16—23. Gordon, vol. i. Lett viii. ix, x. History of the Dispute with America, from its origin in 1754. Having seen in *Bibliotheca Americana* this title of a work, which was there ascribed to Mr. John Adams, I made inquiry of the late President of the United States, and ascertained that he was the author of it. That history was first printed in the *Boston Gazette*. It is the first article inserted in the first volume of *Almon's Remembrancer*. See also Adams' *Letters*, Lett. i. Marshall, ii. 152—159. Adams' *New England*, chap. xxiii, xxiv.

† These messengers were sent to Lexington, a town 6 miles below Concord, by Dr. Warren, who received notice of the intended expedition just before the embarkation of the troops.

‡ Robert Munroe, Jonas Parker, Samuel Hadley, Jonathan Harrington, Caleb Harrington, Isaac Muzzy, and John Brown, of Lexington, and Asael Porter, of We







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Concord.

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quicker step of his soldiers. On this the British desisted from injury to the bridge, convinced, no doubt, that the Americans were determined and able to pass the bridge. At that moment two or three guns, in quick succession, were fired into the river on the right of the Americans, who considered them as alarm guns, and not aimed at them. In a minute or two, the Americans being in quick motion, and within ten or fifteen rods of the bridge, a single gun was fired by a British soldier, which marked its way, passing under Col. Robinson's arm, slightly wounding the side of Luther Blanchard, a sifer in the Acton company. This gun was instantly followed by a volley, which killed Captain Davis and Mr. Hosmer, both of the same company. On seeing this, as quickly as possible, Major Buttrick leaped from the ground, and partly turning to his men, exclaimed, "*Fire, fellow-soldiers, for God's sake, fire.*" Mr. Tilly Buttrick, a respectable man now living, stood near the Major, and is positive that he distinctly heard the words and saw the motions of the speaker. He was in front of Captain Brown's company. No sooner were the words uttered, than the word *fire* ran like electricity through the whole line of the Americans, extending to the high land from whence they had marched; and for a few seconds, the word *fire, fire*, was heard from hundreds of mouths. The order of Major Buttrick was instantly obeyed. Two of the British were killed and several wounded. The firing on each side lasted but a minute or two. The British immediately retreated. When the Americans had fired, most of the forward companies leaped over a wall on the left and fired from behind it. Military order and regularity of proceeding were soon after broken up. A part of the Americans rushed over the bridge, and pursued the British till they saw a large reinforcement advancing, when they turned to the left, and ascended a hill east of the main road; and a part returned to the high ground, conveying and taking care of the dead.\*

Soon after the firing at the bridge, the whole British detachment at Concord commenced their retreat. "All the people from the adjacent country were by this time in arms; and they attacked the retreating troops in every direction. Some fired from behind stone walls and other coverts; others pressed on their rear; and, thus harrassed, they made good their retreat six miles back to Lexington. Here they were joined by Lord Percy, who, most opportunely for them, had arrived with a detachment of nine hundred men and two pieces of cannon.† The enemy, now

\* In the engraving the British troops are seen on the right. On this spot a large granite monument has been recently erected, on which is the following inscription: "Here, on the 19th of April, 1775, was made the first forcible resistance to British aggression. On the opposite bank stood the American militia. Here stood the invading army, and on this spot the first of the enemy fell in the war of the Revolution, which gave Independence to these United States. In gratitude to God and in the love of Freedom, this monument was erected, A. D. 1836."

† Lord Percy formed his detachment into a square, in which he inclosed Colonel Smith's party, "who were so much exhausted with fatigue, that they were obliged to

amounting to about eighteen hundred men, having halted an hour or two at Lexington, recommenced their march; but the attack from the provincials was renewed at the same time; and an irregular yet very galling fire was kept up on each flank, as well as in the front and rear. The close firing from behind stone walls by good marksmen put them in no small confusion; but they kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset, the regulars reached Bunker's hill, where, exhausted with excessive fatigue, they remained during the night, under the protection of the Somerset man of war; and the next morning went into Boston."

In this expedition the British loss was 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 28 missing; total 273. The American loss was 50 killed, 34 wounded, and 4 missing; total 88.

*Surprisal of Ticonderoga.*—Soon after the bloodshed at Lexington, it was readily perceived that if the controversy with the parent state were to be decided by the sword, the possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point would be of essential importance to the security of the colonies.

"The first steps for this object seem to have been taken by some gentlemen in Connecticut; and Messrs. Deane, Wooster, Parsons, and others engaged in the affair. The success depended on the secrecy with which the affair could be managed. Their first object was to obtain a sum of money to bear the necessary expenses. They procured this to the amount of about eighteen hundred dollars, from the general assembly of Connecticut, by way of loan. Several of the militia captains pushed forward to Salisbury, the northwestern town in that colony; and after a little consultation concluded not to spend any time in raising men, but to procure a quantity of powder and ball, and set off immediately for Bennington, and engage Ethan Allen in the business. With his usual spirit of activity and enterprise, Allen undertook the management of the scheme; and set off to the northward, to raise and collect all the men that he could find. The Connecticut gentlemen having procured a small quantity of provisions, went on to Castleton; and were there joined by Allen, with the men that he had raised from the new settlements. The whole number that were assembled amounted to two hundred and seventy, of which two hundred and thirty were raised on the New Hampshire grants, distinguished at that time by the name of Green Mountain Boys; so called, from the green mountains, among which they resided. Sentinels were immediately placed on all the roads, and the necessary measures taken to procure intelligence of the state of the works and garrison at Ticonderoga.

While Allen and his associates were collecting at Castleton, Col. Arnold arrived, attended only by a servant. This officer belonged

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lie down for rest on the ground, their tongues hanging out of their mouths, like those of dogs after a chase."—*Stedman*.



to New Haven in Connecticut. As soon as the news arrived at that place that hostilities had commenced at Lexington, Arnold, then a captain, set out at the head of a volunteer company, and marched with the greatest expedition to Cambridge. The day after his arrival, he attended the Massachusetts committee of safety, and reported to them that the fort at Ticonderoga was in a ruinous condition; that it was garrisoned by about forty men, and contained a large quantity of artillery and military stores; and might easily be captured. The committee wished to avail themselves of his information and activity; and on the third of May, appointed him a colonel, and gave him directions to enlist four hundred men, and march for the reduction of Ticonderoga. Under these orders, and with this design, he joined the men that were assembling at Castleton; but was unknown to any of them but a Mr. Blagden, one of the Connecticut officers. His commission being examined, it was agreed in a council, that he should be admitted to join and act with them; but that Allen should also have the commission of a colonel, and have the command; and that Arnold should be considered as his assistant.

To procure intelligence, captain Noah Phelps, one of the gentlemen from Connecticut, disguised himself in the habit of one of the poor settlers, and went into the fort, pretending he wanted to be shaved, and enquired for a barber. Affecting an awkward appearance, and asking many simple questions, he passed unsuspected, and had an opportunity to observe the state of every thing within the walls. Returning to his party, he gave them the necessary information, and the same night they began their march to the fort.

With so much expedition and secrecy had the enterprise been conducted, that colonel Allen arrived at Orwell, opposite to Ticonderoga, on the ninth of May at night, with his two hundred and thirty green mountain boys, without any intelligence or apprehension on the part of the garrison. It was with difficulty that boats could be procured to pass the lake; a few however being collected, Allen and Arnold passed over, with eighty-three men, and landed near the works. Arnold now wished to assume the command, to lead on the men, and swore that he would go in himself the first. Allen swore that he should not, but that he himself would be the first man that should enter. The dispute beginning to run high, some of the gentlemen that were present interposed, and it was agreed that both should go in together, Allen on the right hand, and Arnold on the left. On the tenth of May, in the gray of the morning, they both entered the port leading to the fort, followed by their men. The sentry snapped his fusée at Allen, and retreated through the covered way. The Americans followed the sentry, and immediately drew up on the parade. Captain De la Place commanded, but he was so little apprehensive of any danger or hostility, that he was surprised in his bed. As soon as he appeared, he was ordered to surrender the fort. Upon what authority do you require it, said De la Place. 'I demand it,' said Allen, 'in the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress.' Surrounded by the Americans who were already in pos-

session of the works, it was not in the power of the British captain to make any opposition, and he surrendered his garrison prisoners of war, without knowing by what authority Allen was acting, or that hostilities had commenced between Britain and the colonies. After Allen had landed with his party, the boats were sent back for colonel Seth Warner with the remainder of the men, who had been left under his command. Warner did not arrive till after the place had surrendered, but he took the command of a party who set off for Crown Point. At that place there were only a sergeant and twelve men to perform garrison duty. They surrendered upon the first summons, and Warner took possession of Crown Point, on the same day that Tyconderoga was given up. Another party surprised Skeensborough, made a prisoner of major Skeen, the son, took possession of a strong stone house which he had built, secured his dependents and domestics, and made themselves masters of that important harbor.

By these enterprises the Americans had captured a British captain, lieutenant, and forty-four privates. In the forts they found above two hundred pieces of cannon, some mortars, howitzers, and large quantities of ammunition and military stores; and a warehouse full of materials for carrying on the business of building boats. Having succeeded in their attempts against Tyconderoga and Crown Point, it was still necessary in order to secure the command of lake Champlain, to get possession of an armed sloop which lay at St. Johns, at the north end of the lake. To effect this purpose, it was determined to man and arm a schooner, which lay at South Bay. Arnold had the command of the schooner, and Allen took the command of a number of batteaux, and both sailed for St. Johns. The wind being fresh at the south, Arnold soon passed the lake, surprised and captured the armed sloop in the harbor of St. Johns: in about an hour after he had taken her, the wind suddenly shifted to the north, and Arnold made sail with his prize, and met Allen with his batteaux at some distance from St. Johns.—*Williams' Hist. Vermont.*

*Battle of Bunker's Hill.*—On the 5th of May 1775, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress declared General Gage to be disqualified for governor of the province, and that he ought to be treated as an enemy. Towards the end of May a considerable reinforcement of British troops arrived in Boston: Gen. Gage thus strengthened, prepared himself to act with more decision, and it was apprehended that he intended to penetrate into the country. It was therefore recommended by the Provincial Congress to the council of war, to take measures for the defence of Dorchester neck, and to occupy Bunker's Hill.

"Orders were accordingly issued on the sixteenth of June, for a detachment of one thousand men, under the command of Colonel Prescott, to take possession of that eminence; but, by some mistake, Breed's Hill was marked out, instead of Bunker's Hill, for the projected entrenchments. About nine in the evening, the de-



passing silently over and reached the top of the farther part of the as to overlook every within cannon shot. selves with entrenching and labored with such and thrown up a redoubt, peninsula was almost sports, the provincials covered until morning. Boston by a cannonade, of war lively. A bat- upon them from Copp's ver of shot and bombs, their labor, until they tating from the east side ward the river Mystic. ive the provincials from ve and brigadier general grenadiers, and ten of d artillery, to perform on's point, where they the Americans waited their first position until ston. Meanwhile the y of their countrymen, the troops on the open

ground pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and, placing them at a small distance apart in two parallel lines, filled up the space with new mown grass, and formed a cover from the musketry of the enemy.

The British troops, now joined by the second detachment, and formed in two lines, moved forward with the light infantry on the right wing, commanded by general Howe, and the grenadiers on the left, by brigadier general Pigot; the former to attack the provincial lines in flank, and the latter the redoubt in front. The attack was begun by a very heavy discharge of field pieces and howitzers, the troops advancing slowly, and halting at short intervals, to allow time for the artillery to produce effect on the works. While they were advancing, orders were given to set fire to Charlestown, a handsome village on their left flank, containing about four hundred houses, chiefly of wood; and in a very short time the town was wrapped in one great blaze. This awfully majestic spectacle added indescribable grandeur to the scene, in the view of the unnumbered spectators, who, occupying the heights of Boston and of its neighborhood, were eagerly looking for the approaching battle. The provincials, having permitted the enemy to approach within less than one hundred yards of their works, unmolested, then poured in upon them such a deadly fire of small arms, that the British line was broken, and fell precipitately back toward the landing place. This disorder was repaired by the vigorous exertions of the officers, who again brought them up to the attack; but the Americans renewing their fire, as before, drove them back again in confusion. Gen. Clinton, arriving at this juncture from Boston, united his exertions with those of general Howe and the other officers, and was eminently serviceable in rallying the troops, who, with extreme reluctance, were a third time led on to the charge. The powder of the Americans now began so far to fail, that their fire became necessarily slackened. The British brought some of their cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery, was redoubled; and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once, was carried at the point of the bayonet. The provincials, though a retreat was ordered, delayed, and made obstinate resistance with their discharged guns, until the assailants, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt.

During these operations, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the breastwork, that they might take the American line in flank; but, while they advanced with signal bravery, they were received with unyielding firmness. The provincials here, as well as at the redoubt, reserved their fire until the near approach of the enemy, and then poured in their shot

with such well directed aim, as to mow them down in ranks. No sooner was the redoubt lost, than the breastwork was necessarily abandoned. The retreat of the provincials was now to be made over Charlestown neck, which was completely raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries; but, great as was the apparent danger, the retreat was effected with inconsiderable loss.

On the part of the British, about three thousand men were engaged in this action; and their killed and wounded amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. The number of Americans in this engagement was fifteen hundred; and their killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to four hundred and fifty-three.\*—*Holmes.*

*Invasion of Canada, by Generals Montgomery and Arnold.*—Emboldened by the capture of Ticonderoga, the Americans formed a plan for more extensive operations. Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were sent with a body of troops into Canada: General Schuyler falling sick, the command devolved on General Montgomery. A small fort at Chamblee was first taken, where a supply of powder was obtained, and siege was laid to St. Johns. Some attempts were made to relieve the garrison by Governor Carleton, but in vain; the garrison consisting of about seven hundred men, surrendered Nov. 3d, 1775. This was soon after followed by the surrender of Montreal. The greatest loss attending

\* Of the British, 226 were killed, and 828 wounded; 19 commissioned officers being among the former, and 70 among the latter. Of the Americans, 139 were killed, and 314 wounded and missing. The only provincial officers of distinction lost, were general Joseph Warren of Boston, colonel Gardner of Cambridge, lieutenant colonel Parker of Chelmsford, major Moore, and major McClary. The death of general Warren was deeply and universally lamented. He had received the commission of major general four days only before the battle, into which he rushed as a volunteer. Just as the retreat of the provincials commenced, a ball struck him in the head, and he fell dead on the spot. In private life, he was esteemed for his engaging manners; and as a physician, for his professional abilities. In counsel, he was judicious; in action, ardent and daring. "To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman." The memory of colonel Gardner is cherished with high regard in Cambridge. It is impossible to do justice to all the officers and soldiers, who distinguished themselves in this hard fought battle. A number of the Massachusetts troops were in the redoubt, which was so nobly defended, and in that part of the breastwork nearest to it. The left of the breastwork, and the open ground stretching beyond it to the water side, were occupied partly by the Massachusetts forces, and partly by the Connecticut, under captain Knowlton or Ashford (whose conduct was much applauded), and by the New Hampshire troops, under colonel Stark. General Putnam was in this battle, and fought with his usual intrepidity. He expressly charged his men to retain their fire till the very near approach of the enemy; reminded them of their skill in their customary shooting at home; and directed them to take sight at the enemy. He appears to have conducted the retreat.

"There strides bold Putnam, and from all the plains  
Calls the tired host, the tardy rear sustains,  
And, mid the whizzing deaths that fill the air,  
Waves back his sword, and dares the following war"

these enterprises was the loss of Col. Ethan Allen, who without orders, with a small party, while engaged in a rash attempt on Montreal, was made prisoner and sent in irons to England.

While Gen. Montgomery was proceeding on his route towards Quebec, Col. Arnold was sent from the army at Cambridge to penetrate into Canada by descending the Kennebeck and through the wilderness to Quebec. "On the 13th of September, Arnold set out from the camp at Cambridge, with eleven hundred men, and proceeded to Newburyport, at the mouth of Merrimac river. There he embarked on board ten transports, and arrived at the mouth of Kennebec river, on September the twentieth. Dismissing the transports, they embarked on board batteaux, and proceeded up that river with all the expedition that the business would admit. It would be difficult to find any thing in the histories of war, or indeed to conceive of greater hardship, labor and resolution, than attended the exertions of this body of men. On the river, they were impeded by a rapid stream, with a rocky bottom and shores; by cataracts, carrying places, descents, and rapids, impassable for boats. On the shores they had to travel through deep swamps, thick woods, mountains, precipices, and large streams of water: nor could they, for the most part, advance more than from four to eight miles a day. By their incessant labors and hardships, several fell sick, and so much of their provisions was lost in passing the rapids, that they became scarce, and many suffered severely with hunger. Some of the men killed and eat their dogs, and a few were reduced to such extremity as to devour their cartouch boxes, breeches, and shoes. Having arrived at the head of Kennebec river, Colonel Enos was ordered to send back the sick, and those that could not be furnished with provisions; but contrary to Arnold's expectation, he returned himself with his whole division, consisting of three companies; a council of war which Enos held on the occasion, having pronounced it impossible to proceed for want of provisions. Arnold with the other divisions went on with a steady and daring resolution, determined either to succeed or to perish. Having crossed the heights of land, they arrived at length at the head of Chandière river, a stream which falls into the river St. Lawrence, not far from Quebec. Travelling on this river, they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada, and on November the third, they procured some provisions, and soon after came to a house, being the first they had seen for thirty-one days. During all that period, they had been struggling against difficulties almost insurmountable, in a rough, barren, uninhabited country, where even the Indians did not reside.

As soon as Arnold appeared with his troops, the Canadians discovered the same disposition to give him a favorable reception.

that they had manifested towards Montgomery ; at Sertigan, the first French village at which they arrived, about twenty-five leagues from Quebec, they were kindly entertained, and plentifully supplied with fresh beef, butter, fowls, and vegetables. Washington had prepared and signed a declaration, announcing to the Canadians that the Americans were not come to injure, plunder, or make war upon them, but to defend and preserve the liberties of every part of the continent ; inviting them to join in the grand object and pursuit, and assuring them that they should be protected in their persons, property, and religion. The proclamation had a good effect ; the Canadians afforded Arnold such assistance as was in their power, and he marched on in ease and safety, and arrived at point Levi, November the 9th, with about seven hundred men."

"The arrival of Arnold with his troops, was not known at Quebec for twenty-four hours ; at this period, the inhabitants of that city were not in a situation to have made any defence. An universal discontent and division prevailed among the British inhabitants, owing to the opposition of the British merchants and others to the Quebec bill. The French inhabitants were still less disposed to engage in hostilities. It was known that they were very generally wavering and undetermined ; and many were much inclined to favor the American proceedings. No confidence could be placed in either, to undertake the defence of the city ; and had it not been for the intervention of the river, it does not seem that there would have been much difficulty or opposition to Arnold's marching in and taking immediate possession.

On the twelfth of November, Colonel Maclean marched into the city, with one hundred and seventy of his new raised regiment of emigrants. On the intelligence of this event, the next day at nine o'clock in the evening, Arnold began to embark his men on board a number of canoes which he had procured ; and by four the next morning, five hundred of his men were landed at Wolfe's cave, undiscovered by the enemy. The next morning, it was known in the city what had taken place. Some of the sailors were landed from the ships, to manage the guns on the fortifications ; several of the most active of the citizens came forward, and all began to doubt whether Arnold was in such force that it would be prudent to appear to assist or favor him. Arnold paraded his men on the plains of Abraham, set guards to cut off the communication between the city and country, and sent a flag to demand the surrender of the place. His flag was fired upon, and refused admittance ; he was not strong enough to attempt to storm the city ; and the hour in which it might probably have been carried by a coup de main, amidst the surprise and consternation of the inhabitants, was now past. On the nineteenth, the Americans decamped, and marched up to Point au Trembles, about seven leagues from the city ; and the same day General

Carleton arrived at Quebec. Determined to defend the place, his first step was to turn out the suspected, and all that would not engage to assist in the defence of the city; and nothing now remained for Arnold, but to wait the arrival of assistance from Montreal.

Encouraged and animated by the vigorous proceedings of Arnold, Montgomery made all the exertions in his power to join him. Having left some troops in Montreal and the forts, and sent detachments into the different parts of the province to encourage and secure the Canadians, he pushed on with as many men as could be spared, and such artillery and supplies as he could procure, to join the troops before Quebec; but his whole force did not amount to but a little more than three hundred men. Their march was in the winter, through bad roads, in a severe climate, amidst the falls of the first snows, and in the water and mire; but such was the activity and perseverance of Montgomery and his adherents, that on December the first, he joined Arnold at Point au Trembles, with three armed schooners, about three hundred men, and ammunition, clothing and provisions for the troops. On December the fifth, Montgomery with his army appeared before Quebec; his effective troops amounted to but a few more than eight hundred men, and he could have but little prospect of success. General Carleton was informed of the state of his army, and had made such preparations for defence, that he could have but little to apprehend from any attempts that could be made against the city, by so small a force, at that season of the year. His force consisted of Colonel Maclean's men, one hundred and seventy; a company of the seventh regiment, amounting to sixty; forty marines, four hundred and fifty seamen, belonging to the king's frigates, and to the merchantmen; and about eight hundred militia; amounting in the whole to fifteen hundred and twenty; but on the militia little dependence was to be placed. Montgomery attempted both to intimidate, and to persuade the British general to surrender; he also opened two small batteries, one of five mortars, and the other of six cannon, against the place; but his artillery was too small, and the season of the year too severe to have any hope of succeeding by a regular siege. Nothing remained but to put all to the risk of a general assault; and rather than to abandon the object it was determined to venture upon this desperate measure.

It was not till December the thirty-first, that circumstances would admit of an attack: on that morning there was a heavy storm of snow, and under this cover, Montgomery and Arnold led on their troops to storm the city, the garrison of which was much more numerous than their own army. The American troops were divided into four bodies, of which two were directed to make false attacks upon the upper town, while the real ones were made by Montgomery and Arnold, against the lower part of the city. With undaunted resolution, Montgomery led on his men, about two hundred, to the first barrier, which they soon passed, and advanced boldly to the second; but here a violent discharge of grape shot from several well placed cannon, together with a well directed fire of musketry, put an end to the life



of this brave and enterprising officer. Most of the officers and others who were near their general, fell at the same time, and the command devolved on a Mr. Campbell; but he was so unused to this new kind of business, of storming a well fortified city, and so discouraged by the fall of Montgomery, that he retreated without any further exertions.

Arnold, with his division, amounting to about three hundred, made a vigorous attack upon another part of the town, and after an hour's engagement carried a small battery. In this conflict, one or two men fell, and Arnold had his leg shattered, so that he was obliged to be carried off. His officers, however, continued the attack with much vigor, till the British having dispersed the Americans in every other quarter, directed their whole force against this small body, and entirely surrounded them. Nor did their courage forsake them even in these desperate circumstances. They continued the fight for three hours longer, till their numbers were much reduced, and they were fully convinced that some misfortune must have befallen Montgomery and his party. At length no hope or prospect of relief remaining, they were forced to submit to necessity, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

In this unfortunate affair, the Americans lost nearly half their troops. About one hundred were slain, and many more were in captivity; and not more than four hundred remained, who were fit for duty. A council of war determined that Arnold should take the command, and continue the blockade; but the troops immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, and placed themselves in the best situation they could; hoping for relief, but expecting an attack."—*Williams' Hist. Vermont.*

General Arnold, under all his discouragements, continued the blockade of Quebec through the winter. On the 5th of May, 1776, it was unanimously determined in a council of war that the troops were in no condition to risk an assault, and the Army was removed to a more defensible position. The Canadians at this period receiving considerable reinforcements, the Americans were compelled to abandon one post after another, and by the 18th of June they had evacuated Canada.

*Siege and evacuation of Boston.*—General Washington, soon after his appointment as commander in chief, repaired to the American army in the vicinity of Boston and established his head quarters at Cambridge. The want of powder and the necessity of re-enlisting the troops whose term of service had expired, rendered the army investing Boston inactive, during the summer and autumn of 1775. About the middle of February, 1776, a severe cold setting in, and the ice becoming sufficiently firm to bear the troops, Washington formed the plan of marching into Boston and dislodge the enemy. A council of war being summoned on this occasion, being almost unanimous against the measure, Washington reluctantly abandoned the project.

"The effective regular force of the Americans now amounted to upward of fourteen thousand men; in addition to which the commander in chief called out about six thousand of the militia of Massachusetts. With these troops he determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, whence it would be in his power greatly to annoy the ships in the harbour and the soldiers in the town. By taking this position, from which the enemy would inevitably attempt to drive him, he expected to bring on a general action, during which he intended to cross over from Cambridge side with four thousand chosen men, and attack the town of Boston. To conceal his design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a heavy bombardment of the town and lines of the enemy was begun on the evening of the second of March, and repeated the two succeeding nights. On the night of the fourth, immediately after the firing began, a considerable detachment, under the command of general Thomas, passing from Roxbury, took silent possession of Dorchester heights. The ground was almost impenetrably hard, but the night was mild, and by labouring with great diligence, their works were so far advanced by morning, as to cover them in a great measure from the shot of the enemy. When the British after day break discovered these works, which were magnified to the view by a hazy atmosphere, nothing could exceed their astonishment. Some of their officers afterward acknowledged, that the expedition with which they were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the Eastern romances. Nothing now remained, but to abandon the town, or to dislodge the provincials. General Howe, with his usual spirit, chose the latter part of the alternative, and took measures for the embarkation, on that very evening, of five regiments with the light infantry and grenadiers, on the important but most hazardous service. The transports fell down in the evening toward the castle, with the troops, amounting to about two thousand men; but a tremendous storm at night rendered the execution of the design absolutely impracticable. A council of war was called the next morning, and agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. A fortnight elapsed before that measure was effected. Meanwhile the Americans strengthened and extended their works; and on the morning of the seventeenth of March the British discovered a breast work, that had been thrown up in the night at Nook's Hill, on Dorchester peninsula, which perfectly commanded Boston neck, and the south part of the town. Delay was no longer safe. By four in the morning, the king's troops, with those Americans, who were attached to the royal cause, began to embark; and before ten all of them were under sail. As the rear embarked, general Washington marched triumphantly into Boston, where he was joyfully received, as a deliverer. The British fleet, after a detention of nine days in Nantasket road, set sail for Halifax."

During the siege, "horse flesh was not refused by those who

could procure it.\* For want of fuel, the pews and benches of churches were taken for this purpose; the counters and partitions of warehouses were applied to the same use; and even houses, not inhabited, were demolished for the sake of the wood. The English left a great quantity of artillery and munitions. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of different calibre, were found in Boston, in Castle Island, and in the intrenchments of Bunker's Hill, and the Neck. The English had attempted, but with little success, in their haste, to destroy or to spike these last pieces; others had been thrown into the sea, but they were recovered. There were found, besides, four mortars, a considerable quantity of coal, of wheat, and of other grains, and one hundred and fifty horses."—*Botta's Revolution*.

*Battle of Long Island*.—"The command of the British force, destined to operate against New York, was given to admiral lord Howe, and his brother Sir William; who, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. General Howe, after waiting two months at Halifax for his brother and the expected reinforcements from England, sailed with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston; and directing his course toward New York, arrived in the latter end of June off Sandy Hook. Admiral lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure; and, without dropping anchor, followed and joined him near Staten Island. These two royal commissioners, before they commenced military operations, attempted to effect a reunion between the colonies and Great Britain; but both the substance and the form of their communications for that purpose were too exceptionable, to be for a moment seriously regarded.

The British forces waited so long to receive accession from Halifax, South Carolina, Florida, the West Indies, and Europe, that the month of August was far advanced before they were in a condition to open the campaign. Their commanders, having resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island, landed their troops, estimated at about twenty-four thousand men, at Gravesend Bay, to the right of the Narrows. The Americans, to the amount of fifteen thousand, under major general Sullivan, were posted on a peninsula between Mill Creek, a little above Red Hook, and an elbow of East river, called Whaaleboght Bay. Here they had erected strong fortifica-

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\* Provisions were become so scarce at Boston, that a pound of fresh fish cost twelve pence sterling, a goose eight shillings and four pence, a turkey twelve shillings and six pence, a duck four shillings and two pence, hams two shillings and a penny per pound. Vegetables were altogether wanting. A sheep cost thirty-five shillings sterling, apples thirty-three shillings and four pence per barrel. Fire wood forty-one shillings and eight pence the cord; and finally, it was not to be procured at any price.



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morning, the British troops, having passed the heights and reached Bedford, began an attack on the left of the American army. In the centre, general De Heister, soon after day light, had begun to cannonade the troops, which occupied the direct road to Brooklyn, and which were commanded by general Sullivan in person. As soon as the firing toward Bedford was heard, De Heister advanced and attacked the centre of the Americans, who, after a warm engagement, were routed and driven into the woods. The firing toward Bedford giving them the alarming notice, that the British had turned their left flank, and were getting completely into their rear; they endeavored to escape to the camp. The sudden rout of this party enabled De Heister to detach a part of his force against those who were engaged near Bedford. There also the Americans were broken and driven into the woods; and the front of the British column, led by general Clinton, continuing to move forward, intercepted and engaged those, whom De Heister had routed, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, who drove them back on the British. Thus alternately chased and intercepted, some forced their way through the enemy to the lines of Brooklyn; several saved themselves in the coverts of the woods; but a great part of the detachment was killed or taken.

The left column, led by general Grant, advancing from the Narrows along the coast, to divert the attention of the Americans from the principal attack on the right, had about midnight fallen in with lord Stirling's advanced guard, stationed at a strong pass, and compelled them to relinquish it. As they were slowly retiring, they were met on the summit of the hills about break of day by lord Stirling, who had been directed, with the two nearest regiments, to meet the British on the road leading from the Narrows. Lord Stirling having posted his men advantageously, a furious cannonade commenced on both sides, which continued several hours. The firing towards Brooklyn, where the fugitives were pursued by the British, giving notice to Lord Stirling, that the enemy had gained his rear, he instantly gave orders to retreat across a creek, near the Yellow Mills. The more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, he determined to attack in person a British corps under lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house somewhat above the place where he proposed crossing the creek. With about four hundred men, drawn out of Smallwood's regiment for that purpose, he made a very spirited attack, and brought up this small corps several times to the charge, with constant expectation of dislodging lord Cornwallis from his post; but, the force in his front increasing, and general Grant now advancing on his rear, he was compelled to surrender himself and his brave men prisoners of war. This bold attempt

however gave opportunity to a large part of the detachment to cross the creek, and effect an escape.\*

The enemy encamped in front of the American lines ; and on the succeeding night broke ground within six hundred yards of a redoubt on the left. In this critical state of the American army on Long Island ; in front a numerous and victorious enemy, with a formidable train of artillery ; the fleet indicating an intention to force a passage into East river to make some attempt on New York ; the troops lying without shelter from heavy rains, fatigued and dispirited ; it was determined to withdraw from the island ; and this difficult movement was effected with great skill and judgment, and with complete success.†

*Washington's Retreat from New York.*—Immediately after their victory on Long Island, the British made dispositions to attack New York. Gen. Washington having called a council of general officers, it was decided by them, that a middle course should be adopted between abandoning the city, and concentrating their whole force for its defence. By the plan recommended, the army was to be arranged in three divisions, one of which, consisting of 5000 men to remain in New York : another, consisting of 9,000, was to be stationed at King's Bridge ; and the residue to occupy the intermediate space, so as to support either extreme. The unexpected movements of the enemy, however, induced a change of operations.

"General Howe having now prepared his plan for a descent on New York island ; for bringing the Americans to a general action, or breaking the communication between their posts, on the 15th of September began to land his men under cover of five ships of war, between South Bay and Kipp's Bay, about three miles above the city. Works had been thrown up there, which were capable of withstanding an attack for a considerable time, and even till reinforcements should arrive, if they were necessary, and troops were stationed in them to oppose any landing of the enemy. But they fled—at the first

\*The loss of the British and Hessians is stated by American historians at about 460 ; Stedman says, 'it did not exceed 300 in killed and wounded.' The loss of the Americans was not admitted by General Washington to exceed 1000 men, 'but in this estimate he could only have included the regular troops.' General Howe states the prisoners to have been 1097, among whom were major general Sullivan, and brigadiers Lord Stirling and Woodhull.

†The retreat was to have commenced at eight o'clock in the night of the 29th ; but a strong northeast wind and a rapid tide caused a delay of several hours. In this extremity, Heaven remarkably favoured the fugitive army. A southwest wind, springing up at eleven, essentially facilitated its passage from the Island to the city ; and a thick fog, hanging over Long Island from about two in the morning, concealed its movements from the enemy, who were so near, that the sound of their pickaxes and shovels was heard. General Washington, as far as possible, inspected every thing. From the commencement of the action on the morning of the 27th until the troops were safely across East river, he never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly on horseback.

approach of the British, and abandoned the works with the most shameful precipitation. Two brigades had been put in motion for their support on the first intimation of the enemy's approach, and General Washington, in person, hurried to the scene of action, expecting by his presence to retrieve his late disasters and animate his troops to inflict a severe retribution on the enemy. He met the whole party in a tumultuous flight—it was a bitter moment for that great man: to have risked himself, his country, his immortality, with such dastards; it was the most cruel agony of his life. For once, he ceased to be Washington. He galloped through the crowd; threw himself in their rear; reigned his horse towards the enemy; commanded, entreated, threatened; it was all in vain—he even attempted to cut down the cowards, and snapped his pistols at them. They were not to be stayed for a minute: their flight became still more shamefully precipitate at the sudden appearance of a small body of their pursuers, not exceeding sixty or seventy. In this hour of self abandonment, Washington would have been lost, but for the violence of his officers—they seized the bridle of his horse and gave him a different direction, as he was advancing towards the enemy.

The ships in the North and East rivers, during this transaction, were throwing their grape shot and langrage quite across the island. The Hessians having landed, began their march, but some delay was caused in their junction by their seizing a number of persons, whom they found concealed in a barn, that had been placed there for guards. This mistake was soon explained, and the British having landed their whole force, they directed their march towards Kingsbridge. The retreating Americans who had fled in such disorder from Kipp's Bay, never halted for an instant, until they encountered Colonel Glover, who was then hastening to their support. This gave them some confidence; they halted, formed and paraded on the high grounds in their front. At this moment the enemy again appeared on the next eminence, with a force then estimated at eight thousand. The Americans exhibited uncommon fire; they wished to give battle immediately: for a moment Washington, with the stinging recollection of the scene he had just witnessed fresh upon his heart, was on the point of leading them to the attack; but a moment's consideration changed his purpose. He could not depend upon undisciplined valour—the fever of shame and indignation, for a victory of the cool and steady bravery of well organized veterans.

The Americans encamped on the heights of Haerlem; and the British Generals finding no prospect of immediate battle renewed, repaired to a neighboring mansion for refreshment, where so much time was consumed, that the rear guard of the American army, about three thousand four hundred, under General Putnam, were suffered to escape from New York, unmolested. General Putnam, aware of the danger of taking the main road by which the enemy would approach, directed his march along another on the banks of the North River, continuing along it until it turns abruptly to the right, where it unites

with a narrow way, passing to Bloomingdale. By this route he escaped unperceived.

On the day after the shameful retreat of the forces from Kipp's Bay, a severe skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, with three companies of Hessian Chasseurs, (riflemen) commanded by Brigadier General Leslie, and a detachment of Americans under Lt. Col. Knowlton of Connecticut and Major Leech of Virginia. The Colonel in the heat of the action received a mortal wound, and fell at the head of his men. The Major received three balls through his body. The Americans behaved with admirable coolness and resolution, and fairly beat their adversaries by hard fighting. Their loss, except in their gallant Colonel, was very inconsiderable; about forty were wounded. The loss of the enemy, considering the number engaged, was severe; amounting to nearly one hundred wounded and twenty killed. This little affair had a wonderful effect upon the Americans. These were the very men, who, but the day before had fled so shamefully at the first approach of an enemy. They had feelings, and being determined to redeem their reputation, or perish, offered themselves as volunteers to encounter the enemy."

"New York was taken possession of, immediately after the evacuation, by a brigade of the royal army. They had been there but a few days, when a fire broke out at a place where a party of their sailors had been frolicking, which spread with unexampled fury. The buildings were then chiefly covered with shingles; the weather had been extremely dry for some days; a strong southerly wind prevailed at the time; and it broke out about one o'clock in the morning, at a season when the town was almost empty of its citizens—and the engine sand pumps were chiefly out of order. About one thousand buildings were destroyed, and but for the exertions of the sailors and soldiers with engines from the fleet, the whole city must have been reduced to ashes."

*Action at White Plains.*—The American army being inferior to that of the British in point of numbers, Gen. Washington drew off the main body of his troops from New-York Island, towards White Plains. He was followed by General Howe, who after posting Lord Percy with two brigades of British, and one of Hessian troops, amounting to about five thousand, in the lines near Haerlem, to protect New-York from the garrison at Fort Washington, and a delay of six days already mentioned, at Throgs Neck, advanced to the vicinity of New Rochelle, on the eighteenth of October. On their march they were constantly annoyed by a party of Americans, whom General Lee had posted behind a wall. Their advance was twice repulsed, and the



Americans did not quit their post till the British threw their whole force into solid columns, when they gave their several volleys, and retreated, as they had been ordered. The Americans had a small number killed and about sixty wounded, but the loss of the enemy was much more severe, being unprotected and constantly manœuvring. On the 21st, General Howe moved his right and centre two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, where he received, on the 22d, a large reinforcement of Hessians and Waldeckers, under General Knypshausen.

Owing to the distressing scarcity of wagon and artillery horses in the American army, the removal of their baggage was painful, laborious, and sluggish in the extreme. The few teams that could be obtained were utterly inadequate to the purpose, and the deficiency could only be supplied by the labour of the soldiers, who toiled night and day at the artillery and baggage. During the retreat, General Washington constantly presented a front to the enemy, extending from East Chester nearly to the White Plains, on the Eastern side of the high way. This effectually protected the rear, which was uncommonly encumbered with the sick, cannon, and stores of the army, and prevented what was most to be feared, their being outflanked. The line then presented a chain of small, entrenched and unconnected camps, occupying successively every height and rising ground, from Valentine's Hill about a mile from Kingsbridge, on the right, and extending almost to the White Plains, on the left.

The royal army, enabled by their facilities for transportation, to move with greater freedom and celerity than the Americans, advanced on the 25th of October, and took a strong position with the Bronx in front. The latter immediately made a correspondent movement, broke up their line of detached camps, left a corps for the protection of Kingsbridge, and concentrated their whole strength in the White Plains, behind the entrenchments previously thrown up by their advance. In this position, General Howe having consummated his plan for bringing his cautious advance to a decisive action, advanced against the Americans on the 28th in two columns; his left under General Heisler. Before noon the American advance parties were driven in, and the enemy formed with his right upon the road to Mamaroneck, about a mile from the American centre; and with his left upon the Bronx, about the same distance from the right flank of the American entrenchments.

General M'Dougall, with sixteen hundred men, had been advanced by Washington, to a commanding eminence, separated from the right flank of the Americans by the Bronx, which by its windings, protected him from the left of the Royal force: And General Leslie with the second British Brigade; the Hessian Grenadiers, under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of Hessian infantry were ordered on the twenty-

eighth to dislodge him. With this view, a brigade of the Hessians, under Colonel Rhal, passed the Bronx, and while the other troops assailed General M'Dougall in front, gained a position which enabled them to annoy his flank. The hill, however, was defended against this force and twelve pieces of artillery, for more than an hour, though General M'Dougall was deserted by two thirds of his men; four whole regiments of militia had abandoned him in the commencement of the action, at the approach of a small body of light horse, not exceeding two hundred and fifty.

During this attempt to dislodge General M'Dougall, the American baggage was moved off in full view of the British army; and a scattering fire was continued along the adjoining walls and enclosures. The Americans lost forty-seven killed and seventy wounded, and by a return said to have been found on the field, a common expedient with the Americans at this time, for discovering the superior loss of the British, that of the enemy was said to have been ten officers, including Colonel Leslie, and one hundred and forty-three privates killed and wounded. From the advantage of position, possessed by the Americans, there seems to be nothing unreasonable in allowing so small a proportion.

Soon after this the Hessian grenadiers were moved forward, within reach of the American cannon; with the second British Brigade in their rear, and two Hessian brigades on the left of the second; the eighth and centre maintaining their ground. In this position, the whole royal army lay upon their arms, impatiently waiting for the left to make their attack. But during the night, Washington changed his front; his left kept its post, while his right fell back and occupied a range of hills. In this admirable position, with his works increased and strengthened, he was prepared and wished to receive the enemy. But Sir William Howe was too wary to assail him, and on the twenty-ninth, after an ineffectual attempt to dislodge a small force under Glover, from a hill he had occupied, drew off his army towards Dobb's Ferry, determining, as he said, to defer a general action until a reinforcement, which was hourly expected under Earl Percy, who had been left to watch the garrison at Fort Washington; and the Americans filed off in a north eastern direction.

The American loss during these evolutions and skirmishings was very inconsiderable. A few privates and four officers only were taken by the enemy. At first it was apprehended to be much more severe; but the missing militia were constantly returning to camp after their terror had abated. A few prisoners, and among them a small number of Hessians and Waldeckers, who testified some astonishment when they found they were to be neither tortured nor scalped, when captured by the Americans.

The reinforcement under Lord Percy arrived; and General Howe determined to attack Washington in his trenches. Preparations were made for the evening of the thirty-first, but a heavy

rain delayed the attempt beyond the appointed hour, and it was afterwards postponed, although the day was serene.

A deserter during the same day to the Americans, gave Washington intelligence of this design, and in the course of the following night, he withdrew his troops—totally abandoned his camp, and on the morning of November first, occupied the high grounds in North Castle District, about two miles distant, leaving a strong rear in the woods and on the heights at White Plains. So soon as this was known to the British General, he ordered this corps to be attacked, but again he was prevented from effecting his purpose by a violent rain. The town of White Plains was set on fire by their rear guard, with all the forage near the lines, and entirely consumed. The above measure in the bitterness of party animosity, was charged to the American commander, but it became evident, afterwards, that the burning of the village was wholly owing to the misconduct of Colonel Austin, from Massachusetts.

After these manœuvres, Washington, with part of his army, crossed the North River, and took a position on the Jersey side, near Fort Lee, opposite Fort Washington, leaving seven thousand five hundred men under General Lee, at North Castle.

*Capture of Fort Washington.*—On the 15th of November 1776, the royal army approached Fort Washington, and sent a summons to Colonel Magaw; to which he replied that the post should be defended to the last extremity. Intelligence of this was carried to Washington; he repaired to Fort Lee, and had nearly crossed the North River, for the purpose of aiding in the defence, when he met General Greene and General Putnam returning; they informed him that the troops were in high spirits, and would make a gallant defence—it was late in the evening, he returned. At this time the garrison might have been withdrawn—there was a misgiving in the mind of Washington: but even he did not believe the danger so imminent that a night was to determine the fate of the garrison.

On the following day, November 16th, the royal army advanced against the post in four different points. While the enemy were approaching, Generals Washington, Putnam, Greene, and Colonel Knox, with their Aids, had crossed the river, and were hastening to the fort, when a sudden sense of their imprudence, fortunately induced them to return.

The first attack on the north side was conducted by General Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers. The second, on the eastern side, was made by two battalions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis, with a body of grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment. These two parties crossed Haerlem Creek, in boats, and landed on the American right. The third attack, meant as a feint, was conducted by Lieutenant

Colonel Stirling, with the forty-second. The fourth division was under Lord Percy, with his reinforcements from the south of the island. Each party was supported by a powerful and well served artillery.

The party under General Knyphausen was compelled to pass through a thick wood, where a regiment of riflemen under Col. Rawling were posted. Between these parties an action immediately commenced, which was continued with unexampled spirit until the Hessians had lost a great number of their men.

In the mean time, a body of the British light infantry advanced against a party of Americans, who were posted upon a steep and almost inaccessible eminence, which poured a very destructive fire from behind the rocks and trees; and after suffering severely, drove them from their position, and thus secured the landing of the main body.

Lord Percy carried an advanced work on his side; and Colonel Stirling, with the forty-second, and two battalions of the second brigade, effected a landing on the left of the American lines, forced his way to the summit of a steep hill, took one hundred and seventy prisoners, and then crossed the island. A detachment from the American flying camp, who were stationed upon the lines, abandoned them after a slight resistance, and crowded tumultuously within the fort; into which, also, Colonel Magaw had determined to throw himself, when thus he saw the lines forsaken.

In the mean time, Colonel Rhál, who led the right column of Knyphausen's attack, pushed forward and lodged his troops within one hundred yards of the fort, where he was soon joined by the left column. A summons was then repeated, and the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war; the officers keeping their side arms and baggage.\* The number of men which surrendered was about two thousand; the British loss is stated to be about eight hundred.

*Death of Captain Hale.*—After General Washington, by his retreat, had left the British in complete possession of Long Island, and not knowing what would be their future operations, he

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\* From the position in which Washington was placed, he could distinctly see his soldiers bayoneted, while upon their knees, with their hands uplifted, and even at that hour, great as must have been his anxiety, when the fate of so important a post was at stake, the feelings of the man were as conspicuous as those of the soldier. It is said, he was affected with the butchery even to tears: and General Lee, to whom the fate of the post was sent by express, so far forgot the natural and unbending stateliness of his character, as to burst into the most passionate exclamations, accompanied also with tears. It was indeed a terrible blow. Even on the 19th, he had not recovered his composure; for he wrote thus to Washington on that day—'Oh General, why would you be over-persuaded by men of inferior judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair!' The defence of the post had always appeared impossible to this eccentric man. The moment he was told that it was determined to maintain it, he exclaimed, 'then we are undone!'

applied to Colonel Knowlton, commander of a regiment of light infantry, to devise some means for gaining necessary information of the design of the British in their future movements. Captain Hale nobly offered himself for this hazardous and important service. His amiable, pious, intelligent, and patriotic character, and the sacrifice of his life in the manner in which he made the sacrifice, entitle him to a distinguished rank among the first patriots of the revolution. The particulars of this tragical event, sanctioned by General Hull, who was knowing to them at the time, are related by Miss H. Adams, in her History of New-England.

The retreat of General Washington, left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose General Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who was then a captain in his regiment. This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return, he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost-marshal to execute him the next morning.

The order was accordingly executed in the most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a Bible, for a moment's devotion was not procured, though he requested it. Letters, which on the morning of his execution he wrote to his mother and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason was given by the provost-marshal, 'that the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army, who could die with so much firmness.'

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this as his dying observation, 'that he only lamented he had but one life to lose for his country.'"

*Retreat of Washington through New-Jersey.*—General Wash-

ington was posted at Newark, where his little army had been refreshing themselves, for about a week, without experiencing or anticipating any further molestation, when he was informed that Lord Cornwallis, with a chosen body of troops, was on his track. This was the 28th of November; he marched immediately for Brunswick; and Lord Cornwallis entered Newark the same day. A rapid retreat was now the only hope of Washington. It must open the heart of the country to his enemy, but distressing as was the alternative, he preferred doing this to losing the relics of his army, upon which, as a future rallying point, every thing would depend. Lord Cornwallis had six thousand men, and trod so vigorously upon the heels of Washington, that his van successively entered Newark, Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, as the American rear was leaving each; and finally, at twelve at night, reached the banks of the Delaware, just as the rear of the retreating army had left it. Here it was confidently expected by Lord Cornwallis, that the Americans would lose their baggage and artillery; and, but for the destruction of a bridge over the Raritan (at Brunswick) which delayed their pursuers for some hours, it is extremely probable that his expectations would have been realized. But here, as Lord Cornwallis had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, the pursuit was discontinued; and it is probable too, but for these orders, that the event would have taken place notwithstanding this delay, as the Raritan was fordable at Brunswick at every recess of the tide. Other facts, somewhat unaccountable at such a season were these. The Americans did not leave Princeton till the enemy were within three miles of it, and the two British columns, which first reached Princeton at four o'clock in the afternoon, actually slept there, and consumed seventeen hours, within twelve miles of Trenton, while Washington was crossing the Delaware at that place. Sir William Howe, in a despatch of the 20th of December, declared that his first design was only to get possession of East New Jersey, and Washington certainly conducted at this time, as if he not only knew this design, but was confident that it would not be departed from; for after advancing his main body to Trenton and leaving Lord Stirling with about twelve hundred, as a covering party; he afterwards reinforced his Lordship with the whole militia that arrived, and privately returned himself to Princeton. Perhaps he also knew, that Lord Cornwallis had been ordered not to advance beyond Brunswick. Except on this supposition, the fact of halting so long at Princeton, is inexplicable; and the conduct of the enemy still more so, while Washington was on his way to Trenton. From Brunswick, Lord Cornwallis had despatched an express to General Howe, assuring him that then was the time to conclude the war; that, if vigorously

pursued, Washington must lose his stores and artillery before he could cross the Delaware. General Howe replied that he would join him immediately ; but he did not arrive till the sixth of December. At Brunswick, on the first, Washington had hoped to make a stand, but was again disappointed in his militia. Had they supported him with spirit, he could have prevented the enemy from passing the Hackensack. On the very day that he left that village, the time of service for the Jersey and Maryland brigades expired, and both of them abandoned him. Under the pressure of this discouragement, Washington wrote to Lee to hasten his march, or his arrival might be too late.

On the eighth, Lord Howe had arrived at the shores of the Delaware in his pursuit, with the intention of pushing a strong body across the river. Early in the morning, he halted with his rear division, within six miles of Trenton. The artillery were prepared to cover his landing, and the troops kept in readiness for day light. At the place chosen, about two miles below Corlyl's ferry, it was only twenty-eight rods to a ridge of sand, on the Pennsylvania side, on which a body was to be landed, and thence it was proposed to march up to Corlyl's ferry and take possession of the boats collected there by the Americans, and left under a guard of only ten men. With the boats thus obtained, the main body would have been passed over immediately. In the vicinity of the place, at which the attempt was to be made by the first party, there was a large flour boat, capable of bearing one hundred men, concealed beneath a bank. This had been overlooked, when Washington ordered the boats to be removed ; but was providentially discovered, and brought off, in season to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it.

The fate of America, for a season, in all probability depended upon that incident. The very day before Washington crossed the Delaware, a return of his forces was made to Congress ; which made it only thirty-three hundred ; and when he crossed, he had but two thousand two hundred ; from these, such constant and rapid deductions had been made, that in two days, he was reduced to less than seventeen hundred ; and by his own letter of the twenty-fourth of December, to between fourteen and fifteen hundred, hourly diminishing.

Why Washington was not pursued when the shores of the Delaware afforded such an abundance of materials for the construction of rafts and pontoons, is one of those events which baffles all speculation, if it be not attributed to positive orders ; but why those orders were given, still remains to be explained. Washington himself, declared in a despatch, written after he reached the Pennsylvania bank, that nothing could have saved him, but the infatuation of the enemy. The city of Philadelphia was only two days easy march from Trenton : a greater number of men than Washington commanded could have been advanced, and what part of the British fleet and transports were wanted, could have passed up to the city in one week, without es-

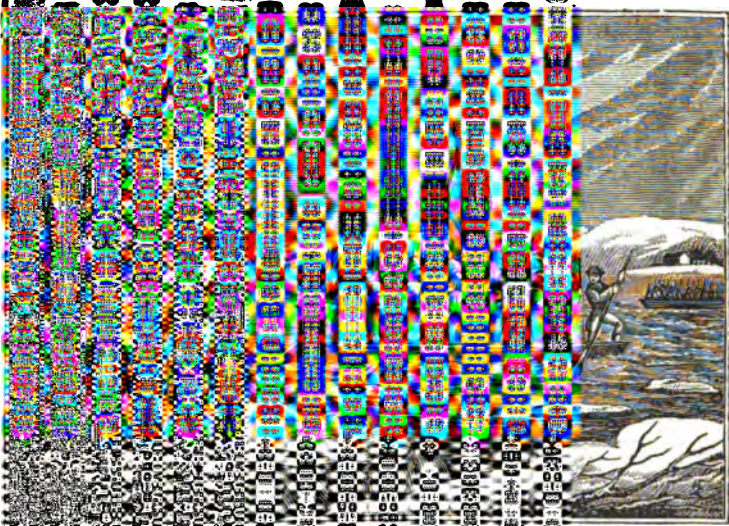
countering any obstruction ; for at that time, the Fort on Mud Island was not built, the chevaux-de-frize nor chain prepared ; nor had they fire rafts in any place

This retreat through the Jerseys, was one uninterrupted series of discouragement to the American people. It had been commenced, immediately after the loss of Fort Washington, and a fine garrison ; and a large quantity of military stores, abandoned at Fort Lee. In a few days, the whole flying camp disappeared. This was followed by the disappearance of whole regiments, whose periods of service had also expired. Even the reinforcements, which had been sent from the Northern department, silently dissolved on the march, and General St. Clair, the commander, appeared in the camp of Washington, with only a few officers, for his relief. Every man had abandoned him. Even the few troops, under the command of Washington, were nearly useless from their wretched deficiency in necessaries. They were the garrison of Fort Lee, hurried away with such precipitation, as to leave their blankets and cooking utensils. He had no cavalry, except one troop, miserably mounted ; and no artillery : yet under all these circumstances of distress and ill fortune, with his little band, a part of whom were literally barefooted, Washington had the address to consume nineteen days, in marching ninety miles before his conquerors, and then to give time for the militia to collect for his succour. As these—the last hope of their country—fled before their pursuers, scarcely a man had the courage to strengthen them ; while numbers were flocking to the royal standard, at every step of its progress. Appearance is every thing with the multitude. A gallant, well disciplined army, well officered, and well provided with all the furniture of war, with their banners, and horns and trumpets, were indeed a formidable trial to the constancy of the multitude ; and all this, when contrasted with a feeble band of disorderly, tattered and emaciated wretches, who were flying from the haunts of men, like a troop of malefactors, caught abroad in open day light. So powerful was the effect of this contrast, that it operated, not only on the lower classes, but on the opulent and distinguished. Some of the leading men of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were terrified into submission by this pageantry.

*“ Capture of the Hessians at Trenton.*—Washington had observed that general Howe, either to procure more commodious quarters for his troops in this rigorous season, or to impede the Americans in recruiting, or finally because he believed the war at an end, and his enemy no longer in a condition to act, had too far extended the wings of his army, which occupied the entire province of New Jersey and the left bank of the Delaware, from Trenton down to Burlington. Colonel Ralle, a Hessian officer of great merit, was cantoned in the first of these places, with his brigade of infantry and a detachment of English dragoons, the whole constituting a corps of fourteen or fifteen hundred men. Bordentown, a few miles below, was occupied by colonel Donop, with another brigade of Hessians ; and still lower down, within twenty miles of Philadelphia, was stationed another corps of Hessians and English. Knowing the extreme weakness of their enemy, and holding him as it were degraded by his recent defeats, they kept a negligent guard. The rest of the army was lodged in places more distant, and principally at Princeton, at New Brunswick, and at Amboy. Washington having attentively considered the extent of the enemy’s quarters, conceived the hope of surprising the corps that were nearest to the river, and too remote from the others to be succored in season. In order to make his attack with more order and effect, he divided



his army which consisted almost entirely in the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, into three corps, the first and most considerable of which was to pass the Delaware at Mackenky's ferry, about nine miles above Trenton. The commander-in-chief, accompanied by generals Sullivan and Greene, had reserved to himself the conduct of this corps, to which a few pieces of artillery were attached. It was destined to attack Trenton. The second division, under the command of general Irwin, was directed to cross at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the village of this name, and having reached the left bank, to seize without loss of time, the bridge over the little river Assumpink, in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy when he should be dislodged from Trenton by the division under Washington. Finally, the third corps, commanded by general Cadwallader, was ordered to pass the river at Bristol, and proceed to take post at Burlington. The night of Christmas was appointed for the expedition. The dispositions being made according to the plan above mentioned, the Americans proceeded with admirable order and silence towards the Delaware. The chiefs exhorted their soldiers to be firm and valiant, to wash out the stains of Long Island, of New York, and of New Jersey; they represented to them the necessity, the glory, and the brilliant fruits of victory; they incessantly reminded them that this night was about to decide the fate of their country. An extreme ardor manifested itself throughout the ranks. The three columns arrived in the dusk of evening at the bank of the river. Washington had hoped that the passage of the troops, and transportation of the artillery, might have been effectuated before midnight, so as to have time to reach the destined points by break of day, and to surprise the enemy at Trenton. But the cold was so intense, and the river so obstructed with floating ice, that it was impossible to cross and to land the artillery earlier than four in the morning. All the troops having at length gained the left bank, the first corps was parted into two divisions, one of which, turning to the right, marched towards Trenton, by the road which runs along the river; the other, guided by Washington in person, took the upper or Pennington road. The distance, by their route, being nearly equal, it was hoped that the two columns might arrive at the same time. It was enjoined them to engage in combat without any delay, and after having driven in the outposts, to fall immediately upon the main body of the enemy, at Trenton, without giving him time to recover from his surprise. They exerted all their efforts to arrive before day; but a thick fog, and a mist mingled with sleet, which rendered the road slippery, retarded their march. The two divisions, however, reached Trenton at 8 o'clock. Notwithstanding so many obstacles, and the hour already late, the Hessians of colonel Ralle, had no suspicion of their approach.



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the river, as to render the passage absolutely impracticable. This part of the Hessians, therefore, had the facility of retiring in safety to Bordentown. General Cadwallader was not more fortunate in the attempt he made to cross lower down, and to take post at Burlington, pursuant to the plan of attack. When a part of his infantry had reached the left bank, it was found impossible to advance with the artillery; unable, therefore, to act with any effect, and finding himself in a perilous situation, he repassed to the right bank of the Delaware. Thus the design of the commander-in-chief was accomplished only in part; but the event demonstrated, that if the rigorous cold of this night had not prevented its entire execution, all the royal troops that were stationed in the vicinity of the river, would have been surrounded and taken. The loss of the Hessians, in killed and wounded, amounted only to thirty or forty, but the number of prisoners was at first upwards of nine hundred, and even exceeded a thousand, when all those were collected who had concealed themselves in the houses. After having obtained this success, Washington paused; not willing to lose by imprudence the advantages he owed to the wisdom of his measures. His forces were not sufficient to cope with those which the English generals could have assembled in a few hours. A strong corps of light infantry was quartered at Princeton, a town only a few miles distant from Trenton; to this might easily have been joined the brigade of Donop, and other battalions that were cantoned in the neighboring places. The Americans consequently evacuated Trenton, and passed over to the right bank of the river, with their prisoners, and the trophies of their victory. Their generals resolved to make the most of it, in order to revive the courage and confidence of the dispirited people. They caused the captive Hessians to defile, with a sort of triumphal pomp, through the streets of Philadelphia, followed by their arms and banners. And yet such was the terror inspired by the very name of these Germans, that even at the moment in which they traversed the city as vanquished and prisoners, many of the inhabitants suspected it was only a stratagem of their own leaders to animate them; so impossible it seemed to them that warriors from Germany should have been overcome by American soldiers. The English appeared to them far less formidable, because they knew them. Man is naturally disposed to fear most those objects of which he has the least knowledge; the uncouth language, the novel manners, and even the dress of the German soldiers, inspired a certain dread. But when they were satisfied that the spectacle they beheld was not an illusion, words cannot describe their exultation at so unexpected a success; having at first rated the Hessians far above the English, they now held them as much below. And, in effect, this affair of Trenton had so changed

the face of things, that the public mind was rapidly elevated from despondency to an extreme confidence. *Botta's Revolution.*

*Victory at Princeton.*—After the capture of the Hessians the army of Washington was so much increased, that he thought himself in a situation to attempt an expedition upon the frontiers of New Jersey. He accordingly passed the Delaware, and concentrated his troops at Trenton.

"On the 2d of January 1777, lord Cornwallis marched with the vanguard towards Trenton, where he arrived about four in the morning. The rear guard was posted at Maidenhead, a village situated half way between Princeton and Trenton; other regiments were on the march from New Brunswick, to reinforce the principal army. Washington, finding the enemy in such force, and so near, retired behind the river of Trenton, also called the Assumpink, where he set about intrenching himself, having first secured the bridge. The English attempted the passage at various points, but every where without success; all the fords being diligently guarded. A cannonade was engaged, which produced little effect, though it lasted until night; the Americans stood firm in their entrenchments. Cornwallis waited for re-inforcements, intending to advance to the assault the day following; but his adversary was not disposed to put so much at stake. On the other hand, to re-pass the Delaware, then more than ever obstructed with floating ice, in the presence of a formidable enemy, was too perilous an operation to be attempted without temerity. Washington therefore found himself anew in a very critical position; but it was then that he embraced a resolution remarkable for its intrepidity. Reflecting that he was advanced too far to be able to retreat without manifest danger, he determined to abandon all at once the banks of the Delaware, and to carry the war into the very heart of New Jersey. He considered that Cornwallis, in all probability, would apprehend being cut off from the province of New York, and fearing besides for the magazines at New Brunswick, which were abundantly stocked for the service of the whole British army, would himself also retire from the river; and thus the city of Philadelphia would be preserved, a great part of New Jersey recovered, and defensive war changed into offensive; advantages which could not but animate the inhabitants with new courage. If the English general persisted in his design, he passed the river, indeed without obstacle, and became master of Philadelphia. But whatever were to be the effects of this disastrous event, it was better to abandon Philadelphia, and preserve the army entire than to lose at the same time both the one and the other. This plan having been approved in a council of war, composed of all the generals of the army, dispositions were immediately commenced for carrying it promptly into effect. The baggage was sent down to Burlington; and at one o'clock in the morning, the enemy appearing perfectly tranquil, the Americans rekindled the fires of their camp, and leaving guards at the bridge and fords, with orders to continue the usual rounds and patrols, they defiled with equal promptitude and si-

lence. Taking the road of Allentown, which is the longest, in order to avoid the Assumpink, and the encounter of the enemy at Maidenhead, they proceeded towards Princeton. Three English regiments had lodged there this same night; two of them, at break of day, had renewed their march for Maidenhead. The Americans suddenly appeared and charged them with great impetuosity. But the English defended themselves so vigorously, that the American militia faced about and retired in disorder. General Mercer, in attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. Washington seeing the rout of the vanguard, and perfectly aware that the loss of the day would involve the total ruin of his army, immediately advanced at the head of his select corps, composed of the conquerors of Trenton, and restored the battle. The two English regiments, overwhelmed by the number and fury of the assailants, were separated, the one from the other, and found themselves in the most perilous position. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded one of them, after having intrepidly sustained the attack for some moments, made a violent effort, and opening his way with the bayonet through the ranks of the enemy, retired in safety to Maidenhead. The other, which formed the rear guard, finding itself, after a vigorous struggle, unable to follow the first, returned by the way of Hillsborough to New Brunswick. The third, which was found still at Princeton, retreated also, after a light conflict, with great precipitation to Brunswick. About one hundred of the English were killed in this affair, and upwards of three hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans in slain, was nearly equal; but of this number was general Mercer, an able and experienced officer of the province of Virginia. He was universally regretted, but especially by Washington, who bore him great esteem and affection.

After the combat, the Americans occupied Princeton. At break of day, lord Cornwallis having perceived that the Americans had deserted their camp of Trenton, and soon penetrating what was their design, abandoned in like manner his own, and marched with all expedition towards Brunswick, fearing lest the baggage and munitions he had accumulated there, should fall into the hands of the enemy. He arrived at Princeton almost at the same time with the American rear guard. Washington found himself again in imminent danger. His soldiers fell with sleep, having taken no repose for the two preceding days; hunger tormented them, and they were almost naked in this rigorous season. The enemy who pursued them, besides the advantage of number, had every thing in abundance. Thus situated, far from the hope of continuing to act offensively, it was much for him if he could retire without loss, to a place of security; wherefore, departing abruptly from Princeton, he moved with rapidity towards the upper and mountainous parts of New Jersey. To retard the enemy, he destroyed the bridges over the Millstone river, which runs between Princeton and Brunswick. Having afterwards passed the Rariton, a more considerable river, he proceeded to occupy Pluckemin, where his troops refreshed themselves, after so many toils and sufferings. But soon finding that his army was too feeble, and also

that it was daily diminished by maladies and desertion, he resolved to encamp higher up, and in a place of more security. After necessity had constrained him to make trial of fortune by adventurous feats, he was disposed to become again the master of his movements, and take counsel of prudence alone. He retired, accordingly, to Morristown, in upper Jersey. Cornwallis, despairing of being able to continue the pursuit with success, directed his march to New Brunswick, where he found general Matthews, who, in the violence of his terror, had commenced the removal of the baggage and warlike stores. But Washington, having received the few fresh battalions of infantry, and his little army being recovered from their fatigues, soon entered the field anew, and scoured the whole country as far as the Rariton. He even crossed this river, and penetrating into the county of Essex, made himself master of Newark, of Elizabethtown, and, finally, of Woodbridge; so that he commanded the entire coast of New Jersey, in front of Staten Island. He so judiciously selected his positions, and fortified them so formidably, that the royalists shrunk from all attempt to dislodge him from any of them. Thus the British army, after having overrun victoriously the whole of New Jersey, quite to the Delaware, and caused even the city of Philadelphia to tremble for its safety, found itself now restricted to the two only posts of New Brunswick and Amboy, which, moreover, could have no communication with New York, except by sea. Thus by an army almost reduced to extremity, Philadelphia was saved, Pennsylvania protected, New Jersey nearly recovered, and a victorious and powerful enemy laid under the necessity of quitting all thoughts of acting offensively, in order to defend himself.—*Botta's Revolution.*

*Retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga.*—One of the principal objects of the British in the campaign of 1777, was to open a communication between New York and Canada, and separate New England from the other states. The plan of operations consisted of two parts: General Burgoyne with the main body of the army from Canada, was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and effect a junction at Albany with the royal army from New York. A detachment of British soldiers, and a large body of Indians under Col. St. Leger, with a regiment from New York, under Sir John Johnson, were to ascend the St. Lawrence, to Lake Ontario, and penetrate Albany by the way of Mohawk river. On the 20th of June, General Burgoyne, with an army of above seven thousand men, with a large body of Indians, after having finished the business of speeches and proclamations, advanced to more formidable operations.

"On the 30th, he advanced with his army to Crown Point; whence he proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. In a few days his works were so far advanced, as to threaten a complete inclosure of the continental army; and general St. Clair, the commanding officer of the Americans, with the unanimous approbation of a council of general officers,

abandoned the place. The evacuation was effected with such secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores, embarked in two hundred batteaux, and dispatched up the river to Skenesborough under convoy of five armed gallies, was saved. A brigade of gun-boats however gave chase to the gallies; and, coming up with them near Skenesborough Falls, engaged and captured some of the largest of them, and obliged the Americans to set the others on fire, together with a considerable number of their batteaux. The rear guard of the American army, commanded by colonel Warner, amounting to more than one thousand men, taking the Castleton road to Skenesborough, was overtaken and attacked at Hubberton by general Frazer with eight hundred and fifty fighting men. The Americans made a gallant resistance; but, on the arrival of general Reidesel with his division of Germans, they were compelled to give way in all directions. Colonel Francis, a very valuable officer, fell in the action; several other American officers, and above two hundred men, were killed; and about the same number taken prisoners. Nearly six hundred are supposed to have been wounded; many of whom must have died in the woods. The enemy stated their own loss at thirty-five killed, and one hundred and forty-four wounded.\* General St. Clair, after a distressing march of seven days, joined general Schuyler at Fort Edward. General Burgoyne, having with incredible labour and fatigue conducted his army through the wilderness from Skenesborough, reached Fort Edward, on Hudson river, on the 30th of July. As he approached that place, general Schuyler, whose forces, even since the junction of St. Clair, did not exceed four thousand four hundred men, retired over the Hudson to Saratoga."

• *Battle of Bennington.*—The progress of Burgoyne thoroughly alarmed the American states, it being well known that the American forces under General Schuyler were not sufficient to prevent the capture of Albany, whenever it was reached by the enemy. Instead of thinking of submission, the Americans met this alarming crisis with firmness and resolution, and great exertions were made to reinforce the army. General Lincoln was directed to raise and take the command of the New England militia. Gen. Arnold and Col. Morgan with his riflemen were detached to the northern army, and congress elected Gen. Gates as commander.

"While the American army was thus assuming a more respectable appearance, general Burgoyne was making very slow advances towards Albany. From the twenty-eighth of July to the fifteenth of August, the British army was continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, provisions, and ammunition from fort George, to the first navigable part of Hudson's river; a distance of not more than eighteen miles. The labor was excessive, the Europeans were but

\* Stedman says, the loss of the British did not exceed 20 officers, and about 120 men, killed and wounded

little acquainted with the methods of performing it to advantage, and the effect was in no degree equivalent to the expense of labor and time. With all the efforts that Burgoyne could make, encumbered with his artillery and baggage, his labors were inadequate to the purpose of supplying the army with provisions for its daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. And after his utmost exertions for fifteen days, there were not above four days provisions in the store, nor above ten batteaux in Hudson's river.

In such circumstances the British general found that it would be impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions by the way of fort George, and determined to replenish his own magazines at the expense of those of the Americans. Having received information that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, and guarded only by the militia, he formed the design of surprising that place; and was made to believe that as soon as a detachment of the royal army should appear in that quarter, it would receive effectual assistance from a large body of loyalists, who only waited for the appearance of a support, and would in that event come forward and aid the royal cause. Full of these expectations, he detached colonel Baum, a German officer, with a select body of troops, to surprise the place. His force consisted of about five hundred regular troops, some Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operations, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of the detachment, the royal army moved along the east bank of Hudson's river, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having at the same time thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Baum if it should be found necessary, lieutenant colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry and chassieurs, were posted at Battenkill.

General Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent lieutenant colonel Greg, on August the 13th, with a party of two hundred men to stop their progress. Towards night he was informed by express that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing towards Bennington. On this intelligence, Stark drew together his brigade, and the militia that were at hand, and sent on to Manchester to colonel Warner, to bring on his regiment; he sent expresses at the same time to the neighboring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the fourteenth he marched with his troops, and at the distance of seven miles he met Greg on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark drew up his troops in order of battle; but the enemy coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Baum perceived the Americans were too strong to be attacked with his present force, and sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation, and to have Breyman march immediately to support him. In the mean time small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. The



ground the Americans had taken, was unfavorable for a general action, and Stark retreated about a mile and encamped. A council of war was held, and it was agreed to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make an attack upon their front. The next day the weather was rainy, and though it prevented a general action, there were frequent skirmishings in small parties, which proved favorable and encouraging to the Americans.

On August the sixteenth, in the morning, Stark was joined by colonel Symonds and a body of militia from Berkshire, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baum in the mean time had entrenched, on an advantageous piece of ground near St. Koicks mills, on a branch of Hoosic river; and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Colonel Nichols was detached with two hundred men to the rear of his left, colonel Herrick, with three hundred men to the rear of his right; both were to join and then make the attack. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred more were ordered on the right, and one hundred were advanced towards the front to draw the attention of the enemy that way. About three o'clock in the afternoon the troops had taken their situation, and were ready to commence the action. While Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians were alarmed at the prospect, and pushed off between the two corps; but received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed, and two wounded. Nichols then began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions; those in the front immediately advanced, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Baum made a brave defence; and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their colonel, charged with their swords, but they were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides, their two pieces of cannon were taken, colonel Baum himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and all his men, except a few who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners. Having completed the business by taking the whole party, the militia began to disperse, and look out for plunder. But in a few minutes Stark received information that a large reinforcement was on their march, and within two miles of him. Fortunately at that moment colonel Warner came up with his regiment from Manchester. This brave and experienced officer commanded a regiment of continental troops, which had been raised in Vermont. Mortified that he had not been in the former engagement, he instantly led on his men against Breymen, and began the second engagement. Stark collected the militia as soon as possible and pushed on to his assistance. The action

became general, and the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset, when the Germans were forced to give way, and were pursued till dark. They left their two field pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the evening and night, to which alone their escape was ascribed.\*

In these actions the Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition wagons, and about seven hundred prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements. Two hundred and seven men were found dead upon the spot, the numbers of wounded were unknown. The loss of the Americans was but small; thirty were slain, and about forty were wounded."

*Siege of Fort Stanwix.*—The following account of the defeat of General Herkimer, and the singular circumstances respecting the siege of Fort Stanwix, [fort Schuyler, at the head of Mohawk river,] is from the 3d vol. of Dwight's Travels.

"When General Burgoyne commenced his expedition against the United States, he directed Lieutenant-Colonel Baron St. Leger, with a body of troops, consisting of British, American Refugees, Germans, Canadians, and savages, from 1,500 to 1,800 in number, to proceed from Montreal by Lake Ontario, to attack Fort Stanwix, and after taking that fortress to march down the Mohawk to Albany. St. Leger arrived at Fort Stanwix in the beginning of August, 1777. On the news of his approach, General Herkimer, a respectable descendant from one of the German Colonists, commanding the militia of Tryon County, assembled a body of 800 men, and marched to the relief of the garrison. He arrived within six or seven miles of the fort on the 6th of August. From his scouts he had learned, that a body of troops under Sir John Johnson, had been despatched by St. Leger to intercept him. He determined, therefore, to halt, and choose his own ground for the contest; but his troops, who were raw militia, without any discipline, insisted peremptorily on being led immediately to the attack. The General, after remonstrating with his usual good sense, and telling them roundly, that ardent as they were, they would run at the first appearance of the enemy; and after finding all his efforts vain, resolved to lead them on, although he clearly foresaw the disastrous issue. Accordingly he coolly moved on to what he considered as almost certain destruction. At the very first fire of the enemy a large proportion of these violent men fled instantly; leaving their gallant chief, with the remainder of his troops, to sustain the attack. These men fought like lions; and came to close quarters with the enemy. The

\* Gordon. Vol. II. p. 243. Starke's letter to Gen. Gates of August 22, 1777.

firing in a great measure ceased ; and the conflict was carried on with knives, bayonets, and the butt-ends of muskets. A considerable number of the Indians were killed. The survivors were, of course, thrown into a rage. The mode of fighting was novel ; and the native jealousy of these people started into their minds a suspicion, that their own friends had leagued with the Americans to destroy them. Under its influence they fired upon the British, as well as upon the Americans. The confusion became intense, and universal. Such of Herkimer's troops as had neither fled, nor fallen, had posted themselves behind logs, and trees ; and animated by their brave chief, wounded as he was, fought the enemy with such resolution, that Sir John finally retreated, and left them the ground. Herkimer soon after died of his wounds.

The Americans lost in this battle 160 men killed ; and about 240 wounded and prisoners. The loss of the British will never be known. The Indians left more than 70 of their number on the field. Among the slain and wounded Americans, were several persons of reputation and influence."

"Sir John had scarcely left the ground, to attack General Herkimer, when Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, at the head of a party from the garrison, made a sortie upon the enemy ; and falling upon their camp unexpectedly, drove them out of it almost without resistance. A part fled into the woods, and a part crossed the river : while Willet plundered the camp of muskets, blankets, and various other articles of considerable value. A party of the British attempted to intercept his return to the fort ; but with a field-piece, and a vigorous musketry, he attacked them with so much spirit, that they fled a second time. Several of the enemy fell ; and among them some of the principal Indian warriors. Willet did not lose a man.

At the return of Sir John, St. Leger summoned Gansevoort in a verbal message, sufficiently pompous and menacing, to surrender. Gansevoort refused to receive the message. The next day he received a written demand of the same nature, exhibiting in magnificent terms the successes of General Burgoyne ; the strength of the army under St. Leger ; the terrible determination of the savages ; his own efforts to soften their ferocity ; and the hopeless situation of the garrison. The laboured strain of this declamation, instead of producing its intended effect, only persuaded the Americans that St. Leger's affairs were not very prosperous, nor his army very formidable. Gansevoort therefore answered, that, being entrusted by his country with the command of the fort, he would defend it to the last, without any regard to consequences.

The situation of the garrison, though not desperate, was far from being promising. Relief was necessary for them ; and

Gansevoort determined to advertise, if possible, the country, below, of his circumstances. Colonel Willet, and Lieutenant Stockwell, readily undertook this hazardous mission. An Indian enemy is in a sense always at hand, and always awake. He is always roaming from place to place ; the chance of escaping him scarcely exists ; and the consequence of falling into his hands is almost of course fatal. These gallant men, however, crept on their hands and knees through the enemy's encampment ; and, skilled in the mysteries of Indian war, and adopting the various arts of concealment, which men, accustomed to forests, acquire with extreme accuracy, they arrived safely at the German Flats ; whence without danger they pursued their course directly to the head quarters of General Schuyler, then commanding the American army at Stillwater.

Schuyler immediately dispatched a body of troops to the relief of Gansevoort, under the command of General Arnold ; who volunteered his services on the occasion. As he was advancing up the Mohawk, a Mr. Schuyler, who was a nephew of General Herkimer, (but who was a Tory, and accused of being a spy,) was brought into his camp. After examining the circumstances, Arnold wisely determined to avail himself of this man's services. He proposed to him a scheme for alarming the enemy, particularly the savages, by announcing to them, that a formidable army was in full march to destroy them ; and assured him of his life, and estate, if he would enter heartily into the interests of his country, and faithfully execute a mission of this nature. Schuyler, who was shrewd, resolute, versed in the language and manners of the Indians, acquainted with some of their chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified for this business, readily engaged in the enterprise. His father, and brother, were in the mean time kept as hostages for his fidelity ; and were both to be hung without mercy, if he proved unfaithful. One of the Sachems of the Six Nations, a friend of the Americans, and of Schuyler also, was let into the secret ; and cheerfully embarked in the design. Having settled the whole plan of proceeding with this warriour, Schuyler made the best of his way to Fort Stanwix.

Colonel St. Leger had pushed the siege with considerable activity ; and advanced his works within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort. Upon Schuyler's arrival he told a lamentable story of his being taken by Arnold, his escape from hanging, and the danger which he had encountered in his flight. He shewed them also several holes, made by shot in his coat, while he was attempting to escape ; and declared at the same time that a formidable army of Americans was marching with full speed, to attack the British. The Americans, he observed, had no hostility toward the Indians ; and wished not to injure them ; but added, that, if

the Indians continued with the British, they must unquestionably take their share of whatever calamities might befall their allies."

"The Indians being thus thoroughly alarmed, the chief, who was in the secret, arrived, as if by mere accident; and in the mysterious manner of that people began to insinuate to his countrymen, that a bird had brought him intelligence, of great moment. This hint set their curiosity afloat; and excited a series of anxious enquiries. To these he replied in hints, and suggestions, concerning warriors in great numbers, marching with the utmost rapidity, and already far advanced. In the mean time he had despatched two or three young warriors in search of intelligence. These scouts, who had received their cue, returned, as they had been directed, at different times; and confirmed, as if by mere accident also, all that had been said by Schuyler, and the Sachem. The Indians, already disgusted with the service, which they found a mere contrast to the promises of the British commanders, and their own expectations, and sore with the loss, which they had sustained in the battle with General Herkimer, were now so completely alarmed, that they determined upon an immediate retreat.

St. Leger, who had unwisely boasted, at first of his own strength, and his future exploits against the Americans, and spoken contemptuously of their weakness and cowardice; who had predicted in magnificent terms the certainty of their flight; and the ease, and safety, with which the Indians would reach Albany; had disgusted these people thoroughly by failing altogether of the fulfillment of his promises. In vain, therefore, did he exert all his address, when he saw them preparing to quit the ground, to dissuade them from their purpose. He exhorted, argued and promised, in vain. They reproached him with having violated all his former promises; and pronounced him undeserving of any further confidence. He attempted to get them drunk; but they refused to drink. When he found all his efforts fruitless, and saw that they were determined to go, he urged them to move in the rear of his army; but they charged him with a design to sacrifice them for his own safety. In a mixture of rage and despair, he broke up his encampment with such haste, that he left his tents, cannon, and stores, to the besieged. The flight of this army (for it could not be called a retreat,) was through a deep forest, and the spongy soil which I have elsewhere described. The road was imperfectly made, and encumbered with all the difficulties, incident to new roads on such a surface. The march was, therefore, not a little embarrassed and distressing. The Sachem, who had been partner with Schuyler in the plot, accompanied the flying army. Naturally a wag, and pleased to see the garrison rescued from their danger, he engaged several of his young men to repeat at proper intervals, the cry '*they are coming.*' This unwelcome sound, quickened the march of the fugitives whenever it was heard. The soldiers threw away their packs; and the commanders took care not to be in the rear. Mortified beyond measure by so disastrous an issue of an expedition,

from which they had promised themselves no small reputation and profit, these gentlemen began speedily to accuse each other of folly, and misconduct, in their respective departments, during the enterprise. Accusation begat accusation, and reproach, reproach; until they at length drew their swords upon each other. Several of the Sachems now interfered; and with that native good sense, which is found every where, persuaded them to a reconciliation. After much fatigue, and at least an equal degree of mortification, they finally reached the Oneida Lake; and there, probably, felt themselves for the first time secure from the pursuit of their enemies."

*Defeat and Capture of Burgoyne.* General Burgoyne, notwithstanding the disasters at Bennington, and Fort Stanwix, did not evince any disposition to abandon the object of his expedition. He was obliged, however, to have recourse to the slow and toilsome mode of obtaining supplies from Fort George. Having with great labor collected provisions for thirty days, and thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, he crossed that river on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the flats and heights of Saratoga. Gen. Gates having been joined by the continental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced by strong bodies of militia, left his camp at Halfmoon, advanced towards the enemy and encamped three miles above Saratoga. On the night of the 17th Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, and on the 19th advanced in full force against it. The account of the action which took place, and the subsequent events which followed, are taken from the '*Military Journal*' of Dr. Thacher, a surgeon in the American army, a very interesting work, published by Richardson & Lord, Boston, 1823.

Sept. 23d.—From the officers who were engaged in the battle, I have obtained the following particulars. Our army under the command of General Gates, was stationed in the vicinity of Stillwater, when they advanced towards the enemy and offered them battle. Colonel Morgan's regiment of riflemen, and Major Dearborn's light infantry, being in front, received the first fire about noon, on the 19th instant. General Burgoyne was at the head of his army, and Generals Phillips, Reidesel and Frazer, with their respective commands, were actively engaged. At about three o'clock, both armies being formed in a line of battle, the action became general, and the combatants on both sides evinced that ardor and gallantry which shows a determination to conquer or die. The firing for about three hours was incessant, with continued tremendous roar and blaze, filling the field with carnage and death. Few battles have been more obstinate and unyielding—at one point the British are overpowered; but being reinforced, the Americans are baffled, these, being supported and renewing their efforts regain the advantages; the same ground is occupied alternately, the dead and wounded of both parties are mingled together. The British resort repeatedly to their bayonets without ef-

fect—the Americans resist and foil their attempts. Captain Jones, of the British artillery, had the command of four pieces of cannon, which he conducted with great skill and valor till he fell, and thirty six out of forty eight of his artillery men were killed or wounded: his cannon were repeatedly taken and retaken, but finally remained with the enemy for the want of horses to bring them off. During the engagement, a number of our soldiers placed themselves in the boughs of high trees, in the rear and flanks, and took every opportunity of destroying the British officers by single shot; in one instance, General Burgoyne was the object, but the aid de camp of General Phillips received the ball through his arm, while delivering a message to Burgoyne; the mistake, it is said, was occasioned by having his saddle furnished with rich lace, and was supposed by the marksman, to be the British commander. In the dusk of evening the battle terminated, the British in one quarter silently retreating, the Americans in another give way, and quit the long contested field. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, with the eighth Massachusetts regiment, remained in the field till about eleven o'clock, and was the last who retired. Major Hull commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought with such signal ardor, that more than half of them were killed or wounded. The whole number of Americans engaged in this action, was about two thousand five hundred; the remainder of the army, from its unfavorable situation, took little or no part in the action. The British have suffered a loss, as is supposed, of more than five hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners. On the side of the Americans, sixty four were killed, two hundred and seventeen wounded, and thirty eight missing. Among the killed, are Colonels Adams and Colburn, two valuable officers much regretted. The victory on this important occasion is claimed by the enemy, but the advantages are most decidedly on the side of the Americans; they were the assailants—they held their ground during the day, and at the close retired to their encampment without being pursued. The royal army lay all the ensuing night on their arms at some distance from the field of battle.

24th.—General Lincoln having the command of a body of New England militia, detached Col. Brown with five hundred men to the landing at lake George, about three miles from Ticonderoga, and more than forty miles in the rear of the British army. Two other detachments were also sent towards Mount Independence, Fort Ann and Fort Edward. These expeditions being faithfully executed, were attended with complete success. Colonel Brown had the address to surprise all the outposts in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, and took immediate possession of Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, and a block house, with two hundred batteaux, an armed sloop, and several gun boats, about three hundred prisoners, with their small arms, and released one hundred American prisoners from their confinement.

October 1st.—The situation of the royal army under Burgoyne, is now considered extremely precarious; his march to Albany is deemed absolutely impracticable, and a retreat to Canada must be attended

with insurmountable difficulties and dangers. It is well understood, that he calculates on the co-operation of Sir Henry Clinton, by sending from New York, a force up the North river to endeavor to effect a passage to Albany, or at least, to occasion such alarm, as to draw off a part of General Gates' army from before him. Messengers or persons in the character of spies, are frequently suspected of passing from one British commander to the other. A man, by name Nathan Palmer, was, a few days since, seized in general Putnam's camp, at Peekskill, under suspicious circumstances, and on trial was found to be a lieutenant in the tory new levies, and he was executed as a spy.

4th.—By intelligence from camp, it appears, that Burgoyne has thrown up a line of entrenchments in front of his camp, and is making every possible effort to strengthen his position and prepare for another conflict. The Canadians and his Savage allies being greatly dissatisfied and discouraged, have deserted his standard since the last battle. The advantages obtained over the enemy on this occasion, excites the greatest exultation and rejoicing throughout our army and country.

6th.—An express passed through this city, on his way to General Gates' head quarters, with the information, that a detachment of troops from New York, supposed to be about four thousand, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, and General Vaughan, have undertaken an expedition up the North river. Their object undoubtedly is, to possess themselves of Fort Montgomery, and Fort Clinton, in the high lands, and to make a diversion in favor of Burgoyne. General Putnam was stationed at Peekskill with a small force, but being totally unable to cope with the enemy, has retired to some distance. Should this expedition be crowned with success, it will be in the power of Sir Henry Clinton, to convey his army to this city, and even to our camp at Stillwater, which will place our army between two fires. Should General Gates detach a part of his troops to oppose the march of General Clinton, it will liberate Burgoyne, and he would probably force his way to this city. In either event, the consequences must be exceedingly disastrous to our country. We tremble with apprehensions.

8th.—The anticipated important intelligence has just reached us, that a most severe engagement took place yesterday, between the two armies, at a place between Stillwater and Saratoga, called Bemis' Heights. It is supposed to be the hardest fought battle, and the most honorable to our army, of any since the commencement of hostilities. The enemy was completely repulsed in every quarter, and his defeat was attended with irreparable loss of officers, men, artillery, tents and baggage. Officers and men acquired the highest honor, they fought like heroes, and their loss is very inconsiderable. General Arnold has received a wound in his leg. I am impatient to receive the particular details of this capital event.

9th and 10th.—I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers, a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th instant. The advanced parties of the two armies came in contact, about three o'clock



on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action, and rushed courageously on the British Grenadiers, commanded by Major Ackland; and the furious attack was most firmly resisted. In all parts of the field, the conflict became extremely arduous and obstinate; an unconquerable spirit on each side, disdaining to yield the palm of victory. Death appeared to have lost his terrors; breaches in the ranks were no sooner made than supplied by fresh combatants awaiting a similar fate. At length the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines; these were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier General Learned, and Lieutenant Colonel Brooks, at the head of their respective commands, with such intrepidity, that the works were carried, and their brave commander, Lieutenant Colonel Breyman was slain. The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Colonel Cilley, of General Poor's brigade, having acquitted himself honorably, was seen astride on a brass field piece, exulting in the capture. Major Hull, of the Massachusetts line, was among those who so bravely stormed the enemy's entrenchment and acted a conspicuous part. General Arnold, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with General Gates, was not vested with any command, by which he was exceedingly chagrined and irritated. He entered the field however, and his conduct was marked with intemperate rashness; flourishing his sword and animating the troops, he struck an officer on the head without cause, and gave him a considerable wound. He exposed himself to danger, and with a small party of riflemen, rushed into the rear of the enemy, where he received a ball which fractured his leg, and his horse was killed under him. Nightfall put a stop to our brilliant career, though the victory was most decisive, and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery. Besides Lieutenant Colonel Breyman slain, General Frazer, one of the most valuable officers in the British service, was mortally wounded and survived but a few hours.\* Sir Francis Clark, aid de camp to General Burgoyne, was brought into our camp with a mortal wound, and Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers, was wounded

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\* The death of General Frazer, from Professor Silliman's Travels. "In the action of the 7th October, 1777, Frazer was the soul of the British army, and was just changing the disposition of a part of the troops to repel a strong impression which the Americans had made, and were still making, on the British right, when Morgan called together two or three of his best marksmen, and pointing to Frazer, said, "Do you see that gallant officer, that is General Frazer,—I respect and honor him; but it is necessary he should die." This was enough. Frazer immediately received his mortal wound and was carried off the field."

through both legs, and is our prisoner. Several other officers and about two hundred privates are prisoners in our hands, with nine pieces of cannon and a considerable supply of ammunition, which was much wanted for our troops. The loss on our side is supposed not to exceed thirty killed, and one hundred wounded, in obtaining this signal victory.

11th.—The night after the battle, Burgoyne silently moved from his position, and on the 8th, there was considerable skirmishing through the day, with some loss on both sides. We have to lament the misfortune of Major General Lincoln, who, while reconnoitring the enemy, advanced so near, that a whole volley of musketry was discharged at him, and he received a dangerous wound in his leg. It is reported, that the day after the battle, upwards of one hundred of the enemy's dead were found unburied in the field. General Gates having detached a body of troops to get into the rear of the British army, Burgoyne took the alarm, and resolved to retreat immediately to Saratoga; accordingly in the night of the 9th instant, he silently moved off, leaving in our possession his hospital, containing three hundred sick and wounded, with medicinal stores, and two hundred barrels of flour, &c. It is a fact, both unaccountable and disgraceful, that on their retreat they committed the most wanton devastations, burning and destroying almost every house within their reach; the elegant and valuable country seat of General Schuyler, near Saratoga, did not escape their fury. The situation of the royal army is now extremely deplorable, and there is scarcely a possibility of their final escape. General Gates has so arranged his forces as to cut off their retreat, and is endeavoring to surround them on every quarter. May the Almighty Ruler grant that our efforts may be crowned with still more glorious success.

12th.—The wounded officers and soldiers of our army, and those of the enemy who have fallen into our hands, are crowding into our hospital, and require our constant attention. The last night I watched with the celebrated General Arnold, whose leg was badly fractured by a musket ball while in the engagement with the enemy on the 7th instant. He is very peevish, and impatient under his misfortunes, and required all my attention during the night, but I devoted an hour in writing a letter to a friend in Boston detailing the particulars of the late battle.

In the severe battle of the 7th, General Burgoyne himself, it is now ascertained, had a hair breadth escape, having one bullet pass through his hat and another tore his waistcoat.

We have the most flattering accounts from camp. Our army is now posted within musket shot of the enemy at Saratoga, and are forming a circle round them. Some skirmishing takes place every day, in which we have taken one hundred and twenty prisoners, and have received one hundred and sixty deserters. A party of our men have taken fifty batteaux loaded with provisions, stores, and medicines, among which are one thousand barrels of pork and beef. This

must be to the enemy an irreparable loss, and a blow which must hasten the destruction or surrender of their whole army.

14th.—An express from camp. Burgoyne has this day made proposals to General Gates to enter into a treaty for the surrender of his army. He desires a cessation of arms till the preliminary terms can be settled, to which General Gates has assented. The glorious event is about to be consummated.

15th and 16th.—Burgoyne's message to General Gates by the hands of Major Kingston is as follows.

*October 14th, 1777.*

"After having fought you twice, Lieutenant General Burgoyne has waited some days, in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring to attack him.

"He is apprised of the superiority of your numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state and of war, to spare the lives of brave men on honorable terms: should Major Gen. Gates be inclined to treat on this idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which in any extremity, he, and his army, mean to abide."

A convention was in consequence opened, and two days were spent in a discussion and interchange of articles between the two commanders. It was agreed that the two articles should be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning, the 17th instant, at nine o'clock; and the troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.\*

The substance of the treaty is, that the troops under the command of General Burgoyne shall march out of their camp with the honors of war, and their field artillery, to the place assigned, where their arms and artillery shall be piled at the command of their own officers.

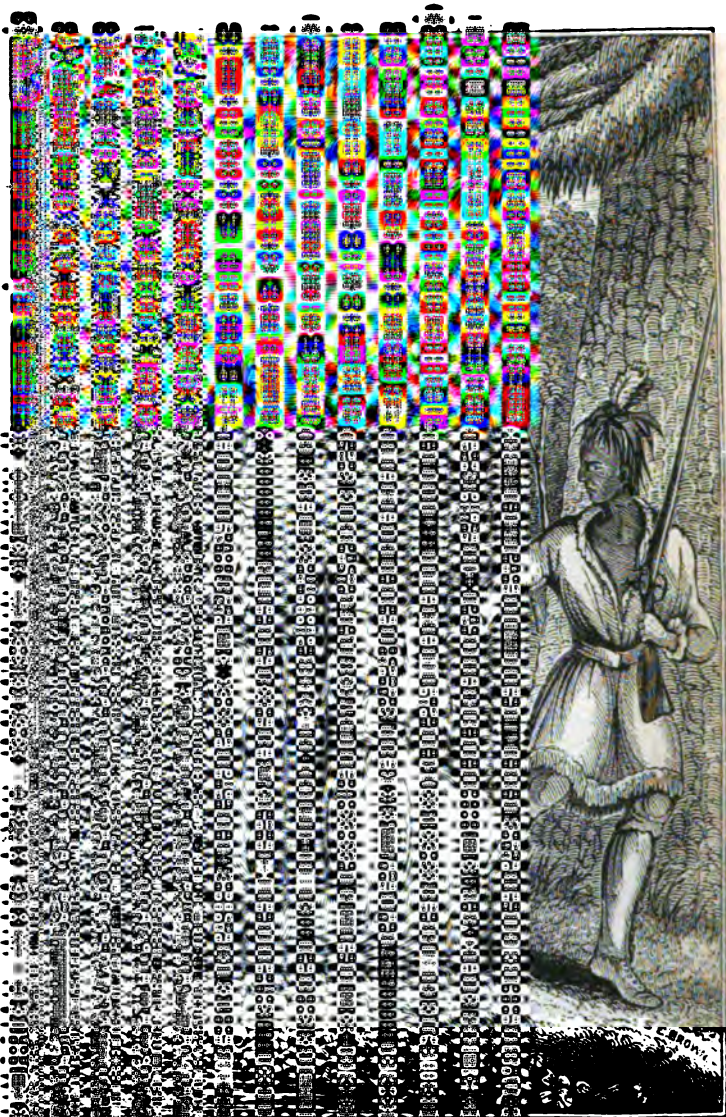
That the troops be allowed to return to England, on condition that they shall not serve again in America during the present war. That the officers be allowed to wear their side arms and be treated according to their rank. That the European troops march immediately for

• The whole number, which surrendered, was		5752
British troops	2442	Sick and wounded left in the British camp when Burgoyne began his retreat } 528
Brunswick and other German troops	2198	
Canadians, Volunteers, &c.	1100	Beside the above, there were killed, wounded, taken, and de- serted, between 6 July and 16th October } 2933
Staff	12	
	5752	

Total 9212

Remembrancer for 1777, p. 477. The whole army of general Gates consisted of 9093 continental troops. The number of the militia fluctuated; but, when the convention was signed, it amounted to 4129. The sick exceeded 2500. The troops under general Burgoyne were to march out of their camp with the honors of war; and a free passage was to be granted them to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest.





...A.  
...lian chiefs were employed  
...lines. Quarreling about  
...carried it to her lover.

Boston, to be in readiness to embark when transports shall be sent for them, and that the Canadians be permitted to return home immediately, on the sole condition of their not arming again against the United States.

18th.—At the appointed hour yesterday morning the Americans marched into the lines of the British to the tune of Yankee Doodle, where they continued till the royal army had marched to the place appointed and deposited their arms according to the treaty."

*Murder of Miss McCrea.*—The murder of this young woman by the Indians belonging to the army of Burgoyne, excited an extraordinary degree of interest and sensibility. It was reported that Gen. Burgoyne encouraged, or, at least, permitted the murder. In indignant terms he denied the charge; and it does not appear that he had the least knowledge of it. Miss McCrea was murdered about one mile north of Fort Edward, on the west side of the highway, at a spring near the foot of a pine tree. The following account is from Mr. Drake's Book of the Indians:

"This young lady was the second daughter of James McCrea, minister of Lamington, New Jersey, who died before the revolution. After his death, she resided with her brother, Col. John McCrea of Albany, who removed in 1773 to the neighborhood of Fort Edward. His house was in what is now Northumberland, on the west side of the Hudson, three miles north of Fort Miller Falls. In July or August, 1777, being on a visit to the family of Mrs. McNeil, near Fort Edward, at the close of the week, she was asked to remain until Monday. On Sunday morning, when the Indians came to the house, she concealed herself in the cellar; but they dragged her out by the hair, and, placing her on a horse, proceeded on the road towards Sandy Hill. They soon met another party of Indians, returning from Argyle, where they had killed the family of Mr. Bains; these Indians disapproved the purpose of taking the captive to the British camp, and one of them struck her with a tomahawk and tore off her scalp. This is the account given by her nephew. The account of Mrs. McNeil is, that her lover, anxious for her safety, employed two Indians, with the promise of a barrel of rum, to bring her to him; and that, in consequence of their dispute for the right of conducting her, one of them murdered her. Gen. Gates, in his letter to Gen. Burgoyne of 2d September, says, 'she was dressed to receive her promised husband.'

"Her brother, on hearing of her fate, sent his family the next day to Albany, and, repairing to the American camp, buried his sister, with one Lieutenant Van Vechten, three miles south of Fort Edward. She was 23 years old, of an amiable and virtuous character, and highly esteemed by all her acquaintance. It is said, and was believed, that she was engaged in marriage to

Captain David Jones, of the British army, a loyalist, who survived her only a few years, and died, as was supposed, of grief for her loss. Her nephew, Colonel James McCrea, lived at Saratoga, in 1823.\*

*Battle of Monmouth.*—"On the alliance of America with France, it was resolved in Great Britain immediately to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. In pursuance of this resolution, the royal army on the eighteenth of June passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey. General Washington, penetrating that design, had previously detached general Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with the Jersey militia in impeding their progress, until he with the main army should fall on their rear. When the American army, in pursuit of the British, had crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached, under colonel Morgan, to re-enforce general Maxwell. The British army having passed up the east side of the Delaware to Allentown, its future course was dubious. Two roads led to New York; one, by the way of Sandy Hook, the other, by South Amboy, opposite to Staten Island and the North river. The last of these roads was the shortest; but in that direction the Rariton intervened; and the passage of that river in the face of an enemy, superior in number, might be difficult and dangerous; especially as intelligence had been received, that General Gates with another army was advancing from the northward to form a junction with General Washington near that river. The British general concluded to take the road which led to Sandy Hook; and when his army had proceeded some miles along this road, it encamped on the 27th of June on some high grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold court house, in the county of Monmouth.

General Washington, hearing that the enemy were on their march in that direction, dispatched brigadier General Wayne with a farther detachment of one thousand select men to strengthen the forces on the lines. The continental troops, now in front of the main army, amounting to at least four thousand men, general Washington sent the marquis de la Fayette to take command of them, and soon after, general Lee, who with two additional brigades joined the front division, which was now under his direction, and encamped at Englishtown, a few miles in the rear of the British army. A corps of six hundred men, under colonel Morgan, hovered on the right flank of the British; and eight hundred of the Jersey militia, under general Dickenson, were on the left. General Washington with the main body of the American army encamped about three miles in the rear of his ad-

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\* President Allen's American Biographical Dictionary, 574.

vanced corps. Such was the disposition of the two armies on the evening of the 27th of June. About twelve miles in front of the British, the high grounds about Middletown would afford them a position, which would effectually secure them from the impression of the Americans. General Washington determined to risk an attack on their rear before they should reach those heights. General Lee was accordingly ordered to make his dispositions for the attack, and to keep his troops constantly lying on their arms, that he might take advantage of the first movement of the enemy; and corresponding orders were given to the rear division of the army.

The British army marched in two divisions, the van commanded by general Knyphausen, and the rear, by lord Cornwallis; but the British commander in chief, judging that the design of the American general was to make an attempt on his baggage, put it under the care of general Knyphausen, that the rear division, consisting of the flower of the British army, might be ready to act with vigour. This arrangement being made, general Knyphausen's division marched, in pursuance of orders, at break of day on the 28th of June; but the other division, under Lord Cornwallis, attended by the commander in chief, did not move until eight, that it might not press too closely on the baggage. General Lee appeared on the heights of Freehold soon after the British had left them; and, following them into the plain, made dispositions for intercepting their covering party in the rear. While he was advancing to the front of a wood, adjoining the plain, to reconnoitre the enemy in person, Sir Henry Clinton was marching back his whole rear division, to attack the Americans. Lee now perceived that he had mistaken the force, which formed the rear of the British; but he still proposed to engage on that ground. While both armies were preparing for action, general Scott, mistaking an oblique march of an American column for a retreat, left his position, and repassed a morass in his rear. Lee, dissatisfied with the ground, on which the army was drawn up, did not correct the error of Scott; but directed the whole detachment to repass the morass, and regain the heights. During this retrograde movement, the rear of the army, which at the first firing had thrown off their packs, and advanced rapidly to the support of the front, approached the scene of action; and general Washington, riding forward, met the advanced corps, to his extreme mortification and astonishment, retiring before the enemy. On coming up to Lee, he spoke to him in terms of disapprobation; but, though warm, he lost not for a moment that self command, than which at so critical a moment nothing could be more essential to the command of others. He instantly ordered colonel Stewart's and lieutenant colonel Ramsay's battalions to



form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the enemy; and, having directed general Lee to take proper measures with the residue of his force to stop the British columns on that ground, he rode back himself to arrange the rear division of the army. His orders were executed with firmness. A sharp conflict ensued; and though Lee was forced from the ground on which he had been placed, he brought off his troops in good order, and was then directed to form in the rear of English-town. The check, which he had given to the enemy, procured time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the American army, in the wood and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. Lord Sterling, who commanded the left wing, placed some cannon on the eminence, which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. The enemy attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, but were there repelled by Gen. Greene, who had taken a very advantageous position. Wayne, advancing with a body of troops, kept up so severe and well directed a fire, that the British soon gave way, and took the position, which Lee had before occupied, where the action commenced immediately after the arrival of general Washington. Here the British line was formed on very strong ground. Both flanks were secured by the woods and morasses, and their front could only be reached through a narrow pass. The day had been intensely hot;\* and the troops were greatly fatigued; yet general Washington resolved to renew the engagement. He ordered brigadier general Poor with his own and the Carolina brigade to gain the enemy's right flank, while Woodford with his brigade should turn their left. The artillery was ordered at the same time to advance and play on them in front. These orders were promptly obeyed; but there were so many impediments to be overcome, that before the attack could be commenced, it was nearly dark. It was therefore thought most advisable to postpone farther operations until morning; and the troops lay on their arms in the field of battle. Gen. Washington, who had been exceedingly active through the day, and entirely regardless of personal danger, reposed himself at night in his cloak, under a tree, in the midst of his soldiers. His intention of renewing the battle was frustrated. The British troops marched away about midnight in such profound silence, that the most advanced posts, and those very near, knew nothing of their departure until morning. The American general, declining all farther pursuit of the royal army, detached some light troops to attend

\* An effect of heat and fatigue, "unparalleled in the history of the New World," was experienced on this memorable day. Fifty-nine British soldiers perished without a wound; and several of the American soldiers died through the same cause.

its motions, and drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. Sir Henry Clinton, after remaining a few days on the high grounds of Middletown, proceeded to Sandy Hook, whence he passed his army over to New York.

The loss of the Americans in this battle was eight officers and sixty-one privates killed, and about one hundred and sixty wounded. Among the slain, and much regretted, were lieutenant colonel Bonner, of Pennsylvania, and major Dickenson, of Virginia. The loss of the British army, in killed, wounded, and missing, is stated to have been three hundred and fifty-eight men, including officers. Among their slain was lieutenant colonel Monckton, who was greatly and deservedly lamented.\* About one hundred were taken prisoners; and nearly one thousand soldiers, principally foreigners, many of whom had married in Philadelphia, deserted the British standard during the march."—*Holmes' Annals*.

*Action on Rhode Island.*—On the 25th of July, 1778, Count d'Estaing, with a French fleet, arrived off Newport, on Rhode Island. A plan was concerted between him and General Sullivan to attack the British army, about 6000 in number, under Gen. Pigot, at Newport, by sea and land. A landing was effected on Rhode Island by Gen. Sullivan, who, with an army of about 10,000 men, advanced to between two and three miles of Newport, and commenced the siege. A British fleet, under lord Howe, appearing off the place, Count d'Estaing left the siege, and sailed to fight him.

The two admirals, after manœuvring two days without coming to action, were separated by a violent storm; and it was not until the evening of the nineteenth, that the French fleet made its re-appearance. Instead however of the expected co-operation in the siege, the fleet sailed on the twenty-second for Boston, to refit, to the extreme dissatisfaction of the Americans. The militia, thus deserted by their allies, on whose co-operation much dependence had been placed, went home in great numbers; and general Sullivan soon found it expedient to raise the siege. Having on the twenty-sixth sent off his heavy artillery and baggage, he on the night of the twenty-eighth retreated from his lines. Very early the next morning, the enemy, discovering his retreat, followed in two columns; and the whole day was spent in skirmishes between them and covering parties of the Americans, which successively fell back on the main body of the army.

\* He had been selected that day for a hazardous service, on account of the cool intrepidity of his character. That gallant officer, who had frequently encountered death in all its forms, had been "more than once grievously wounded, both in the last war and the present; and, after a hair-breadth escape of a recovery, when left among the dead on the field, was only reserved to be killed on this day, at the head of the second battalion of grenadiers."—*Annual Register*. "During the confusion of a dangerous cannonade, the battalion, in parties, relieved each other, until with their bayonets they perfected a grave, where they laid the body of their commanding officer, placing over it with their hands the earth they had moistened with their tears.—*Sedman*.

This was now encamped in a commanding situation at the north end of the island, and, on the approach of the enemy, it drew up in order of battle. The British formed on Quaker Hill, about a mile in front of the American line. Sullivan's rear was covered by strong works, and in his front, somewhat to the right, was a redoubt. A cannonade and skirmishes having mutually been kept up until about two o'clock, the enemy, then advancing in force, attempted to turn the right flank, and made demonstrations of an intention to dislodge general Greene, who commanded the right wing, from the redoubt in its front. Four regular regiments were moved forward to meet them, and Gen. Greene advanced with two other regiments of continental troops, and Lovell's brigade of militia. Colonel Livingston's regiment was ordered to reinforce the right. After a very sharp and obstinate engagement of half an hour, the enemy gave way, and retreated to Quaker Hill. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded, and missing, was two hundred and eleven. The loss of the enemy is stated to have been two hundred and sixty.

The day after the action, a cannonade was kept up by both armies. A letter was now received by general Sullivan from general Washington, giving him information, that a large body of troops had sailed from New York, most probably for the relief of Newport; and a resolution was immediately formed to evacuate the island. This movement was effected with great judgment, and entire success. Gen. Sullivan, while making every show of an intention to resist the enemy and maintain his ground, passed his army over, by the way of Bristol and Howland ferries, on the night of the thirtieth, to the continent. It was a remarkable escape. The delay of a single day would probably have been fatal to the Americans; for Sir Henry Clinton, who had been delayed by adverse winds, arrived with a reinforcement of four thousand men the very next day, when a retreat, it is presumed, would have been impracticable."—*Holmes' Annals*.

*Invasion of New Haven, Fairfield and Norwalk.*—Early in July, 1779, a marauding expedition was undertaken by the British at New York against the southern margin of Connecticut. A land force of 2600, under Governor Tryon and General Garth, accompanied by a fleet of about forty sail, under Sir George Collier, anchored off New Haven on the morning of the 5th of July. Their landing was preceded by an address to the inhabitants of Connecticut, signed by both commanders, in which they invited them to return to their *allegiance*, and in the usual style of royal proclamations, promised protection to the persons and property of all who should remain peaceably at home, with the exception of those who held public offices. They set the lenity which the people had experienced from his majesty's officers, and the ungrateful return made for it, adding "that the existence of a single house on their coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their *ingratitude*—that they who lay so much in the British power afforded a striking

monument of their mercy, and ought therefore to set the first example of returning to their allegiance." Gen. Garth, with 1000 troops, landed on the west side of the harbor, and though somewhat harassed by the few militia which could be collected, entered New Haven about one in the afternoon, from which time till eight in the evening, the town was ravaged and plundered, and brutal outrages committed on the inhabitants. Governor Tryon landed on the east side of the harbor, and effected a junction with Garth's division in New Haven. The enemy evacuated the town next morning after burning a few store houses. The fleet left the harbor the succeeding night, and the morning after anchored off Fairfield. The following is Dr. Dwight's account of the destruction of this place.

"On the 7th July, 1779, Gov. Tryon, with the army which I have already mentioned, sailed from New Haven to Fairfield; and the next morning disembarked upon the beach. A few militia assembled to oppose them; and in a desultory, scattered manner, fought with great intrepidity through most of the day. They killed some; took several prisoners; and wounded more. But the expedition was so sudden, and unexpected, that the efforts, made in this manner, were necessarily fruitless. The town was plundered; a great part of the houses, together with the two churches, the court house, jail, and school houses, were burnt. The barns had been just filled with wheat, and other produce. The inhabitants, therefore, were turned out into the world, almost literally destitute.

Mrs. Burr, the wife of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., High Sheriff of the county, resolved to continue in the mansion house of the family, and make an attempt to save it from the conflagration. The house stood at a sufficient distance from other buildings. Mrs. Burr was adorned with all the qualities, which give distinction to her sex; possessed of fine accomplishments, and a dignity of character, scarcely rivalled; and probably had never known what it was to be treated with disrespect, or even with inattention. She made a personal application to Gov. Tryon, in terms, which from a lady of her high respectability, could hardly have failed of a satisfactory answer from any person, who claimed the title of a gentleman. The answer which she actually received, was, however, rude, and brutal; and spoke the want not only of politeness and humanity, but even of vulgar civility. The house was sentenced to the flames, and was speedily set on fire. An attempt was made, in the mean time, by some of the soldiery, to rob her of a valuable watch, with rich furniture: for Gov. Tryon refused to protect her, as well as to preserve the house. The watch had been already conveyed out of their reach; but the house, filled with every thing, which contributes either to comfort or elegance of living, was laid in ashes.

While the town was in flames, a thunder storm overspread the heavens, just as night came on. The conflagration of near two hundred houses illumined the earth, the skirts of the clouds, and the waves of the Sound, with an union of gloom and grandeur, at once inexpressibly awful and magnificent. The sky speedily was hung with the deepest darkness, wherever the clouds were not tinged by the melancholy lustre of the flames. At intervals, the lightnings blazed with a livid and terrible splendor. The thunder rolled above. Beneath, the roaring of the fires filled up the intervals, with a deep and hollow sound, which seemed to be the protracted murmur of the thunder, reverberated from one end of heaven to the other. Add to this convulsion of the elements, and these dreadful effects of vindictive and wanton devastation, the trembling of the earth; the sharp sound of muskets, occasionally discharged; the groans, here and there, of the wounded and dying; and the shouts of triumph: then place before your eyes crowds of the miserable sufferers, mingled with bodies of the militia, and from the neighboring hills taking a farewell prospect of their property and their dwellings, their happiness and their hopes: and you will form a just but imperfect picture of the burning of Fairfield. It needed no great effort of ima-

gnation to believe, that the final day had arrived; and that, amid this funeral darkness, the morning would speedily dawn, to which no night would ever succeed; the graves yield up their inhabitants; and the trial commence, at which was to be finally settled the destiny of man.

The apology made by Gov. Tryon for this Indian effort, was conveyed in the following sentence: 'The village was burnt, to resent the fire of the rebels from their houses, and to mask our retreat.' This declaration unequivocally proves, that the rebels were troublesome to their invaders; and at the same time is to be considered as the best apology which they were able to make. But it contains a palpable falsehood, intended to justify conduct, which admits of no excuse, and rejects with disdain every attempt at palliation. Why did this body of men land at Fairfield at all? There were here no stores; no fortress; no enemy; except such as were to be found in every village throughout the United States. It was undoubtedly the original object of the expedition to set fire to this town, and the apology was created after the work was done. It was perfectly unnecessary to mask the retreat. The townsmen, and the little collection of farmers, assembled to aid them, had no power to disturb it. No British officer, no British soldier, would confess, that in these circumstances he felt the least anxiety concerning any molestation from such opposers.

The injuries done to a single family, were an immense overbalance for all the good acquired in this expedition, either by the individuals engaged in it, or the nation in whose service they acted. Particularly that highly respectable pair, Mr. and Mrs. Burr, in the loss of the mansion of their ancestors, and the treasures, with which it had been stored through a long succession of years; where the elegant hospitality, which had reigned in it; the refined enjoyments, which were daily felt, and daily distributed to the friend, and the stranger; the works of charity, which were there multiplied; and the rational piety, which was at once the animating, and controlling principle; diffused a brilliancy, marked even by the passing eye; lost more than the whole British nation gained by this devastation.

The next morning the troops re-embarked; and, proceeding to Green's Farms, set fire to the church, and consumed it, together with fifteen dwelling houses, eleven barns, and several stores. Among the houses was that of the Rev. Dr. Ripley; the respectable clergyman of this parish. Here, also, was another proof, that burning was the object of the expedition. The number of dwelling houses consumed in Fairfield was eighty-five; of barns, fifty-five; of stores, fifteen; of shops, fifteen, &c."

Tryon and Garth, after the destruction of Fairfield, crossed the sound to Huntington bay, where they remained till the 11th of July. They then sailed over to Norwalk, and landed in the night on the plain which lies east of the river. On learning this fact the inhabitants generally fled. Tryon arrived at the village about eight o'clock the next morning, after some opposition made by Capt. Betts with about fifty continental soldiers. Tryon, seated in a chair on a hillock in the village, gave orders for its conflagration. Eighty dwelling houses, two churches, eighty-seven barns, seventeen shops, four mills and five vessels were consumed. Six houses only were left undestroyed.

*Expeditions against the Indians in New York.*—"Although the projected invasion of Canada was laid aside, yet several expeditions were undertaken, and carried into effect against the Indians, who infested the border settlements of New York and Pennsylvania. General Schuyler was very instrumental in planning and getting these expeditions on foot. The first expedition undertaken was against the Onondagas, who dwelt on the creek of that name, about fifty-three miles westerly of Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk. On the nineteenth

of April, 1779, Colonel Goose Van Schaick, assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Willet and Major Cochran, with between five and six hundred men, commenced his march from the latter place, for Onondaga, which he reached on the morning of the third day. The Onondagas not apprehending a visit at this season of the year, were entirely unprepared, and fled to the woods on the first appearance of the Americans; twelve, however, were killed, and thirty-four made prisoners in the flight. Colonel Van Schaick caused all their houses and provisions to be burned, and the whole settlement, extending eight miles along the creek, to be laid waste. This expedition was performed in less than six days, and without the loss of a man.

Fort Schuyler, from whence the troops set out, stood hard by where the bridge over the Mohawk at Utica now is. At that time the whole space between the Mohawk River and Onondaga Creek, was covered with woods, and was without roads or civilized inhabitants.

The second expedition was principally against the Senecas, who had their main stations on the banks of Genesee River. The chief command of the troops employed in this enterprise, was conferred on General Sullivan. Tioga Point, in Pennsylvania, at the union of the Susquehannah and Tioga Rivers, was selected for the rendezvous of the troops. General Sullivan, with three thousand men, set out from Easton on the Delaware, and advanced up the Susquehannah to that place, where he was joined by General Clinton, with upwards of one thousand. The latter had marched from the Mohawk to the outlet of Otsego Lake, by the way of Cherry Valley, whence he descended the Susquehannah. The water in the river, when he reached the outlet, was too low to float his boats. To remedy this, General Clinton caused a dam to be constructed across the outlet, for the purpose of preventing the escape of the waters, till they should rise sufficiently high for his boats. This lake being fed by springs, soon rose to the height he wished, when he ordered the dam to be cut down. This raised the river so much, that he was enabled to descend in boats to Oquago, whence to Tioga Point—there is always sufficient depth of water. After the junction of these troops, General Sullivan resumed his march for the country of the Senecas. His route lay up Tioga and Conhocton Rivers. The Indians on hearing of the expedition projected against them, behaved with firmness. They collected their forces, and took a strong position on Tioga River, near Newtown, in the county of Tioga, and fortified it with skill and judgment. General Sullivan attacked them in this position. They stood a cannonade for more than two hours, during which time several assaults were repelled; but they were forced to give way and abandon their works. This engagement was decisive; after the trenches were forced, the Indians fled without attempting to rally. They were pursued by the Americans for several miles, but with little or no effect. The consternation occasioned among them by this defeat, was so great, that they gave up all ideas of further resistance. As the Americans advanced into their settlements, the Indians retired before them, without throwing any obstructions in their way. The Generals Sul-

livan and Clinton penetrated into the midst of the Seneca's country, and spread desolation on every side. Eighteen towns and villages, besides hamlets and detached habitations were burned. All their fields of corn, and whatever else was in a state of cultivation, were destroyed. Nothing in the form of a house was left standing, nor was any Indian to be seen. The lands, about the towns and villages, were under tolerably good cultivation, and some of their houses were large and commodious. The quantity of corn destroyed was immense. Orchards, in which were several hundred fruit trees, were cut down. Their gardens, which contained great quantities of useful vegetables, were laid waste. The troops were so inflamed with indignation against the Indians, on account of the many murders they had committed on the back settlers, that they were determined not to leave the country. before the work of destruction was fully consummated.

The Indians, by this expedition, being made to feel in a very sensible manner, those calamities they had been accustomed to inflict on others, became cautious and timid. The sufferings which they had to endure, and the dread of a repetition of them, in case they should again provoke the indignation of the American people, damped the ardour of their warriors considerably, and rendered their inroads less frequent and destructive,"—*Macaulay's Hist. N. Y. 3. vol. .*

*Storming of Stony Point.*—"While the coasts of Connecticut were desolated by the British arms, the Americans undertook an expedition which afforded a brilliant demonstration that, so far from wanting courage, they could vie in boldness with the most celebrated nations of Europe. The English had labored with such industry in finishing the works at Stony Point, that they had already reduced that rock to the condition of a real fortress. They had furnished it with a numerous and selected garrison. The stores were abundant, the defensive preparations formidable. These considerations could not, however, discourage Washington, who, on hearing of the capture of Stony Point and Verplanks, had advanced and taken post on the brow of the mountains of the Hudson, from forming the design to surprise and attempt both these forts by assault. He charged General Wayne with the attack of Stony Point, and General Howe with that of Verplanks. He provided the first with a strong detachment of the most enterprising and veteran infantry in all his army.

These troops set out on their expedition the fifteenth of July, and having accomplished their march over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, arrived about eight o'clock in the evening within a mile of Stony Point. General Wayne then halted to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. The English, however, did not perceive him. He formed his corps in two columns, and put himself at the head of the right. It was

preceded by a vanguard of an hundred and fifty picked men, commanded by that brave and adventurous Frenchman, Lieutenant-colonel Fleury. This vanguard was itself guided by a forlorn hope of about twenty, led by Lieutenant Gibbon. The column on the left, conducted by Major Stewart, had a similar vanguard, also preceded by a forlorn hope under Lieutenant Knox. These forlorn hopes, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abattis and other obstructions, which lay in the way of the succeeding troops. General Wayne directed both columns to march in order and silence, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. At midnight they arrived under the walls of the fort. The two columns attacked upon the flanks, while Major Murfee engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. An unexpected obstacle presented itself; the deep morass which covered the works was at this time overflowed by the tide. The English opened a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot; but neither the inundated morass, nor a double palisade, nor the bastioned ramparts, nor the storm of fire that was poured from them, could arrest the impetuosity of the Americans; they opened their way with the bayonet, prostrated whatever opposed them, scaled the fort, and the two columns met in the centre of the works. General Wayne received a contusion in the head, by a musket ball, as he passed the last abattis; Colonel Fleury struck with his own hand the royal standard that waved upon the walls. Of the forlorn hope of Gibbon, seventeen out of the twenty perished in the attack. The English lost upwards of six hundred men in killed and prisoners. The conquerors abstained from pillage and from all discord; a conduct the more worthy to be commended, as they had still present in mind the ravages and butcheries which their enemies had so recently committed in Carolina, in Connecticut, and in Virginia. Humanity imparted new effulgence to the victory which valor had obtained.

The attack meditated against Verplanks, had not the same success; General Howe encountered insurmountable obstacles.—Meanwhile, Clinton had received intelligence of the capture of Stony Point; and, being resolved not to suffer the enemy to establish themselves in that position, he instantly detached a corps of cavalry and light infantry to dislodge them. But Washington had attained his object; he had originally intended nothing more than to make himself master of the artillery and stores of the fort, to destroy the works, and to bring off the garrison. It was absolutely inconsistent with his views to risk a general action, in order to favor a partial operation; he therefore ordered General Wayne to retire; which he did successfully, after having dismantled the fortifications. This expedition, so glorious for the American arms, was celebrated with rapture in all parts of the



acknowledgments to Stewart, Gibbon, and with a medal of gold, Fleury and Stewart willing to leave the nation, they ordered an Point, and the value Rev.



in the summer of 1780, into New Jersey, rav- mitting numerous atro- the body of the enemy, Elizabethtown Point ere much harassed in s under his command. according to their usual sbyterian church, par- the village. But the ated during this incur- wife of the Rev. Mr.

advancing, retired with old, an infant of eight d on all sides by stone emy. She prudently transient shot, should

the ground be disputed near that place, which happened not to be the case; neither was there any firing from either party near the house, until the fatal moment, when Mrs. Caldwell, unsuspecting of any immediate danger, sitting on the bed with her little child by the hand, and her nurse, with her infant babe by her side, was instantly shot dead by an unfeeling British soldier, who had come round to an unguarded part of the house, with an evident design to perpetrate the horrid deed. Many circumstances attending this inhuman murder, evince, not only that it was committed by the enemy with design, but also, that it was by the permission, if not by the command, of Gen. Knipphausen, in order to intimidate the populace to relinquish their cause. A circumstance which aggravated this piece of cruelty, was, that when the British officers were made acquainted with the murder, they did not interfere to prevent the corpse from being stripped and burnt, but left it half the day, stripped in part, to be tumbled about by the rude soldiery; and at last it was removed from the house, before it was burned, by the aid of those who were not of the army.

Mrs. Caldwell was an amiable woman, of a sweet and even temper, discreet, prudent, benevolent, soft and engaging in her manners, and beloved by all her acquaintance. She left nine promising children.

Mrs. Caldwell's death was soon followed by that of her husband. In November, 1781, Mr. Caldwell hearing of the arrival of a young lady at Elizabethtown Point, whose family in New York had been peculiarly kind to the American prisoners, rode down to escort her up to town. Having received her into his chair, the sentinel observing a little bundle tied in the lady's handkerchief, said it must be seized for the state. Mr. Caldwell immediately left the chair, saying he would deliver it to the commanding officer, who was then present; and as he stepped forward with this view, another soldier impertinently told him to stop, which he immediately did; the soldier notwithstanding, without further provocation, shot him dead on the spot. Such was the untimely fate of Mr. Caldwell. His public discourses were sensible, animated and persuasive; his manner of delivery agreeable and pathetic. He was a very warm patriot, and greatly distinguished himself in supporting the cause of his suffering country. As a husband he was kind; as a citizen, given to hospitality. The villain who murdered him was seized and executed."\*

*Treason of Arnold, and Capture of Andre.*—General Arnold, after his wounds had disabled him in a measure from active public service, was appointed to a command in Philadelphia; where

his oppressive and overbearing measures had provoked a severe inquiry into his conduct, and he was sentenced by Congress to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. Arnold was exasperated, and he determined on revenge. Being connected by a royalist family in Philadelphia by marriage, he found means to open a negotiation with the British commanders at New York, for the purpose of betraying his country. Pretending an aversion to a residence in Philadelphia, he solicited and obtained from Washington the command of the important post of West Point, about fifty miles northward of New York, on the Hudson river. 'Arnold was brave and hardy, but dissipated and profligate. Extravagant in his expenses, he had involved himself in debts, and having had, on frequent occasions, the administration of considerable sums of the public money, his accounts were so unsatisfactory, that he was liable to an impeachment on charges of peculation. Much had been forgiven indeed, and more would probably have been forgiven to his valor and military skill. But alarmed by the terrors of a guilty conscience, he determined to get rid of pecuniary responsibility, by betraying his country; and accordingly entered into a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, in which he engaged, when a proper opportunity should present itself, to make such a disposition of his troops as would enable the British to make themselves masters of West Point. The details of this negotiation were conducted by Major Andre, the adjutant-general of the British army, with whom Arnold carried on a clandestine correspondence, addressing him under the name of Anderson, whilst he himself assumed that of Gustavus. To facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war was moved near to West Point, and the absence of Washington seemed to present a fit opportunity for the final arrangement of their plans, on the night of the 21st of September, Arnold sent a boat to the Vulture to bring Andre on shore. That officer landed in his uniform between the posts of the two armies, and was met by Arnold, with whom he held a conference which lasted till day-break, when it was too late for him to return to the vessel. In this extremity, unfortunately for himself, he allowed Arnold to conduct him within one of the American posts, where he lay concealed till the next night. In the meantime, the Vulture having been incommoded by an American battery, had moved lower down the river, and the boatmen now refused to convey the stranger on board her. Being cut off from this way of escape, Andre was advised to make for New York by land; and, for this purpose, he was furnished with a disguise, and a passport signed by Arnold, designating him as John Anderson. He had advanced in safety near the British lines, when he was stopped by three New York militia-men. Instead of showing his pass to these scouts, he asked them 'where they be-

longed to? and, on their answering 'to below,' meaning to New York, with singular want of judgment, he stated that he was a British officer, and begged them to let him proceed without delay. The men, now throwing off the mask, seized him; and, notwithstanding his offers of a considerable bribe if they would release him, they proceeded to search him, and found upon his person, papers which gave fatal evidence of his own culpability and of Arnold's treachery. These papers were in Arnold's hand-writing, and contained exact and detailed returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences of West Point and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and the copy of a state of matters that had, on the sixth of the month, been laid before a council of war by the commander in chief."

"Andre offered his captors a purse of gold, and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision, and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New York. They nobly rejected the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to lieutenant colonel Jameson, the commandant of the scouting parties. The captors of Andre were John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert. Congress resolved, that each of them should receive annually, during life, two hundred dollars. Andre, when delivered to Col. Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to general Arnold to acquaint him of Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. General Arnold, on the receipt of this letter, abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Colonel Jameson forwarded to Washington all the papers found on Andre, together with a letter, giving an account of the affair; but the express, by taking a different route from that of the General, who was returning from a conference at Hartford, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of Andre's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he had not come under the description of a *spy*.

Washington referred the whole case of Major Andre to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and that he did not come on shore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts:—"That Major Andre came on shore on the night of the twenty-first of September, in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the Ameri-

can lines, and under a feigned name, and disguised habit, passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit, when on his way to New York; and when taken several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy.' From these facts they farther reported it as their opinion, 'That Major Andre ought to be considered as a *spy*, and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer *death*.'

*Execution of Andre.*—The following particular account relative to the execution of the unfortunate Andre, is from Dr. Thatcher's Military Journal. "October 1st, 1780.—I went this afternoon to witness the execution of Major Andre,—a large concourse of people had assembled, the gallows was erected, and the grave and coffin prepared to receive the remains of this celebrated but unfortunate officer; but a flag of truce arrived with a communication from Sir Henry Clinton, making another and further proposals for the release of Major Andre, in consequence of which the execution was postponed till to-morrow, at twelve o'clock.

The flag which came out this morning brought General Robertson, Andrew Eliot, and William Smith, Esqrs. for the purpose of pleading for the release of Major Andre, the royal army being in the greatest affliction on the occasion. The two latter gentlemen, not being military officers, were not permitted to land, but General Greene was appointed by his excellency to meet General Robertson at Dobb's Ferry, and to receive his communications. He had nothing material to urge, but that Andre had come on shore under the sanction of a flag, and therefore could not be considered as a spy. But this is not true: he came on shore in the night, and had no flag, on business totally incompatible with the nature of a flag. Besides, Andre himself, candidly confessed, on his trial, that he did not consider himself under the sanction of a flag. General Robertson, having failed in his point, requested that the opinion of disinterested persons might be taken, and proposed Generals Knyphausen and Rochambeau as proper persons. After this he had recourse to threats of retaliation on some people in New York and Charleston, but he was told that such conversation could neither be heard nor understood. He next urged the release of Andre on motives of humanity, saying, he wished an intercourse of such civilities as might lessen the horrors of war, and cited instances of General Clinton's merciful disposition, adding that Andre possessed a great share of that gentleman's affection and esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged if he was spared. He offered, that if his earnest wishes were complied with, to engage that any prisoner in their possession, whom General Washington might name, should immediately be set at liberty. But it must be viewed as the height of absurdity that General Robertson should, on this occasion, suffer himself to be the bearer of a letter which the vile traitor had the consummate effrontery to write to General Washington. This insolent letter is filled with threats of retaliation, and the accountability of his Excellency for the torrents of blood that might be spilt

if he should order the execution of Major Andre. It should seem impossible that General Robertson could suppose that such insolence would receive any other treatment than utter contempt.

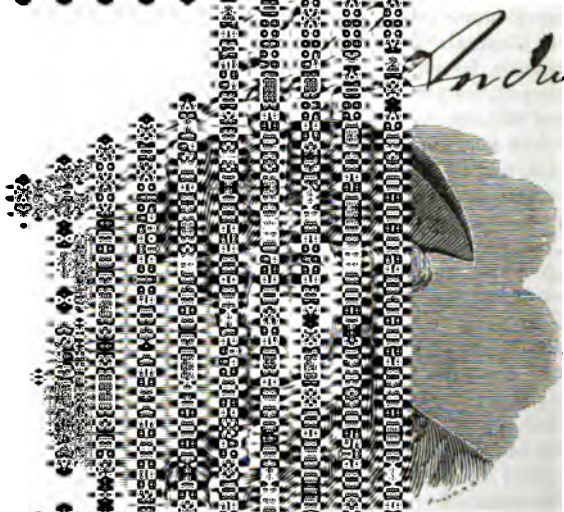
*October 2d.*—Major Andre is no more among the living. I have just witnessed his exit. It was a tragical scene of the deepest interest. During his confinement and trial, he exhibited those proud and elevated sensibilities which designate greatness and dignity of mind. Not a murmur or a sigh ever escaped him, and the civilities and attentions bestowed on him were politely acknowledged. Having left a mother and two sisters in England, he was heard to mention them in terms of the tenderest affection, and in his letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he recommends them to his particular attention.

The principal guard officer, who was constantly in the room with the prisoner, relates that when the hour of his execution was announced to him in the morning, he received it without emotion, and while all present were affected with silent gloom, he retained a firm countenance, with calmness and composure of mind. Observing his servant enter the room in tears, he exclaimed, 'leave me till you can show yourself more manly.' His breakfast being sent to him from the table of General Washington, which had been done every day of his confinement, he partook of it as usual, and having shaved and dressed himself, he placed his hat on the table, and cheerfully said to the guard officers, 'I am ready at any moment, gentlemen, to wait on you.' The fatal hour having arrived, a large detachment of troops was paraded, and an immense concourse of people assembled; almost all our general and field officers, excepting his Excellency and his staff, were present on horseback; melancholy and gloom pervaded all ranks, and the scene was affectingly awful. I was so near during the solemn march to the fatal spot, as to observe every movement, and participate in every emotion which the melancholy scene was calculated to produce. Major Andre walked from the stone house, in which he had been confined, between two of our subaltern officers, arm in arm; the eyes of the immense multitude were fixed on him, who, rising superior to the fears of death, appeared as if conscious of the dignified deportment which he displayed. He betrayed no want of fortitude, but retained a complacent smile on his countenance, and politely bowed to several gentlemen whom he knew, which was respectfully returned. It was his earnest desire to be shot, as being the mode of death most conformable to the feelings of a military man, and he had indulged the hope that his request would be granted. At the moment, therefore, when suddenly he came in view of the gallows, he involuntarily started backward, and made a pause. 'Why this emotion, sir,' said an officer by his side? Instantly recovering his composure, he said, 'I am reconciled to my death, but I detest the mode.' While waiting and standing near the gallows, I observed some degree of trepidation; placing his foot on a stone, and rolling it over, and choking in his throat, as if attempting to swallow. So soon, however, as he perceived that things were in readiness, he stepped quickly into the wagon, and at this moment he appeared to shrink.



[REDACTED]

he said, 'It will be but  
 let two white handker-  
 pinioned his arms, and  
 his hat and stock, ban-  
 which melted the hearts,  
 servant, but of the throng  
 the gallows, he slipped  
 his neck, without the as-  
 Scammel now inform-  
 he desired it ; he raised  
 I pray you to bear me  
 n.' The wagon being  
 ended, and instantly ex-  
 ang.' He was dressed  
 remains were placed in  
 the gallows ; and the  
 s."



[REDACTED]

moving of Andre in the  
 on in 1781, to which is  
 Major Andre at the  
 "He was well made,  
 high, and remarkably  
 enance good and some-  
 rant accomplishments,  
 and possessed the mod-  
 n, and German to an  
 ument was erected by

order of the king, in Westminster Abbey, to his memory. His remains were taken up in 1821, by Mr. Buchanan, British Consul in New York, removed to England and deposited near this monument.

*Burning of New London and Storming of Fort Griswold.*—While the combined French and American armies were advancing to the siege of Yorktown, Gen. Arnold, the traitor, was appointed to conduct an expedition against New London, Conn. The troops employed in this service were landed, on the 6th of September, 1781, on each side of the harbor, in two detachments; one commanded by Lieut. Colonel Eyre, the other by General Arnold.

"About daybreak (says the Connecticut Gazette) on Thursday morning last, 24 sail of the enemy's shipping appeared to the westward of this harbor, which by many were supposed to be a plundering party after stock; alarm guns were immediately fired, but the discharge of cannon in the harbor has become so frequent of late, that they answered little or no purpose. The defenceless state of the fortifications and the town are obvious to our readers; a few of the inhabitants who were equipped, advanced towards the place where the enemy were thought likely to make their landing, and manœuvred on the heights adjacent, until the enemy about 9 o'clock landed in two divisions, and about 800 men each, one of them at Brown's farm near the light-house, the other at Groton Point: the division that landed near the light-house marched up the road keeping up large flanking parties, who were attacked in different places on their march by the inhabitants, who had spirit and resolution to oppose their progress. The main body of the enemy proceeded to the town, and set fire to the stores on the beach, and immediately after to the dwelling houses lying on the Mill Cove. The scattered fire of our little parties, unsupported by our neighbors more distant, galled them so that they soon began to retire, setting fire promiscuously on their way. The fire from the stores communicated to the shipping that lay at the wharves, and a number were burnt; others swung to single fast, and remained unhurt.

At 4 o'clock, they began to quit the town with great precipitation, and were pursued by our brave citizens with the spirit and ardor of veterans, and driven on board their boats. Five of the enemy were killed, and about twenty wounded; among the latter is a Hessian captain, who is a prisoner, as are seven others. We lost four killed and ten or twelve wounded, some mortally. The most valuable part of the town is reduced to ashes, and all the stores. Fort Trumbull, not being tenable on the land side, was evacuated as the enemy advanced, and the few men in it crossed



the river to Fort Griswold, on Groton Hill, which was soon after invested by the division that landed at the point.

The buildings burnt at New London in this expedition by the British troops, were 65 dwelling houses containing 97 families, 31 stores, 18 shops, 20 barns, and 9 public and other buildings, among which were the Court House, Jail and Church—in all 143.

In many instances where houses were situated at a great distance from any stores, and contained nothing but household furniture, they were set on fire, notwithstanding the earnest cries and entreaties of the women and children in them, who were threatened with being burnt in them if they did not instantly leave them. Indeed two houses were bought off for 10*l.* each, of an officer who appeared to be a captain, upon condition, however, that he should not be made known; and where the houses were not burnt, they were chiefly plundered of all that could be carried off. At the harbor's mouth, the houses of poor fishermen were stripped of all their furniture of every kind, the poor people having nothing but the clothes that they had on."

The detachment under Lieut. Col. Eyre, about eight hundred in number, landed on the east side of the harbor, opposite the light house, and having found a lame boy collecting cattle, compelled him to show them the cart path to the fort. They landed about nine o'clock in the morning of a most delightful day, clear and still. Fort Griswold was under the command of Lieut. Col. Wm. Ledyard, uncle to the celebrated traveller of the same name. He resided on Groton bank opposite New London, and was much beloved and respected by his neighbors. On the advance of the enemy, Col. Ledyard having but about one hundred and fifty men with him in the fort, sent out an officer to get assistance, as there were a number of hundred of people collected in the vicinity; this officer, by drinking too much, became intoxicated, and no reinforcement was obtained. On the rejection of a summons to surrender, the British extended their lines so that they were scattered over the fields and rushed on to the attack with trailed arms, under the fire of the Americans, to the assault of the fort on three sides. Having effected a lodgment in the ditch, they cut away the pickets, and having scaling ladders, they entered the fort and knocked away the gate on the inside. While the British were in the ditch, they had cold shot thrown on them, and as they were entering the embrasures, the garrison changed their weapons and fought desperately with spears or pikes fifteen or sixteen feet in length, which did considerable execution. Unfortunately they had lent the greater part of the pikes belonging to the fort to a privateer a few days before. Major Montgomery was hoisted up on the walls of the fort by his soldiers; as he was flourishing his sword on his

entrance, he was mortally wounded by Jordan Freeman,\* a colored man, who pierced him through with a spear. Another officer was killed by a musket ball while in the fort. As he fell, he exclaimed, '*put every one to death, don't spare one.*' Col. Ledyard finding further resistance useless, presented his sword to an officer, who asked him who commanded the fort. 'I did,' said Col. Ledyard, 'but you do now;' the officer (Capt. Bloomfield,) took his sword and instantly plunged it into his bosom. Colonel Ledyard fell on his face and instantly expired. An indiscriminate massacre now took place, till a British officer exclaimed, 'my soul cannot bear such destruction,' and ordered a parley to be beat. Such had been the butchery in the fort, that it was *over shoes in blood* in some parts of the parade ground. Soon after the surrender, a wagon was loaded with wounded Americans and set off down the hill; it struck an apple tree with great force, and knocked several of these bleeding men out, and caused their instant death. One of these distressed men having been thrown out of the wagon, and while crawling towards the fence on his hands and knees, was brutally knocked on the head by the butt end of a musket, by one of the refugees who were attached to the British army. The British embarked at the foot of the hill near the ferry, and took off a number of prisoners with them. As they left the fort, they set fire to a train, intending to blow up the magazine, in which were about one hundred barrels of powder. Fortunately it was extinguished by our people, who entered the fort soon after the enemy left it. It is stated that the enemy lost in the attack on the fort 54 killed and 143 wounded, several of whom afterwards died of their wounds. The killed of the enemy were buried by their comrades at the gate of the fort, and were so slightly covered that many of their legs and arms remained above ground; our people who were killed at the fort, were stripped, and so disfigured, covered with blood and dust, that with the exception of two or three, they could not be recognized by their friends, except by some particular marks on their persons.

A granite monument, 127 feet in height, has been erected on this spot, on which is the following inscription, to which is added a list of the names of those who fell, eighty-five in number.

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\* Most of the facts mentioned in this account were related to the compiler of this work by an eye witness, Mr. Joshua Baker, of Groton, who was in the fort at the time it was stormed. He was wounded, carried off prisoner to New York, and confined in the "Sugar House." He mentioned that when the enemy arrived at New York they reported a loss of five hundred men in killed, wounded, and missing, in this expedition. Mr. Baker was under the command of Col. Ledyard upwards of two years, and was the first man who stood sentry at Fort Griswold. Some particulars were also obtained from Capt. Elijah Bailey, the post master at Groton Bank, who was one of the defenders of the fort at the time of the massacre.

## This Monument

was erected under the patronage of the State of Connecticut, A. D. 1830,  
and in the 55th year of the Independence of the U. S. A

In memory of the brave Patriots,  
who fell in the massacre at Fort Griswold, near this spot,  
on the 6th September, A. D. 1781,  
when the British, under the command of  
the traitor Benedict Arnold,  
burnt the towns of New London and Groton and spread  
desolation and woe throughout this region.

On the south side of the pedestal, opposite the fort, is the following inscription :  
" Zebulon and Naphtali were a people that jeopardied their lives unto the death, in  
the high places of the field.—*Judges, 5 Chap. 18 verse.*

*Shays' Insurrection.*—" This year [1786,] is rendered memorable by an insurrection in Massachusetts. A heavy debt, lying on the state, with a similar burden on almost every corporation within it ; a relaxation of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries ; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a scarcity of money ; and, above all, the debts due from individuals to each other ; were the primary causes of this dangerous sedition. Heavy taxes, necessarily imposed at this time, were the immediate excitement to discontent and insurgency. On the twenty second of August, a convention of delegates from fifty towns in the county of Hampshire met at Hatfield, and voted a great number of articles as grievances and "unnecessary burdens now lying on the people ; and gave directions for transmitting these proceedings to the convention of Worcester, and to the county of Berkshire. Very soon after, a number of insurgents, supposed to be nearly fifteen hundred, assembled under arms at Northampton ; took possession of the court house ; and effectually prevented the sitting of the courts of common pleas and general sessions of the peace. The governor issued a proclamation, calling on the officers and citizens of the commonwealth to suppress such treasonable proceedings ; but it had little effect. The counties of Worcester, Middlesex, Bristol, and Berkshire, were set in a flame. In the week succeeding the proclamation, a body of more than three hundred insurgents posted themselves at the court house in Worcester, and obliged the courts of common pleas and general sessions to adjourn. Insurgents in Middlesex counties prevented the courts from sitting at Concord. In the county of Bristol, the malcontents assembled to prevent the sitting of the courts at Taunton ; but the people to the number of three hundred, appearing in arms under major Gen. Cobb, counteracted their designs."

" On the twenty third of November a convention of delegates from several towns in the county of Worcester sent out an address to the people. An attempt was at length made to prevent the sitting of the supreme judicial court itself by a number of insurgents headed by Daniel Shays.\* The general court, at this distressing period, passed

\* He had been a captain in the continental army, but had resigned his commission.

three laws for easing the burdens of the people : an act for collecting the back taxes in specific articles ; an act for making real and personal estate a tender in discharge of executions and actions commenced at law ; and an act for rendering law processes less expensive. They provided for the apprehending and trial of dangerous persons ; but at the same time tendered pardon to all the insurgents. These lenient measures of government were ascribed, not to clemency, but to weakness or timidity. The judicial courts being adjourned by the legislature to the twenty sixth of December, to sit at Springfield ; Shays with about three hundred malcontents marched into that town to oppose the administration of justice, and took possession of the court house. A committee was appointed to wait on the court with an order, couched in the humble form of a petition, requiring them not to proceed on business ; and both parties retired."

"The insurgents in Massachusetts continuing to assemble, and to endeavour to impede the measures of government by an armed force ; a body of troops, to the amount of above four thousand, was ordered out to support the judicial courts, and suppress the insurrection. The command of this respectable force was given by the governor to major general Lincoln, 'whose reputation and mildness of temper rendered him doubly capacitated for so delicate and important a trust.' The army reached Worcester on the twenty second of January ; and the judicial courts set there without interruption. Previously to the marching of the troops from Roxbury, orders had been given to general Shepard to take possession of the post at Springfield, where was a continental arsenal. Here he accordingly collected about nine hundred men, who were afterwards reinforced with the addition of nearly three hundred of the Hampshire militia. To this post the insurgents directed their first attention, from a hope of carrying it before the arrival of general Lincoln. About four o'clock in the afternoon of the twenty fifth of January, general Shepard perceived Shays advancing on the Boston road toward the arsenal, with his troops (which amounted to eleven hundred men) in open column. The general sent one of his aids with two other gentlemen, several times, to know the intention of the enemy, and to warn them of their danger. Their answer purported, that they would have the barracks ; and they immediately marched forward within two hundred and fifty yards of the arsenal. A message was again sent to inform them, that the militia were posted there by order of the governor and of congress ; and that if they approached nearer, they would be fired on. "That," said one of the leaders, 'is all we want ;' and they advanced one hundred yards farther. General Shepard now gave orders to fire ; but he ordered the two first shot to be directed over their heads. This discharge quickening, instead of retarding their approach ; the artillery was lev-

elled against the centre of their column. A cry of murder instantly rose from the rear of the insurgents, and their whole body was thrown into total confusion. Shays attempted to display his column, but in vain. His troops retreated precipitately to Ludlow, about ten miles, leaving three of their men dead, and one wounded, on the field.

The main body of the insurgents took post at Pelham; from which place, on the thirteenth of January, their officers addressed a petition to the general court. On the third of February, while a conference was holding between one of their leaders and an officer of the army, the insurgents withdrew from Pelham to Petersham. General Lincoln, who was then at Hadley, receiving intelligence of their movement, put his army in motion, in pursuit of them, and made one of the most indefatigable marches, that was ever performed in America. His troops commenced their march at eight in the evening, and by two in the morning, reached New Salem. Here a violent north wind rose; the cold was extreme; a snow storm at once heightened the inclemency of the weather, and filled the paths; the route lay over high land, where the exposure was great; the country was thinly settled, and for many miles afforded them no covering. Exposed to all these evils, they advanced, without scarcely halting, the distance of thirty miles; their front reaching Petersham by nine in the morning, and their rear being five miles distant. A pursuit through so many difficulties being totally unexpected, the insurgents were completely surprised; and, scarcely firing a gun, quitted the town in great confusion. They were pursued about two miles, and one hundred and fifty of them were taken prisoners. Many of the fugitives retired to their own houses; and the rest, including all their principal officers, fled into the states of New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. Some predatory incursions were afterwards made by them from their lodgments in the neighbouring states; but such decisive measures were taken, as obliged them to seek refuge in Vermont as their last resort."

"On the tenth of March the general court appointed three commissioners, whose duty it was, on certain conditions, to promise indemnity to those who were concerned in the rebellion. Seven hundred and ninety persons took the benefit of the commission. Fourteen persons, who were tried at the supreme judicial court, received sentence of death; but they were successively pardoned. 'Thus,' says the historian of the Insurrection, 'was a dangerous internal war finally suppressed by the spirited use of constitutional powers, without the shedding of blood by the hand of the civil magistrate; a circumstance, which it is the duty of every citizen to ascribe to its real cause, the lenity of government, and not to their weakness; a circumstance too, that must attach every man to a constitution, which, from

without oppos-  
Annals.



Hall.

of March, 1789,  
at that time had rati-  
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their accommo-  
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y elected to that  
Vice President.  
second magis-  
diffusion of joy  
that these em-  
on was inaugu-  
a, in the city of  
the open gallery  
spectators. The  
m. Several cir-  
ually solemn—  
of his country—  
vast concourse  
he repeated the  
to kiss the

sacred volume—these circumstances, together with that of his being chosen to the most dignified office in America, and perhaps in the world, by the unanimous voice of more than three millions of enlightened freemen, all conspired to place this among the most august and interesting scenes which have ever been exhibited on this globe.\*

‘It seemed from the number of witnesses,’ said a spectator of the scene, to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may perhaps be an enthusiast; but I confess I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the universe was looking down at that moment, with peculiar complacency on an act, which to a part of his creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the Chancellor pronounced in a very feeling manner, ‘*Long live George Washington,*’ my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air.”

## REMARKABLE EVENTS.

DISEASES, STORMS, UNCOMMON SEASONS, EARTHQUAKES, AND OTHER  
REMARKABLE EVENTS.

Just before the arrival of the settlers at Plymouth, Mass. a very mortal disease swept off the greater part of the Indians in this part of the country. “As this is one of the most remarkable facts in history” (says Dr. Webster in his work on *Pestilential Diseases, &c.*) I have taken great pains to ascertain the species of disease, and the time of its appearance.

“Captain Dermer, an English adventurer, who had arrived in America in a fishing vessel a year or two before, passed the winter of 1618—19 in Mouhiggan, an Indian town on the northern coast. On the 19th of May, 1619, he sailed along the coast on his way to Virginia, and landed at several places where he had been the year before; and he found many Indian towns totally depopulated; in others a few natives remained alive but ‘not free of sickness;’ ‘their disease, the plague, for we might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as usually die.’ These are his words. He found some villages which in his former visit were populous, all deserted; the Indians ‘all dead’”—*Purchas, vol. 4, 1778.*

“Richard Vines and his companions who had been sent by Ferdinando Gorges to explore the country, wintered among the Indians

\*Dr. Morse.



...disease attacking  
American Biogra-  
...collections, p 8.)  
...eight years be-  
...cannot be ac-  
...of years previ-  
...decisive of the  
...have another au-  
...approached by Elder  
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...They (the In-  
...mortality that fell  
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...the twentieth  
...p. 148.  
...ese's Chronology  
...1618, precisely  
...the year of the  
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...ers went to Mas-  
...of the natives,  
...unlike the plague  
...the Indians only.  
...raged with its



principal violence in 1618 and through the winter. This was the year of the remarkable comet when the plague was raging in many parts of the world. So fatal was the pestilence in America that the warriors from Narragansett to Penobscot, the distance to which the disease seems to have been limited, were reduced from 9000 to a few hundreds.\* When our ancestors arrived in 1620, they found the bones of those who perished in many places unburied.—*Magnalia*, book 1, p. 7.

The kind of disease is another important question. Dermer seems to think it a species of plague, and he saw some of the sores of those who had survived. Hutchinson, vol. 1, pages 34, 35, says, some have supposed it to be the small pox, but the Indians who were perfectly acquainted with this disease after the English arrived, always gave a very different account of it and described it as a pestilential putrid fever. Fortunately General Gookin in the passage above cited has left us a fact which leaves no doubt as to the nature of the malady. His words are "what the disease was which so generally and mortally swept them away I cannot learn. Doubtless it was pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians that were then youths who say, that the *bodies all over were exceedingly yellow* (describing it by a yellow garment they showed me) both before they died and afterwards."

This account may be relied upon for its authenticity and it decides the question, that the pestilence was the true American plague, called yellow fever. In Prince's Chronology, it is recorded that this fever produced hemorrhagy from the nose.

At the time Gookin wrote, about forty or fifty years after the settlement of New England, the infectious fevers of autumn were called "pestilent," and they were frequent in the country but had not then acquired the appellation of *yellow*.—*Winthrop's Journal*, p. 51.

*Severe Drought*.—In 1622, the Plymouth settlers were threatened with a famine in consequence of a severe drought. The following account is from Morton's New England's Memorial :

[1622.] "It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their great pains and industry and the great hopes they had of a large crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and sorer famine by a great drought which continued from the third week in May, until the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat of weather for the most part, insomuch that their corn began to wither away, although it was planted with fish, according to their usual manner in those times ; yet at length it began to languish sore and some of the drier grounds was parched like withered hay, part whereof never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer, in this great distress : And he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians admiration, that lived among them, for all the morning it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a cloud nor

\* Hutchinson says 30,000 of the Massachusetts tribe alone were supposed to be reduced to 300.

any sign of rain, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave cause of rejoicing and blessing God: It came without either wind or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful, and made the Indians astonished to behold. A little before the Lord sent this rain of liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the afore named *Hobamack*, the Indian, he the said *Hobamack* said unto him, '*I am much troubled for the English for I am afraid they will lose all their corn by the drought, and so they will all be starved; as for the Indians, they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish for themselves.*' But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said to him, '*Now I see Englishman's God is a good God, for he hath heard you and sent you rain, and that without storms and tempests, and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn, but yours stands whole and good still.*' And, after this gracious return of prayers in this so seasonable a blessing of the rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their great comfort and rejoicing; for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a day of thanksgiving to the Lord."

1638, June 1. "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear and warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake; it came with a noise like a continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narragansett, at Piscataqua, and all the parts round about. It shook the ships which rode in the harbor and all the islands. The noise of the shaking continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after by times."—*Winthrop*. The spring of this year "was so cold" says *Winthrop* "that men were forced to replant their corn two or three times, for it rotted in the ground; but when we feared a great dearth, God sent a warm season, which brought on corn beyond our expectation."—"This year (says Dr. Webster) was also distinguished for tempestuous weather; not for ordinary storms which occur many times every year, but violent hurricanes of vast extent. On the third of August a tempest raised the tide on the Narragansett shore, fourteen feet above common spring tides. The autumn was very rainy and considerable snow fell in October, which was ascribed to the earthquake. On the 25th of September, another mighty tempest occurred and the highest swell of the sea that had then been observed in America."

The spring of 1639 in America was very dry; there was no rain from April 26th to June 4th, O. S. and from the southward came swarms of small flies, which covered the sea, but they did not invade the land.—*Winthrop*.—On the 16th of March, O. S., in 1639, there was such a tempest and rain that Connecticut river rose twenty feet above the meadows.—*Webster*.

The summer of 1641 was remarkably wet and cold, so that a great part of the corn did not come to maturity. Those who fed on it the year following, were exceedingly troubled with worms, and some persons found a remedy in leaving bread and feeding on salt fish.—The following winter was the most severe that had been known for forty years. The bay of Boston was frozen so that loaded teams passed to the town from the neighboring islands, and the ice extended as far as the eye could reach. The following spring (1642) was early but wet.—*Winthrop*.

The very wet weather of 1642 produced a dearth of corn in Boston in the spring of 1643, myriads of pigeons appeared the same season and did much injury. It is an old observation in America, that pigeons are uncommonly numerous in the spring of sickly years. The Massachusetts colony suffered also from the number of mice which devoured their grain. "Corn was very scarce all over the country, so as by the end of the 2d. month many families in most towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish, &c. and since this came by the just hand of the Lord to punish our ingratitude and covetousness, for corn being plenty divers years before, it was so undervalued, as it would not pass for any commodity; if one offered a shop keeper corn for any thing, his answer would be, he knew not what to do with it. So for labourers and artificers; but now they would have done any work, or parted with any commodity for corn, and the husbandman he now made his advantage, for he would part with no corn, for the most part, but for ready money or for cattle at such a price as should be 12d. in the bushel more to him than ready money, and indeed it was a very sad thing to see how little of a public spirit appeared in the country, but of self-love too much. Yet there were some here and there who were men of another spirit, and were willing to abridge themselves that others might be supplied. The immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest; also the pigeons came in such flocks (about 10,000 in one flock) that beat down and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of english grain, much corn spent in setting out the ships catchers, &c. Lastly there were such abundance of mice in the barns that devoured much there; the mice also did much spoil in orchards eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow, so as never had been known the like spoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows."—*Winthrop*.

A. D. 1647. This year appeared an epidemic catarrh in America, the first of which we have any account. It is not named either influenza or catarrh, but is clearly the same disease. Hubbard thus describes it: "In 1647, an epidemic sickness passed through the whole country, affecting the colonists and the natives, English, French and Dutch. It began with a cold, and in many accompanied with a light fever. Such as bled or used cooling drinks died,—such as made use of cordials, and more strengthening things recovered for

the most part. It extended through the plantations in America and in the West Indies. There died in Barbadoes and St. Kitts 5 or 6000 each. Whether it was a plague, or pestilential fever, in the islands, accompanied by great drought, which cut short potatoes and fruits."

The year 1658 is distinguished for what is called in our annals the "Great Earthquake," no particulars of which however appear to be preserved. The summer was so rainy that the christianized Indians observed days of fasting, apprehending their crops would fail and the world be drowned.—*Neal*, vol. 1, 259.

In 1662, another considerable earthquake happened in New England, a drouth, and malignant diseases prevailed. In 1663, Canada was convulsed for five months by a series of successive shocks,—small rivers and springs were dried up; the waters of others were tinctured with the taste of sulphur, an immense ridge of mountains subsided to a plain.—*Mem. Royal Society*, vol. 6, 86. *Neal's Hist. N. England. Mem. Amer. Acad.* vol. 1, 263.—In 1664 the mildew of wheat commenced in New England.—*Webster*.

In 1668 a comet appeared with a stupendous coma. This was attended by an excessively hot summer, and malignant diseases in America. In New York the epidemic was so fatal, that a fast was appointed in September, on that account. In this same year was an earthquake in America, and a meteor in the west, in the form of a spear, pointing towards the setting sun, which gradually sunk and disappeared.—*Neal's Hist.* vol. 1 p. 367.—*Magnalia*, vol. 4.

In a sermon preached in Boston, September 27, 1698, is the following passage. "The harvest hath once and again grievously failed in these years, and we have been struck through with terrible famine. The very course of nature hath been altered among us; a lamentable cry for bread, bread, hath been heard in our streets.—*Magnalia*, vol. 7.

The summer of 1703, "was remarkable for an uncommon mortality, which prevailed in the city of New York, and makes the grand epoch among our inhabitants, distinguished by the "time of the great sickness." On this occasion Lord Cornbury had his residence and court at Jamaica, a pleasant village on Long Island, distant about twelve miles from the city. The fever killed almost every patient seized with it, and was brought here in a vessel from St. Thomas, in the West Indies, an island remarkable for contagious diseases."—*Smith's Hist. New York*.

In 1709, a body of troops under the command of Gen. Nicholson, destined for the reduction of Canada, encamped near Wood Creek in the province of New York, and in July and August were attacked with a distemper which made dreadful havoc, and obliged them to decamp. Some of the men died as if they had been poisoned. This circumstance gave rise to a report which Charlevoix gravely relates, that the Indians had poisoned the water of the creek, by throwing into it all the skins of beasts they had taken in hunting. The disease was probably the lake fever, or a malignant dysentery.—*Webster on Pestilence.* vol. 1



View of February, 1717,  
A regular description which

Boston, 10th Dec. 1717.

...oning of another Winter,  
...the latter end whereof we  
...now, which was attended  
...enough to afford matter  
...bad as that wherein Ta-  
...on against the Parthians,  
...Birds in ye days of ye  
...were killed under ye  
...ye men whom Tyrants  
...usion of our Winter was  
...easily forgotten, & of a  
...efore. The snow was  
...ely does a Winter pass  
...s *Hyeme Nivis apud nos*  
...now, that excelled them  
...which once fell & lay  
...October, in the parts about  
...Annals tell us kept fall-  
...to several mentioned by  
...of Cattel perished, Nor  
...Rhodiginus in Armenia.

But yett such an one, & attended with such circumstances as may deserve to be remembered.

On the twentieth of the last February there came on a Snow, which being added unto what had covered the ground a few days before, made a thicker mantle for our Mother than what was usual: And ye storm with it was, for the following day, so violent as to make all communication between ye Neighbors every where to cease. People, for some hours, could not pass from one side of a street unto another, & ye poor Women, who happened in this critical time to fall into Travail, were putt unto Hardships, which anon produced many odd stories for us. But on ye Twenty-fourth day of ye Month, comes Pelion upon Ossa: Another Snow came on which almost buried ye Memory of ye former, with a Storm so famous that Heaven laid an Interdict on ye Religious Assemblies throughout ye Country, on this Lord's day, ye like whereunto had never been seen before. The Indians near an hundred years old, affirm that their Fathers never told them of any thing that equalled it. Vast numbers of Cattel were destroyed in this Calamity. Whereof some there were, of ye Stranger sort, were found standing dead on their legs, as if they had been alive many weeks after, when ye Snow melted away. And others had their eyes glazed over with Ice at such a rate, that being not far from ye Sea, their mistake of their way drowned them there. One gentleman, on whose farms were now lost above 1100 sheep, which with other Cattel, were interred (shall I say) or Innived, in the Snow, writes me word that there were two Sheep very singularly circumstanced. For no less than eight and twenty days after the Storm, the People pulling out the Ruins of above an 100 sheep out of a Snow Bank, which lay 16 foot high, drifted over them, there was two found alive, which had been there all this time, and kept themselves alive by eating the wool of their dead companions. When they were taken out they shed their own Fleeces, but soon gott into good Case again. Sheep were not ye only creatures that lived unaccountably, for whole weeks without their usual sustenance, entirely buried in ye Snow-drifts.

The Swine had a share with ye Sheep in strange survivals. A man had a couple of young Hoggs, which he gave over for dead, But on the twenty-seventh day after their Burial, they made their way out of a Snow-Bank, at the bottom of which they had found a little Tansy to feed upon. The Poultry as unaccountably survived as these. Hens were found alive after seven days; Turkeys were found alive after five and twenty days, buried in ye Snow, and at a distance from ye ground, and altogether destitute of any thing to feed them. The number of creatures that kept a Rigid Fast, shutt up in Snow for diverse weeks together, and were found alive after all, have yielded surprizing stories unto us.

The Wild Creatures of ye Woods, ye outgoings of ye Evening, made their Descent as well as they could in this time of scarcity for them towards ye Sea-side. A vast multitude of Deer, for ye same cause, taking ye same course, & ye Deep Snow Spoiling them of

their only Defence, which is to run, they became such a prey to these Devourers, that it is thought not one in twenty escaped. But here again occurred a Curiosity. These carnivorous Sharpers, & especially the Foxes, would make their Nocturnal visits to the Pens, where the people had their sheep defended from them. The poor Ewes big with young, were so terrified with the frequent Approaches of ye Foxes, & the Terror had such Impression on them, that most of ye Lambs brought forth in the Spring following, were of Monsieur Reinard's complexion, when ye Dam, were either White or Black. It is remarkable that immediately after ye Fall of ye Snow an infinite multitude of Sparrows made their Appearance, but then, after a short continuance, all disappeared.

It is incredible how much damage is done to ye Orchards, For the Snow freezing to a Crust, as high as the boughs of ye trees, anon Split ym to pieces. The Cattel also, walking on ye crusted Snow a dozen foot from ye ground, so fed upon ye Trees as very much to damnify them. The Ocean was in a prodigious Ferment, and after it was over, vast heaps of little shells were driven ashore, where they were never seen before. Mighty shoals of Porpoises also kept a play-day in the disturbed waves of our Harbours. The odd Accidents befalling many poor people, whose Cottages were totally covered with ye Snow & not ye very tops of their chimneys to be seen, would afford a Story. But there not being any Relation to Philosophy in them, I forbear them.

And now *Satis Terris Nivis*. And here is enough of my Winter Tale. If it serve to no other purpose, yett it will give me an opportunity to tell you That nine months ago I did a thousand times wish myself with you in Gresham Colledge, which is never so horribly snow'd upon. But instead of so great a Satisfaction, all I can attain to is the pleasure of talking with you in this Epistolary way & subscribing myself

Syr Yours with an affection  
that knows no Winter,  
COTTON MATHER.

*Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights.*—The first appearance of the Northern Lights in this country, after the period of its first settlement, was on December 11th, 1719, "when they were remarkably bright, and as people in general had never heard of such a phenomenon, they were extremely alarmed with the apprehension of the final judgment. All amusements, all business, and even sleep was interrupted, for want of a little knowledge of history." The following relative to the first appearance of the Aurora is extracted from a letter published in the first volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

*A Letter to a certain Gentleman desiring a particular account may be given of a wonderful METEOR, that appeared in New England, on December 11th, 1719, in the evening.*

SIR,

I understand by a friend of mine, you desire my thoughts of the late appearance in the heavens, which was amazing to the people in many parts of the country. I will therefore endeavor to answer your desire; and that I. By giving an account of it according as I observed it, and according to what I can learn from others. And then, by telling you what may in all probability be looked upon to be the natural cause thereof. And I hope (though I believe I shall differ from some) I shall say nothing that shall be inconsistent either with Divinity or Philosophy.

1. For the account of it, &c. take in the following words:

*Dec. 11, 1719.* This evening, about 8 o'clock, there arose a bright and red light in the E. N. E. like the light which arises from an house when on fire (as I am told by several credible persons who saw it when it first arose) which soon spread itself through the heavens from east to west, reaching about 43 or 44 degrees in height, and was unequally broad. It streamed with white flashes or streams of light down to the horizon (as most tell me) very bright and strong. When I first saw it, which was when it had extended itself over the horizon from E. to W. it was brightest in the middle, which was from me N. W. and I could resemble it to nothing but the light of some fire. I could plainly see streams of light redder than ordinary, and there seemed to me to be an undulating motion of the whole light; so thin was this light, as that I could see the stars very plainly through it. Below this stream or glade of light, there lay in the horizon, some thick clouds (which a few hours after arose and covered the heavens) bright on the tops or edges. It lasted somewhat more than an hour, though the height of its red color continued but a few minutes. About eleven the same night the same appearance was visible again; but the clouds hindered its being so accurately observed as I could wish for. Its appearance was now somewhat dreadful; sometimes it looked of a flame, sometimes a blood red color; and the whole N. E. horizon was very light, and looked as though the moon had been near her rising. The dreadfulness as well as strangeness of this appearance, made me think of Mr. WATTS' description of the Day of Judgment in English Sapphic.

*When the fierce North Wind with his airy forces*

*Rears up the Baltic to a foaming fury,*

*And the red lightning with a storm of hail comes rushing amain down, &c.*

About an hour or two before break of day the next morning, it was seen again, as I am informed; and those who saw it, say it was then the most terrible. I saw it but twice, for the heavens being so overcast, discouraged me from sitting up longer than my usual time.

This Meteor was seen in many places: To those S. from us, it appeared lower in the horizon, and therefore to the more southern



places must be wholly invisible. Thus I have given you the best account I am able of this Meteor; which, though very unusual here, yet in northern countries more frequent, and seems to me to be what our modern philosophers call *Aurora Borealis*."

"The earthquake" (says Gov. Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts*) "on the 29th of October, 1727, although not confined to the Massachusetts, was so remarkable an event in providence that we may be excused if we give a circumstantial account of it. About 40 minutes after ten at night, when there was a serene sky and calm but sharp air, a most amazing noise was heard, like to the roaring of a chimney when on fire, as some said, only beyond comparison greater, others compared it to the noise of coaches upon pavements and thought that of ten thousand together would not have exceeded it. The noise was judged by some to continue about half a minute before the shock began, which increased gradually and was thought to have continued the space of a minute before it was at the height, and in about half a minute more, to have been at an end by a gradual decrease. When the terror is so great, no dependence can be placed upon the admeasurement of time in any person's mind; and we always find very different apprehensions of it. The noise and shock of this and all earthquakes which preceded it in New England were observed to come from the west or northwest and go off to the east or southeast. At Newbury and other towns upon Merrimack river the shock was greater than in any other part of Massachusetts, but no buildings were thrown down, part of the walls of several cellars fell in and the tops of many chimneys were shook off. At New York it seems to have been equal to what it was in the Massachusetts, but at Philadelphia it was very sensibly weaker, and in the colonies southward, it grew less and less until it had spent itself or became insensible. The seamen upon the coast supposed their vessels to have struck upon a shoal of loose ballast. More gentle shocks were frequently felt in most parts of New England for several months after. There have seldom passed above 15 or 20 years without an earthquake, but there had been none, very violent, in the memory of any then living. There was a general apprehension of danger of destruction and death, and many, who had very little sense of religion before, appeared to be very devout penitents, but, too generally, as the fears of another earthquake went off, the religious impressions went with them, and they, who had been the subjects of both, returned to their former course of life."

In 1746, Albany was visited by a malignant disease, called by Colden a nervous fever, and by Douglass the yellow fever. The bodies of some of the patients were yellow—the crisis of the disease was the ninth day; if the patient survived that day he had a good chance of recovery. The disease left many in a state of imbecility of mind, approaching to childishness or idiocy; others were afterwards troubled with swelled legs. The disease began in August, ended with frost, carried off forty-five inhabitants, mostly men of robust bodies. It was said to be imported.—*Webster*.

In Hinsdale, on Connecticut river, in the State of New Hampshire, was an eruption of fire, in 1752, from a volcanic mountain, called the west river mountain. This miniature eruption was accompanied by a loud noise resembling the sound of a cannon. A hole was found about six inches in diameter; a pine tree, which stood near it, was partially covered by a black mineral substance, forced out of the passage consisting chiefly of melted and calcined iron ore, strongly resembling the scoria of a blacksmith's forge.—*Dr. Dwight.*

"In November, 1760, in the small town of Bethlem, Con., thirty-four persons died of a kind of fever. The disease was extremely violent, terminating on the third or fourth day. During the sickness, a flock of eleven quails flew over the chimney of a house, in which were several diseased persons; they all dropped in the garden; three rose and flew into the bushes, but the others were picked up dead."—*Con. Hist. Collections.*

"In 1762, appeared a comet, and in America, the heat and drouth exceeded what was ever before known. From June to September 22d, there was scarcely a drop of rain, almost all the springs were exhausted, and the distress occasioned by the want of water was extreme. The forest trees appeared as if scorched. The winter following was equally remarkable for severity, both in Europe and America."—*Webster.*

"The summer of 1763 was a moist and unkindly season. In August the Indians on Nantucket were attacked by the bilious plague, and between that time and February following, their number was reduced from 358 to 136. Of 258 who were attacked, 36 only recovered. The disease began with high fever and ended with typhus, in about five days. It appeared to be infectious among the Indians only; for no whites were attacked, although they associated freely with the diseased. Persons of a mixed blood were attacked but recovered. Not one died except of full Indian blood. Some Indians who lived in the families of the whites; as did a few who lived by themselves on a distant part of the island. I am informed by respectable authority that a similar fever attacked Indians on board of ships at a distance of hundreds of leagues, without any connection with Nantucket. In December of the same year, the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, distant eight leagues from Nantucket, were invaded by a like fever; not a family escaped, and of 52 patients, 39 died.—*Webster on Pestilence, vol. 1, p. 252.*

"In 1770, cotemporary with the clouds of flies in India, and a most fatal pestilence among men and cattle in Europe, appeared in America, a black worm about one inch and a half in length, which devoured the grass and corn. Never was a more singular phenomenon. These animals were generated suddenly in the northern States of America, and almost covered two or three hundred miles of country. They all moved nearly in one direction, and when they were intercepted by furrows in plowed land, they fell into them in such numbers as to form

heaps. They sought shelter in the grass, the hot sun being fatal to them. They disappeared suddenly about the close of June and the beginning of July."—*New England Farmer, Art. Insect.*

"This species of worm has been seen at other times, and in 1791, in great multitudes. No account can be given of their origin, and they seem not to have regular periods of return. In July, 1791, the late Governor Huntington, a gentleman of careful observation, informed me he had exposed some of these animals to a hot sun on a dry board, and in a few hours found them dissolved into mere water. They seem to be generated by some elementary process, and to be the harbingers of pestilence; at least they have preceded diseases in America.—*Webster on Pestilence, vol. 1, p. 259.*

[*From the Connecticut Gazette.*] *Derby, Feb. 18th, 1764.*

On the evening of the seventh of this instant, Feb. 1764, there was a violent storm of hail and rain; the next morning after was observed a large breach in a hill on the west side of the old river, supposed to be occasioned by some subterraneous wind or fire; the breach is about twenty feet deep, though much caved in, in length one hundred and thirteen feet; about sixty rods of land was covered with the gravel and sand cast out of the cavity, some of which was carried two hundred and fifty-nine feet to the brink of the river; four trees of about a foot diameter were carried one hundred and seventy-three feet distance, and 'tis supposed by their situation that they must have been forced up forty feet high; some small stones about the bigness of walnuts, were carried with such velocity that they stuck fast in a green tree that stood near the cavity; a large dry log better than two feet diameter was carried up so far in the air, that by the force of the fall one end of it stuck so fast in the ground that it kept the other end up. The narrowest part of the breach is about thirty feet at the surface of the ground, and the bottom of the breach is crooking, winding much like the streaks of lightning\*.

"In 1775, the oysters in Well fleet harbor, Cape Cod, all perished. These oysters had been in great plenty, and furnished the inhabitants with no small portion of their food: During this period, the oysters on the shores of Connecticut were in an unhealthy state, and sometimes excited vomiting in those who ate of them. It is remarkable also, that in 1776, the lobsters in the vicinity of York-Island, all disappeared. This event has generally been ascribed to the firing of cannon in the summer of that year. But the place where they lived being many miles from the Brit-

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\* 'A light was seen on the spot in the evening before the explosion. It was accompanied with a loud report, and some fossil substances were ejected, which were analyzed by Dr. Munson, of New Haven, and found to contain arsenic and sulphur.' *Webster on Pestilence, Vol. 1, p. 262.*

ish shipping, this explanation is not satisfactory. It is more probable that they perished, or abandoned the ground, on account of the bad state of their element. It is remarkable that the prim in America began to decay and perish about this period; a disease among oats also appeared; and near the same time, the wheat insect appeared about the same period."—*Webster*.

In 1780, all the harbors and bays on the Atlantic coast, as far south as Virginia, were frozen. Loaded sleds passed from New York to Staten Island: Long Island Sound was frozen into a solid highway, where it is several miles in width. The birds that winter in this climate, almost all perished, and in the succeeding spring, a few solitary warblers only were heard in our groves. The snow was nearly four feet deep in the northern Atlantic States, for at least three months.

*Dark Days*.—"We find recorded in History instances of extreme darkness in the day time, and in some cases this obscurity has lasted for a number of days. The 19th of May, 1780, was distinguished by the phenomenon of a remarkable darkness over all the northern States, and is still called the *Dark day*.\*

The darkness commenced between the hours of 10 and 11 A. M., and continued to the middle of the next night. It was occasioned by a thick vapour or cloud, tinged with a yellow color, or faint red, and a thin coat of dust was deposited on white substances.†

The wind was in the southwest; and the darkness appeared to come on with clouds in that direction. Its extent was from Falmouth, (Maine,) to New Jersey. The darkness appears to have been the greatest in the county of Essex, (Mass.) in the lower part of New Hampshire, and Maine; it was also great in Rhode Island and Connecticut. In most parts of the country where the darkness prevailed, it was so great, that persons were unable to read common print, determine the time of day by their clocks or watches, dine, or manage their domestic business, without additional light; 'candles were lighted up in their houses; the birds having sung their evening songs, disappeared and became silent; the fowls retired to roost; the cocks were crowing all around as at break of day; objects could be distinguished but a very little distance; and every thing bore the appearance and gloom of night.'‡

\* At this time the Legislature of Connecticut was in session in Hartford. A very general opinion prevailed, that the day of judgment was at hand. The house of Representatives, being unable to transact their business, adjourned. A proposal to adjourn the Council was under consideration. When the opinion of Col. Davenport was asked, he answered, "I am against an adjournment. The day of judgment is either approaching, or it is not. If it is not, there is no cause for an adjournment; if it is, I choose to be found doing my duty. I wish therefore that candles may be brought."—*Dwight's Travels*, vol. 3.

† Webster.

‡ Coll. Hist. Soc. 95—98.

Besides this instance of uncommon darkness, there was one on the 21st of October, 1716; when 'people were forced to light candles to eat their dinner by,' but the particulars of it are not preserved.

The following is an extract of a letter from Dr. Tenney to the Massachusetts Historical Society, giving an account of the dark day of May, 1780.

"You will readily recollect that, previously to the commencement of the darkness, the sky was overcast with the common kind of clouds, from which there was, in some places a light sprinkling of rain. Between these and the earth there intervened another stratum, to appearance of very great thickness. As this stratum advanced, the darkness commenced and increased with its progress till it came to its height; which did not take place till the hemisphere was a second time overspread. The uncommon thickness of this second stratum was probably occasioned by two strong currents of wind from the southward and westward, condensing the vapours and drawing them in a north-easterly direction. I remember this observation was made by an anonymous writer in one of the public papers soon after the event.

As I set out the next day, from my father's at Rowley, to join my regiment in New Jersey, I had an opportunity to inform myself what were the appearances in different parts of the country between here and Pennsylvania. The result of my enquiries, on that journey, and after my return, was that the darkness was most gross in the county of Essex, the lower part of the State of New-Hampshire and the old Province of Maine. In Rhode-Island and Connecticut it was not so great, and still less in New-York. In New-Jersey the second stratum of clouds was observed, but not of any great thickness; nor was the darkness very uncommon. In the lower parts of Pennsylvania, if my recollection does not fail me, no extraordinary appearance was noticed. Through this whole extent the lower stratum had an uncommon brassy hue, while the earth and trees were adorned with so enchanting a verdure as could not escape notice, were amidst the unusual gloom that surrounded the spectator. This gradual increase of the darkness from southwest to northeast, which was nearly the course of the clouds, affords a pretty good argument in favour of the supposition that they were condensed by two strong currents of wind blowing in different directions. To these two strata of clouds we may, without hesitation, impute the extraordinary darkness of the day."

"The latter part of the summer of 1782, was excessively dry. In New Jersey, a cedar swamp twenty miles in length and eight in breadth, took fire by accident, and was consumed. The fire penetrated among the roots to the depth of six feet; corn, grass, and the very forests withered. The air was loaded with a thick vapor, for some days in September.

"On the evening of the 10th of February, a dense fog or vapor spread over some parts of New England, having the smell of burnt leaves. The ground at the same time was covered with snow."—*Mem. Amer. Acad. vol. 1.*

"In 1788, almost all the codfish taken on the banks of New Foundland, were thin and sickly; when dried, they were of a dark or blueish color, little better than skeletons, and not well received in foreign markets. This condition of that fish was confined to those banks; as the cod taken at other places were in their usual state.—*Webster.*"

"The crops being thin the preceding year, the Northern States, in the Spring of 1789, experienced a dearth approaching to a famine. In Vermont, people were reduced to the necessity of feeding on tadpoles boiled with pea straw. In one instance, four potatoes were sold for nine pence. None of the human race were actually starved to death, but a few died of a flux in consequence of bad diet. Cattle however, perished in considerable numbers. The Spring of this year was cold, and vegetation tardy; part of the Summer succeeding, was excessively hot.—The winter of 1789–90, was one of the mildest ever known in this country; there being but little frost, except for a few days in February. There fell frequent snows, and in great abundance; but they were immediately followed by warm southerly winds, and dissolved."—*Webster.*

"On the 16th of May, 1790, at half past 10 o'clock, in a serene moonlight night, there was an extensive earthquake in the northern states. It was preceded, a few seconds, by a rattling sound; its duration was short; its course, as usual in America, from N. W. to S. E. No injury was sustained. On the morning after the earthquake, was observed at Middletown, in Connecticut, a substance like honey or butter, covering the grass and earth for a considerable extent.

In 1791, the canker worms devoured the orchards over the New England States; and their ravages were repeated the two following years. Orchards standing on stiff clay, and in low grounds, which are wet in the Spring, escaped; but on every species of light and dry soil, the trees were as dry on the first of June, as on the first of January. Many trees never recovered from the effects of their ravages. Another worm of a distinct species, and called at the time *palmer-worm*, overspread our forests in this, or the next year, devouring the leaves of oak and other species of wood."—*Webster*

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#### REMARKABLE AND UNACCOUNTABLE OCCURRENCES.

The following, relating principally to what is called Salem Witchcraft, is taken from the 2d volume of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. Governor Hutchinson had great facilities in procuring correct information respecting the circumstances of this excitement, and it is believed that his account is the most authentic which has yet appeared.

"The great noise which the New England witchcrafts made throughout the English dominions, proceeded more from the general panic with which all sorts of persons were seized, and an expectation that the contagion would spread to all parts of the country, than from the number of persons who were executed, more having been put to death in a single county in England, in a short space of time, than have suffered in all New England from the first settlement until the present time. Fifteen years had passed, before we find any mention of witchcraft among the English colonists. The Indians were supposed to be worshippers of the Devil, and their powows to be wizards. The first suspicion of witchcraft, among the English, was about the year 1645 ; at Springfield, upon Connecticut river, several persons were supposed to be under an evil hand, and among the rest two of the minister's children. Great pains were taken to prove the facts upon several persons charged with the crime, but either the nature of the evidence was not satisfactory, or the fraud was suspected, and so no person was convicted until the year 1650, when a poor wretch, Mary Oliver, probably weary of her life from the general reputation of being a witch, after long examination was brought to confession of her guilt, but I do not find that she was executed. Whilst this inquiry was making, Margaret Jones was executed at Charlestown ; and Mr. Hale mentions a woman at Dorchester, and another at Cambridge about the same time, who all at their death asserted their innocence. Soon after, Hugh Parsons was tried at Springfield and escaped death. In 1655, Mrs. Hibbins, the assistant's widow, was hanged at Boston. In 1662, at Hartford in Connecticut, (about 30 miles from Springfield, upon the same river) one Ann Cole, a young woman who lived next door to a Dutch family, and, no doubt, had learned something of the language, was supposed to be possessed with demons, who sometimes spake dutch and sometimes english, and sometimes a language which no body understood, and who held a conference with one another. Several ministers, who were present, took down the conference in writing, and the names of several persons, mentioned in the course of the conference, as actors or bearing parts in it ; particularly a woman, then in prison upon suspicion of witchcraft, one Greensmith, who upon examination confessed and appeared to be surprized at the discovery. She owned that she and the others named had been familiar with a demon, who had carnal knowledge of her, and although she had not made a formal covenant, yet she had promised to be ready at his call, and was to have had a high frolick at Christmas, when the agreement was to have been signed. Upon this confession she was executed, and two more of the company were condemned at the same time. In 1669, Susanna Martin, of Salisbury, was bound over to the court, upon suspicion of witchcraft, but escaped at that time.

In 1671, Elizabeth Knap, another *ventriloqua*, alarmed the people of Groton in much the same manner as Ann Cole had done those of Hartford ; but her demon was not so cunning, for instead of confining himself to old women, he rail'd at the good minister of the town and

other persons of good character, and the people could not then be prevailed on to believe him, but believed the girl, when she confessed she had been deluded, and that the devil had tormented her in the shape of good persons ; and so she escaped the punishment due to her fraud and imposture.

In 1673, Eunice Cole of Hampton was tried, and the jury found her not legally guilty, but that there were strong grounds to suspect her of familiarity with the devil.

In 1679, William Morse's house, at Newbury, was troubled with the throwing of bricks, stones, &c. and a boy, of the family, was supposed to be bewitched, who accused one of the neighbors ; and in 1682, the house of George Walton, a quaker, at Portsmouth, and another house at Salmon-falls (both in New-Hampshire) were attacked after the same manner.

In 1683, the demons removed to Connecticut river again, where one Desborough's house was molested by an invisible hand, and a fire kindled, no body knew how, which burnt up great part of his estate ; and in 1684, Philip Smith, a judge of the court, a military officer and a representative of the town of Hadley, upon the same river, (an hypocondriack person) fancied himself under an evil hand, and suspected a woman, one of his neighbors, and languished and pined away, and was generally supposed to be bewitched to death. While he lay ill, a number of brisk lads tried an experiment upon the old woman. Having dragged her out of her house, they hung her up until she was near dead, let her down, rowled her some time in the snow, and at last buried her in it and there left her, but it happened that she survived, and the melancholly man died.

Notwithstanding these frequent instances of supposed witchcrafts, none had suffered for near thirty years, in the Massachusetts colony. The execution of the assistant or councillor's widow in 1655, was disapproved of by many principal persons, and it is not unlikely that her death saved the lives of many other inferior persons. But in 1685, a very circumstantial account of all or most of the cases I have mentioned, was published, and many arguments were brought to convince the country that they were no delusions nor impostures, but the effects of a familiarity between the devil and such as he found fit for his instruments ; and in 1687 or 1688, began a more alarming instance than any which had preceded it. Four of the children of John Goodwin a grave man and a good liver, at the north part of Boston, were generally believed to be bewitched. I have often heard persons, who were of the neighbourhood, speak of the great consternation it occasioned. The children were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated and were thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years. She had charged a laundress with taking away some of the family linnen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language ; soon after which she fell into fits, which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two brothers followed her example, and it is said, were tormented



in the same part of their bodies at the same time, although kept in separate apartments, and ignorant of one another's complaints. One or two things were said to be very remarkable ; all their complaints were in the day time, and they slept comfortably all night ; they were struck dead at the sight of the assembly's catechism, Cotton's milk for babes, and some other good books, but could read in Oxford jests, popish and quaker books, and the common prayer, without any difficulty. Is it possible the mind of man should be capable of such strong prejudices as that a suspicion of fraud should not immediately arise ? But attachments to modes and forms in religion had such force that some of these circumstances seem rather to have confirmed the credit of the children. Sometimes they would be deaf, then dumb, then blind ; and sometimes all these disorders together would come upon them. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, then pulled out upon their chins. Their jaws, necks, shoulders, elbows and all their joints would appear to be dislocated, and they would make most piteous outcries of burnings, of being cut with knives, beat, &c. and the marks of wounds were afterwards to be seen. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting and prayer at the troubled house ; after which, the youngest child made no more complaints. The others persevered, and the magistrates then interposed, and the old woman was apprehended, but upon examination would neither confess nor deny, and appeared to be disordered in her senses. Upon the report of physicians that she was *compos mentis*, she was executed, declaring at her death the children should not be relieved. The eldest, after this, was taken into a minister's family, where, at first, she behaved orderly, but, after some time, suddenly fell into her fits. The account of her affliction is in print ; some things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers are every day taught to perform ; others seem more than natural, but it was a time of great credulity. The children returned to their ordinary behaviour, lived to adult age, made profession of religion, and the affliction they had been under they publicly declared to be one motive to it. One of them I knew many years after. She had the character of a very sober virtuous woman, and never made any acknowledgment of fraud in this transaction. The printed account was published with a preface by Mr. Baxter, who says, '*the evidence is so convincing, that he must be a very obdurate sadducee who will not believe.*' It obtained credit sufficient together with other preparatives, to dispose the whole country to be easily imposed upon by the more extensive and more tragical scene, which was presently after acted at Salem and other parts of the county of Essex. Not many years before, Glanvil published his witch stories in England ; Perkins and other nonconformists were earlier ; but the great authority was that of Sir Matthew Hale, revered in New England, not only for his knowledge in the law, but for his gravity and piety. The trial of the witches in Suffolk was published in 1684. All these books were in New England, and the conformity between the behavior of Goodwin's children and most of the supposed bewitched at Salem, and the be-

havior of those in England, is so exact, as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by others who had read them. Indeed, this conformity, instead of giving suspicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth of both; the old England demons and the new being so much alike. The court justified themselves from books of law, and the authorities of Keble, Dalton and other lawyers, then of the first character, who lay down rules of conviction, as absurd and dangerous as any which were practised in New-England. The trial of Richard Hatheway, the impostor, before Lord Chief Justice Holt, was ten or twelve years after. This was a great discouragement to prosecutions in England for witchcraft, but an effectual stop was not put to them, until the act of parliament in the reign of his late Majesty. Even this has not wholly cured the common people, and we hear of old women ducked and cruelly murdered within these last twenty years. Reproach, then, for hanging witches, although it has been often cast upon the people of New-England, by those of Old, yet it must have been done with an ill grace. The people of New-England were of a grave cast, and had long been disposed to give a serious solemn construction even to common events in providence; but in Old England, the reign of Charles the second was as remarkable for gaiety as any whatsoever, and for scepticism and infidelity, as any which preceded it.

Sir William Phips, the governor, upon his arrival, fell in with the opinion prevailing. Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, upon whose judgment great stress was laid, had taken up this notion, that although the devil might appear in the shape of a guilty person, yet he would never be permitted to assume the shape of an innocent person. This opinion, at first, was generally received. Some of the most religious women who were accused, when they saw the appearance of distress and torture in their accusers, and heard their solemn declarations, that they saw the shapes or spectres of the accused afflicting them, persuaded themselves they were witches, and that the devil, some how or other, although they could not remember how or when, had taken possession of their evil hearts and obtained some sort of assent to his afflicting in their shapes; and thereupon they thought they might be justified in confessing themselves guilty.

It seems, at this day, with some people, perhaps but few, to be the question whether the accused or the afflicted were under a preternatural or diabolical possession, rather than whether the afflicted were under bodily distempers; or altogether guilty of fraud and imposture.

As many of the original examinations have fallen into my hands, it may be of service to represent this affair in a more full and impartial light than it has yet appeared to the world.

In February 1691-2, a daughter and a niece of Mr. Parris, the minister of Salem village, girls of ten or eleven years of age, and two other girls in the neighborhood, made the same sort of complaints as Goodwin's children had made, two or three years before. The physicians, having no other way of accounting for the disorder,

pronounced them bewitched. An indian woman, who was brought into the country from New Spain, and then living with Mr. Parris, tried some experiments which she pretended to be used to in her own country, in order to find out the witch. This coming to the children's knowledge, they cried out upon the poor Indian as appearing to them, pinching, pricking and tormenting them ; and fell into fits. Tituba, the Indian, acknowledged that she had learned how to find out a witch, but denied that she was one herself. Several private fasts were kept at the minister's house, and several, more public, by the whole village, and then a general fast through the colony, to seek to God to rebuke Satan &c. So much notice taken of the children, together with the pity and compassion, expressed by those who visited them, not only tended to confirm them in their design but to draw others into the like. Accordingly, the number of the complainants soon increased, and among them there were two or three women, and some girls old enough for witnesses. These had their fits too, and, when in them, cried out, not only against Tituba, but against Sarah Osburn, a melancholy distracted old woman, and Sarah Good, another old woman who was bedrid. Tituba, at length, confessed herself a witch, and that the two old women were her confederates ; and they were all committed to prison ; and Tituba, upon search, was found to have scars upon her back which were called the devil's mark, but might as well have been supposed those of her Spanish master. This commitment was on the 1st of March. About three weeks after, two other women, of good characters and church members, Corey and Nurse, were complained of and brought upon their examination ; when these children fell into fits, and the mother of one of them, and wife of Thomas Putman, joined with the children and complained of Nurse as tormenting her ; and made most terrible shrieks, to the amazement of all the neighborhood. The old women denied every thing ; but were sent to prison ; and such was the infatuation, that a child of Sarah Good, about four or five years old, was committed also, being charged with biting some of the afflicted, who showed the print of small teeth on their arms. On April 3d Mr. Parris took for his text, '*Have not I chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil.*' Sarah Cloyse, supposing it to be occasioned by Nurse's case, who was her sister, went out of meeting. She was presently after, complained of for a witch, examined and committed. Elizabeth Procter was charged about the same time : Her husband, as every good husband would have done, accompanied her to her examination, but it cost the poor man his life. Some of the afflicted cried out upon him also, and they were both committed to prison.

Instead of suspecting and sifting the witnesses, and suffering them to be cross examined, the authority, to say no more, were imprudent in making use of leading questions, and thereby putting words into their mouths or suffering others to do it. Mr. Parris was over officious ; most of the examinations, although in the presence of one or more of the magistrates, were taken by him.

[Governor Hutchinson, in the second volume of his History, introduces an examination of several of the accused, which is certified by John Hawthorne and John Corwin, *Assistants*, but owing to prescribed limits they are here omitted].

No wonder the whole country was in a consternation, when persons, of sober lives and unblemished characters, were committed to prison upon such sort of evidence. The most effectual way to prevent an accusation, was to become an accuser; and accordingly the number of the afflicted increased every day, and the number of the accused in proportion, who in general persisted in their innocence; but, being strongly urged to give glory to God by their confession, and intimation being given that this was the only way to save their lives, and their friends urging them to it, some were brought to own their guilt. The first confession upon the files, is of Deliverance Hobbs, May 11th, 1692, being in prison. She owned every thing she was required to do. The confessions multiplied the witches; new companions were always mentioned, who were immediately sent for and examined. Thus more than an hundred women, many of them of fair characters and of the most reputable families, in the towns of Salem, Beverly, Andover, Billerica, &c. were apprehended, examined and, generally, committed to prison. The confessions being much of the same tenor, one or two may serve for specimens.

'The examination and confession (8. Sept. 92.) of Mary Osgood, wife of Captain Osgood of Andover, taken before John Hawthorne and other their Majesties justices.

She confesses, that about 11 years ago, when she was in a melancholly state and condition, she used to walk abroad in her orchard; and upon a certain time, she saw the appearance of a cat, at the end of the house, which yet she thought was a real cat. However, at that time, it diverted her from praying to God, and instead thereof she prayed to the devil; about which time she made a covenant with the devil, who, as a black man, came to her and presented her a book, upon which she laid her finger and that left a red spot: And that upon her signing, the devil told her he was her God, and that she should serve and worship him, and, she believes, she consented to it. She says further, that about two years ago, she was carried through the air, in company with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife and Goody Tyler, to five mile pond, where she was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptism, and told her she must be his, soul and body, forever, and that she must serve him, which she promised to do. She says, the renouncing her first baptism was after her first dipping, and that she was transported back again through the air, in company with the fore-named persons, in the same manner as she went, and believes they were carried upon a pole. Q. How many persons were upon the

pole? A. As I said before, viz. four persons and no more but whom she had named above. She confesses she has afflicted three persons, John Sawdy, Martha Sprague and Rose Foster, and that she did it by pinching her bed cloaths, and giving consent the devil should do it in her shape, and that the devil could not do it without her consent. She confesses the afflicting persons in the court, by the glance of her eye. She says, as she was coming down to Salem to be examined, she and the rest of the company with her stopped at Mr. Phillips' to refresh themselves, and the afflicted persons, being behind them upon the road, came up just as she was mounting again and were then afflicted, and cried out upon her, so that she was forced to stay until they were all past, and said she only looked that way towards them. Q. Do you know the devil can take the shape of an innocent person and afflict? A. I believe he cannot. Q. Who taught you this way of witchcraft? A. Satan, and that he promised her abundance of satisfaction and quietness in her future state, but never performed any thing; and that she has lived more miserably and more discontented since, than ever before. She confesses further, that she herself, in company with Goody Parker, Goody Tyler and Goody Dean, had a meeting at Moses Tyler's house, last monday night, to afflict, and that she and Goody Dean carried the shape of Mr. Dean, the minister, between them, to make persons believe that Mr. Dean afflicted. Q. What hindered you from accomplishing what you intended? A. The Lord would not suffer it so to be, that the devil should afflict in an innocent person's shape. Q. Have you been at any other witch meetings? A. I know nothing thereof, as I shall answer in the presence of God and his people; but said, that the black man stood before her, and told her, that what she had confessed was a lie; notwithstanding, she said that what she had confessed was true, and thereto put her hand. Her husband being present was asked, if he judged his wife to be any way discomposed. He answered, that having lived with her so long, he doth not judge her to be any ways discomposed, but has cause to believe what she has said is true.—When Mistress Osgood was first called, she afflicted Martha Sprague and Rose Foster, by the glance of her eyes, and recovered them out of their fits by the touch of her hand. Mary Lacey, Betty Johnson and Hannah Post saw Mistress Osgood afflicting Sprague and Foster.—The said Hannah Post and Mary Lacey and Betty Johnson, jun. and Rose Foster and Mary Richardson were afflicted by Mistress Osgood, in the time of their examination, and recovered by her touching of their hands.

I underwritten. being appointed by authority, to take this examination, to testify upon oath, taken in court, that this is a true copy of the substance of it to the best of my knowledge, 5 Jan. 1692-3. The within Mary Osgood was examined before their Majesties justices of the peace in Salem.

Attest.

John Higginson, Just. Pac.

A miserable negro woman, charged by some of the girls with af

flicting them, confessed, but was cunning enough to bring the greatest share of the guilt upon her mistress.

Salem, Monday July 4, 1692. The examination of Candy, a negro woman, before Bartholomew Gedney and John Hawthorne Esq's. Mr. Nicholas Noyes also present.

Q. Candy ! are you a witch ? A. Candy no witch in her country. Candy's mother no witch. Candy no witch, Barbados. This country, mistress give Candy witch. Q. Did your mistress make you a witch in this country ? A. Yes, in this country mistress give Candy witch. Q. What did your mistress do to make you a witch ? A. Mistress bring book and pen and ink, make Candy write in it. Q. What did you write in it ?—She took a pen and ink and upon a book or paper made a mark. Q. How did you afflict or hurt these folks, where are the puppets you did it with ?—She asked to go out of the room and she would show or tell ; upon which she had liberty, one going with her, and she presently brought in two clouts, one with two knots tied in it, the other one ; which being seen by Mary Warren, Deliverance Hobbs and Abigail Hobbs, they were greatly affrighted and fell into violent fits, and all of them said that the black man and Mrs. Hawkes, and the negro stood by the puppets or rags and pinched them, and then they were afflicted, and when the knots were untied yet they continued as aforesaid. A bit of one of the rags being set on fire, the afflicted all said they were burned, and cried out dreadfully. The rags being put into water, two of the fore-named persons were in dreadful fits almost choaked, and the other was violently running down to the river, but was stopped.

Attest.

John Hawthorne, Just. Peace.

Mrs. Hawkes, the mistress, had no other way to save her life but to confess also.

"The recantation of several persons in Andover will show in what manner they were brought to their confessions.

We whose names are under-written, inhabitants of Andover ; when as that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem village in the year 1692, by some called witchcraft, first breaking forth at Mr. Parris's house, several young persons, being seemingly afflicted, did accuse several persons for afflicting them, and many there believing it so to be, we being informed that, if a person was sick, the afflicted person could tell what or who was the cause of that sickness : Joseph Ballard, of Andover, his wife being sick at the same time, he, either from himself or by the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons, from Salem village to Andover, which was the beginning of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover, believing the said accusations to be true, sent for the said persons to come together to the meeting house in Andover, the afflicted persons being there. After Mr. Barnard had been at prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted persons, they being in their fits and falling into their fits at our coming into their presence, as they said ; and some led us and laid our

hands upon them, and then they said they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting them : Whereupon we were all seized as prisoners, by a warrant from the justice of the peace and forthwith carried to Salem. And, by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished and amazed, and consternated and affrighted even out of our reason; and our nearest and dearest relations, seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehended there was no other way to save our lives, as the case was then circumstanced, but by our confessing ourselves to be such and such persons as the afflicted represented us to be, they, out of tenderness and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess. And indeed that confession, that it is said we made, was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, which made us think it was so ; and our understandings, our reason, our faculties, almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our condition ; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making our defence, but said any thing and every thing which they desired, and most of what we said was but, in effect, a consenting to what they said. Some time after, when we were better composed, they telling us what we had confessed, we did profess that we were innocent and ignorant of such things ; and we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his confession, and quickly after condemned and executed, some of us were told we were going after Wardwell.

Mary Osgood, Deliverance Dane, Sarah Wilson,  
Mary Tiler, Abigail Barker, Hannah Tiler.

The testimonials to these persons characters by the principal inhabitants of Andover will outweigh the credulity of the justices who committed them, or of the grand jury which found bills against them.

Although the number of prisoners had been increasing, from February until the beginning of June, yet there had been no trials. The charter was expected from day to day, and the new constitution of government to take place. Soon after it's arrival, commissioners of oyer and terminer were appointed for the trial of witchcrafts. By the charter, the general assembly are to constitute courts of justice, and the governor with the advice of the council is to nominate and appoint judges, commissioners of oyer and terminer, &c. but whether the governor, with advice of council, can constitute a court of oyer and terminer, without authority for that purpose derived from the general assembly, has been made a question ; however, this, the most important court to the life of the subject which ever was held in the province, was constituted in no other manner. It was opened at Salem, the first week in June. Only one of the accused, Bridget Bishop, alias Oliver, was then brought to trial. She had been charged with witchcraft twenty years before. The accuser, upon his death bed, confessed his own guilt in the accusation ; but an old woman, once charged with being a witch, is never afterwards wholly free

from the accusation, and she being, besides, of a fractious temper, all the losses the neighbours met with in their cattle and poultry, and accidents in oversetting their carts, &c. were attributed to her spite against them, and now suffered to be testified against her. This evidence, together with the testimony of the afflicted, and of the confessors, what they had heard from the spectres and seen of her spectre, and an excrescence, called a teat, found upon her body, were deemed by court and jury plenary proof, and she was convicted, and on the 10th of June executed. The further trials were put off to the adjournment, the 30th of June."

"At the first trial, there was no colony or provincial law against witchcraft in force. The statute of James the first must therefore have been considered as in force in the province, witchcraft not being an offence at common law. Before the adjournment, the old colony law, which makes witchcraft a capital offence, was revived, with the other local laws, as they were called, and made a law of the province.

At the adjournment, June 30, five women were brought upon trial, Sarah Good, Rebekah Nurse, Susannah Martin, Elizabeth How, and Sarah Wilder.

There was no difficulty with any but Nurse. She was a member of the church and of a good character, and, as to her, the jury brought in their verdict not guilty; upon which the accusers made a great clamour, and the court expressed their dissatisfaction with the verdict, which caused some of the jury to desire to go out again; and then they brought her in guilty. This was a hard case, and can scarcely be said to be *the execution of the law and justice in mercy*. In a capital case, the court often refuses a verdict of *guilty*, but rarely, if ever, sends a jury out again, upon one of *not guilty*. It does not indeed appear, that in this case the jury was ordered out again; but the dissatisfaction expressed by the court seems to have been in such a manner as to have the same effect."

"At the next adjournment, August 5th, George Burroughs, John Procter and Elizabeth his wife, John Willard, George Jacobs and Martha Carrier were all brought upon trial and condemned, and all executed upon the 19th of August, except Elizabeth Procter, who escaped by pleading pregnancy.

Burroughs had been a preacher, several years before this, at Salem village, where there had been some misunderstanding between him and the people. Afterwards he became a preacher at Wells in the province of Main. We will be a little more particular in our account of his trial. The indictment was as follows,

"Anno Regis et Reginæ, &c. quarto.

*Essex ss.* The Jurors for our sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, present, that George Burroughs, late of Falmouth in the Province of Massachusetts bay, clerk, the ninth day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord and Lady William and Mary, by the grace of God of England, Scotland, France and



Ireland, King and Queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain detestable arts called witchcrafts and sorceries; wickedly and feloniously hath used, practised and exercised, at and within the town of Salem, in the county of Essex aforesaid, in, upon and against one Mary Walcot of Salem village, in the county of Essex, single woman; by which said wicked arts, the said Mary Walcot, the ninth day of May, in the fourth year above said, and divers other days and times as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted and tormented, against the peace of our sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen, and against the form of the statute in that case made and provided. Endorsed *Billa vera*." Three other bills were found against him for witchcrafts upon other persons, to all which he pleaded not guilty, and put himself upon trial; &c."

"September the 9th, *Martha Cory, Mary Esty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, Dorcas Hoar, and Mary Bradbury* were tried, and September 17th, *Margaret Scott, Wilnot Read, Samuel Wardwell, Mary Parker, Abigail Falkner, Rebekah Eames, Mary Lacey, Ann Foster, and Abigail Hobbs,* and all received sentence of death. Those in italick were executed the 22d following.

Mary Esty, who was sister to Nurse, gave in to the court a petition; in which she says, she does not ask her own life, although she is conscious of her innocence; but prays them, before they condemn any more, to examine the confessing witches more strictly; for she is sure they have belied themselves and others, which will appear in the world to which she is going, if it should not in this world.

Those who were condemned and not executed, I suppose, all confessed their guilt. I have seen the confessions of several of them. Wardwell also confessed, but he recanted and suffered. His own wife, as well as his daughter,\* accused him and saved themselves. There are many instances, among the examinations, of children accusing their parents, and some of parents accusing their children. This is the only instance of a wife or husband, accusing one the other. and surely this instance ought not to have been suffered. I shudder while I am relating it. Besides this irregularity, there were others in the course of these trials. The facts laid in the indictments were, witchcrafts upon particular persons, there was no evidence of these facts, but what was called spectral evidence, which, in the opinion of the ministers, was insufficient; some of the other evidence was of facts ten or twenty years before, which had no relation to those with which they were charged; and some of them no relation to the crime of witchcraft. Evidence is not admitted, even against the general character of persons upon trial, unless to encounter other evidence brought in favor of it; much less ought their whole lives to be arranged, without giving time sufficient for defence.

Giles Cory was the only person, besides those already named, who

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\* The daughter upon a second enquiry denied that she knew her father and mother to be witches; the wife was not asked a second time.

suffered. He, seeing the fate of all who had put themselves upon trial, refused to plead; but the judges, who had not been careful enough in observing the law in favor of the prisoners, determined to do it against this unhappy man, and he had judgment of *peine fort et dure* for standing mute, and was pressed to death; the only instance which ever was, either before this time or since, in New-England. In all ages of the world superstitious credulity has produced greater cruelty than is practised among the Hottentots, or other nations, whose belief of a deity is called in question.

This court of oyer and terminer, happy for the country, sat no more. Nineteen persons had been executed, all asserting their innocence; but this was not enough to open the eyes of the people in general. The goal at Salem was filled with prisoners, and many had been removed to other goals: some were admitted to bail, all reserved for trial, a law having passed constituting a supreme standing court, with jurisdiction in capital, as well as all other criminal cases. The general court also showed their zeal against witchcraft, by a law passed in the words of the statute of James the first, but this law was disallowed by the King.

The time, by law, for holding the court at Salem, was not until January. This gave opportunity for consideration; and this alone might have been sufficient for a change of opinions and measures, but another reason has been given for it. Ordinarily, persons of the lowest rank in life have had the misfortune to be charged with witchcrafts; and although many such had suffered, yet there remained in prison a number of women, of as reputable families as any in the towns where they lived, and several persons, of still superior rank, were hinted at by the pretended bewitched, or by the confessing witches. Some had been publicly named. Dudley Bradstreet, a justice of the peace, who had been appointed one of president Dudley's council, and who was son to the worthy old governor, then living, found it necessary to abscond. Having been remiss in prosecuting, he had been charged by some of the afflicted as a confederate. His brother, John Bradstreet, was forced to fly also. Calef says it was intimated that Sir William Phips's lady was among the accused. It is certain, that one who pretended to be bewitched at Boston, where the infection was beginning to spread, charged the secretary of the colony of Connecticut.

At the court in January, the grand jury found bills against about 50 for witchcraft, one or two men, the rest women; but upon trial, they were all acquitted, except three of the worst characters, and those the governor reprieved for the King's mercy. All that were not brought upon trial he ordered to be discharged.\* Such a goal delivery was made this court, as has never been known at any other time in New-England."—*Hutchinson's Hist. Mass.*

\* It is said, the governor's lady, when Sir William was absent, saved one poor woman from trial. "In Sir William's absence, his lady, I suppose upon account of her name's being Mary, (William and Mary) was solicited for a favour in behalf of a woman committed by one of the judges, on accusation of witchcraft, by a formal

The two following appear to be the only cases of trials for witchcraft on the records of Connecticut. The orthography is retained.

"A Court held at Hartford, July 2d, 1663. Elizabeth Seger, thou art here Indited by the name of Elizabeth Seger, for not having the feare of God before thine Eyes; thou hast entertained familiarity with Sathan, the grand Enemy of God and mankind, and by his help, hast acted things in a preternaturall way beyound the ordenary course of nature, as allso for that thou hast committed Adultery, and hast spoken Blasphemy against God, contrary to the Lawes of God and the established Lawes of this Corporation, for all or any of which crimes by the said Lawes thou deservest to dye.

The Prisoner pleaded not Guilty of the Inditement, and refered herself to the tryall of the Jury.

The Jury returne that they finde the Prisoner Guilty of the Inditement in that perticuler of Adultery.

June, A. D. 1665.

*The Inditement of Elizabeth Seger.*

Elizabeth Seager, thou art here indited by the name of Elizabeth Seager, the wife of Richard Seager, not having the feare of God before thine eyes, thou hast entertained familiarity with *Satan*, the Grand Enemy of God and mankind—hast practiced witchcraft formerly, and continuist to practice witchcraft, for which, according to ye Lawes of God and the establisht Law of this Corporation, thou deservest to die.

The Prisoner answers not guilty, and refers herself to be tried by God and the Country.

The Jury being called to return their Verdict upon ye Inditement of Elizabeth Seager, the Foreman declares that they find the prisoner *Guilty* of familiarity with *Satan*.

Respecting Elizabeth Seager, this Court considering the verdict of ye Jury, and finding that it doth not legally answer the Inditement, doe therefore discharge and set her free from further suffering or imprisonment.

This is a true copy of record.

The same Elizabeth Segar had been before tried and acquitted for the same offence committed with the crimé of adultery, and found guilty of adultery, and not guilty of witchcraft.

*Court of Assistance at Hartford May 25, 1699*

Kateram Harrison, thou standest here Indited by ye name of Kateram Harrison, of Weathersfield, as being guilty of Witchcraft, for that thou not having the fear of God before thine eyes, hast had familiarity

warrant under his hand and seal, and in close prison for trial the next assizes, then not far off. The good lady, *propria virtute*, granted and signed a warrant for the said woman's discharge, which was obeyed by the keeper, and the woman lives still for aught I know. Truly, I did not believe this story till I saw a copy of the mittimus and discharge, under the keeper's hand, attested a true copy, for which discovery the keeper was discharged from his trust and put out of his employment, as he himself told me. *M.S. letter.*

with Sathan, the grand enemie of God and mankind ; and by his help hast acted things beyound and besides the ordinary course of nature, and hast thereby hurt the bodyes of diuers of the Subjects of our Soueraigne Lord, the King ; for which, by the law of God and of this Corporation, thou oughtest to dye. What sayest thou for thyselfe, guilty or not guilty. The Prisoner returned not guilty, and referred herself to a Tryall by the Jury present.—Juryes Oath. You doe sware by the grate dreadfull name of the euerliuing God, that you well and truely try, Just verdict giue, and true deliuerance make between our Sourigan Lord, the King, and such Prisoner or Prisoners at the Barr as sheals be given you in charge according to euidence giuen in Court and the lawes, so help you God, in our Lord Jesus.

The Jury finding difficulty in the matter given them in charge, in reference to the Indictment of Kathern Harrison, cannot as yet, agree to give in a verdict ; upon which the Court see cause to adjourne vntill the next Sasion of the Court of Assistant in October ; at which time the Jury are to appare to give their verdict, and the Prisoner to remaine in durance till that time.

*A Court of Assistants held at Hartford October 12, 1699.*

The Jury were called in Court, and did appeare, who were by the Court ordered to pass upon the consideration of the Indictment of Kath. Harrison, formerly committed to them.

The Jury being called to give in their verdict upon the Indictment of Katherin Harrison, returne that they find the Prisoner guilty of the Indictment.

This Court haueing considered the verdict of the Jury respecting Kathern Harrison, cannot concur with them so as to sentence her to Death, or to a longer continuance in restraynt, but do dismiss her from her imprisonment, she paying her Just fees, willing her to minde the fullfilment of remouing from Weathersfield ; which is that will tend most to her owne safety and the contentment of the people who are her neighbours."

The following occurrences, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given, took place in 1802, in Salisbury in Connecticut, and Sheffield in Massachusetts. The account was obtained in Sheffield, from Mr. S. Sage and his family, who were still living on the spot, (June, 1836) and could be corroborated by great numbers of people still living.

"These occurrences commenced Nov. 8th, 1802, at a clothier's shop : A man and two boys were in the shop ; the boys had retired to rest, it being between 10 and 11 o'clock at night. A block of wood was thrown through the window ; after that, pieces of hard mortar, till the man and boys became alarmed, and went to the house to call Mr. Sage, who arose from bed and went to the shop, and could hear the glass break often, but could not discover from whence it came, notwithstanding the night was very light. He exerted himself to

discover the cause without success. It continued constantly till day light, and then ceased till the next evening at 8 o'clock, when it commenced again, and continued till midnight; these ceased till the next evening at dusk, and continued till some time in the evening, and then ceased. The next day it commenced about an hour before sun-down, and continued about an hour, and then it left the shop and began at the dwelling house of Mr. Ezekiel Landon, 100 rods north, in the town of Sheffield. It continued several hours, and ceased till next morning: when the family were at breakfast it began again, and continued two or three hours, and ceased till evening, when it began again and continued several hours, and ceased till the next morning, when it began again and continued all the forenoon, and then ceased altogether. The articles thrown into the shop were pieces of wood, charcoal, stone, but principally pieces of hard mortar, such as could not be found in the neighborhood. Nothing but stones were thrown into the house of Mr. Landon, the first of which were thrown into the door. There were 38 panes of glass broke out of the shop, and 18 out of the dwelling house: in two or three instances persons were hit by the things that were thrown. What was remarkable, nothing could be seen coming till the glass broke, and whatever passed through, fell directly down on the window sill, as if it had been put through with a person's fingers, and many pieces of mortar and coal were thrown through the same hole in the glass in succession. Many hundreds of people assembled to witness the scene, among whom were clergymen and other gentlemen, but none were able to detect the source of the mischief."—*Connecticut Hist. Coll.*

The following, which is given in Mather's *Magnalia*, appears to be well authenticated. Whatever may be our belief respecting appearances or premonitions of this kind, volumes might be filled with similar relations, equally unaccountable, given by persons whose testimony would be received as truth on every other subject.

"It was on the second of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious, accomplish'd and well-dispos'd young gentleman, Mr. Joseph Beacon by name, about 5 a'clock in the morning, as he lay, whether sleeping or waking, he could not say, (but judg'd the latter of them) had a view of his brother then at London, although he was now himself at our Boston, distanc'd from him a thousand leagues. This, his brother appear'd to him in the morning, (I say) about 5 a'clock, at Boston, having on him a Bengale gown which he usually wore, with a napkin ty'd about his head: his countenance was very pale, ghastly, deadly, and he had a bloody wound on one side of his forehead.—Brother! says the affrighted Joseph. Brother! answer'd the apparition. Said Joseph, what's the matter, brother! how came you here! The apparition reply'd, brother! I have been most barbarously and inhumanly murder'd by a debauch'd fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my life. Whereupon he gave a particular description of the murderer; adding, brother, this fellow changing his name, is attempting to come over unto New-England, in Foy or wild: I would

pray you on the first arrival of either of these, to get an order from the governour to seize the person whom I have now describ'd; and then do you indict him for the murder of me, your brother. I'll stand by you, and prove the indictment. And so he vanish'd. Mr. Beacon was extremely astonish'd at what he had seen and heard; and the people of the family not only observ'd an extraordinary alteration upon him for the week following, but have also given me under their hands a full testimony that he then gave them an account of this apparition. All this while, Mr. Beacon had no advice of any thing amiss attending his brother then in England: but about the latter end of June following, he understood by the common ways of communication, that the April before, his brother going in haste by night to call a coach for a lady, met a fellow then in drink with his doxy in his hand. Some way or other the fellow thought himself affronted in the hasty passage of this Beacon, and immediately ran in to the fire side of a neighbouring tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded Beacon on the skull, even in that very part where the apparition shew'd his wound. Of this wound he languished until he dy'd, on the 2d of May, about 5 of the clock in the morning, at London. The murderer, it seems, was endeavouring an escape, as the apparition affirm'd; but the friends of the deceas'd Beacon seiz'd him; and prosecuting him at law, he found the help of such friends, as brought him off without the loss of his life: since which, there has no more been heard of the business.

The history (says Dr. Mather) I receiv'd of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself, who, a little before his own pious and hopeful death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the story, written and sign'd with his own hand, and attested with the circumstances I have already mention'd."

[From the *Connecticut Journal*, No. 517.]

"North Stratford, Aug. 28th, 1777.

On the 25th instant died in this place, Mrs. Hannah Henman, aged 99 years. She was a person of good understanding, strict religion, solid piety, and maintained a firm and unshaken hope in the merits of Christ to the end. And what is remarkable concerning her exit out of the world, she died the very day on which she was 99 years of age, of which she had a premonition near 20 years before her death, in a dream or vision; a venerable comely person who she afterwards used to call her guardian angel, and whom she had seen once before, appeared to her, and asked her age; she told him: upon which he replied, you will not live to an hundred years, but almost; you will live to be 99 and then die. She often mentioned this to her friends and neighbors, and was so confidently persuaded of the truth of it, that she would frequently count upon it how many years she had to live. And there are scores of persons now living in the parish, who have often heard her say, that she should die at 99, on her birth day, old style. About a fortnight before her decease, she enquired of her son, landlord John Henman, at whose house she died, the day of the month: and again repeated to the family that she had just so many

days to live, which accordingly happened on her very birth day, as it is called. The great age this person arrived to, together with those circumstances respecting the time of her death, are so very extraordinary, that it was thought proper to communicate them to the public.

*Remarkable Account of Rev. William Tennent, of Freehold, N. J.*—The Rev. W. Tennent, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, at Freehold, in New Jersey, was born in Ireland, June 3d, 1705. He arrived in America in the fourteenth year of his age. Being of a serious turn of mind, he resolved to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. He accordingly commenced the study of divinity under the direction of his brother, Rev. Gilbert Tennent, pastor of the church at New Brunswick, N. J. The following account is from a Life of Mr. Tennent, published in 1813; the account was first published in the "Evangelical Intelligencer," a work printed in Philadelphia. The writer appears to have had a scrupulous regard to truth.

"After a regular course of study in theology, Mr. Tennent was preparing for his examination by the Presbytery, as a candidate for the gospel ministry. His intense application affected his health, and brought on a pain in his breast and a slight hectic. He soon became emaciated, and at length was like a living skeleton. His life was now threatened. He was attended by a physician, a young man who was attached to him by the strictest and warmest friendship. He grew worse and worse, till little hope of his life was left. In this situation his spirits failed him, and he began to entertain doubts of his final happiness. He was conversing one morning with his brother, in Latin, on the state of his soul, when he fainted and died away. After the usual time, he was laid out on a board, according to the common practice of the country, and the neighborhood were invited to attend his funeral on the next day. In the evening, his physician and friend returned from a ride in the country, and was afflicted beyond measure at the news of his death. He could not be persuaded that it was certain; and on being told that one of the persons who had assisted in laying out the body, thought he had observed a little tremor of the flesh under the arm, although the body was cold and stiff, he endeavored to ascertain the fact. He first put his own hand into warm water to make it as sensible as possible, and then felt under the arm, and at the heart, and affirmed that he felt an unusual warmth, though no one else could. He had the body restored to a warm bed, and insisted that the people who had been invited to the funeral, should be requested not to attend. To this the brother objected as absurd, the eyes being sunk, the lips discolored, and the whole body cold and stiff. However, the doctor finally prevailed, and all probable means were used to discover symptoms of returning life. But the third day arrived, and no hopes were entertained of success but by the doctor, who never left him night nor day. The people were again invited, and assembled to attend the funeral. The doctor still objected, and

at last confined his request for delay to one hour, then to half an hour, and finally to a quarter of an hour. He had discovered that the tongue was much sweln, and threatened to crack. He was endeavoring to soften it by some emollient ointment put upon it with a feather, when the brother came in, about the expiration of the last period, and mistaking what the doctor was doing for an attempt to feed him, manifested some resentment, and, in a spirited tone, said, 'It is shameful to be feeding a lifeless corpse;' and insisted, with earnestness, that the funeral should immediately proceed. At this critical and important moment, the body, to the great alarm and astonishment of all present, opened its eyes, gave a dreadful groan, and sunk again into apparent death. This put an end to all thoughts of burying him, and every effort was again employed in hopes of bringing about a speedy resuscitation. In about an hour, the eyes again opened, a heavy groan proceeded from the body, and again all appearance of animation vanished. In another hour, life seemed to return with more power, and a complete revival took place, to the great joy of the family and friends, and to the no small astonishment and conviction of very many who had been ridiculing the idea of restoring to life a dead body.

Mr. Tennent continued in so weak and low a state for six weeks, that great doubts were entertained of his final recovery. However, after that period, he recovered much faster, but it was about twelve months before he was completely restored. After he was able to walk the room, and to take notice of what passed around him, on a Sunday afternoon, his sister, who had staid from church to attend him, was reading in the Bible, when he took notice of it, and asked her what she had in her hand. She answered, that she was reading the Bible. He replied, 'What is the Bible? I know not what you mean.' This affected the sister so much that she burst into tears, and informed him that he was once well acquainted with it. On her reporting this to the brother when he returned, Mr. Tennent was found, upon examination, to be totally ignorant of every transaction of his life previous to his sickness. He could not read a single word, neither did he seem to have an idea of what it meant. As soon as he became capable of attention, he was taught to read and write, as children are usually taught, and afterwards began to learn the Latin language, under the tuition of his brother. One day as he was reciting a lesson in Cornelius Nepos, he suddenly started, clapped his hand to his head, as if something had hurt him, and made a pause. His brother asking him what was the matter, he said that he felt a sudden shock in his head, and it now seemed to him as if he had read that book before. By degrees his recollection was restored, and he could speak the Latin as fluently as before his sickness. His memory so completely revived, that he gained a perfect knowledge of the past transactions of his life, as if no difficulty had previously occurred. This event, at the time, made a considerable noise, and afforded not only matter of serious contemplation to the devout Christian, especially when connected with what follows in this narration, but furnished a subject of deep



investigation and learned inquiry to the real philosopher and curious anatomist.

The writer of these memoirs was greatly interested by these uncommon events; and, on a favorable occasion, earnestly pressed Mr. Tennent for a minute account of what his views and apprehensions were, while he lay in this extraordinary state of suspended animation. He discovered great reluctance to enter into any explanation of his perceptions and feelings at this time; but being importunately urged to do it, he at length consented, and proceeded with a solemnity not to be described.

'While I was conversing with my brother,' said he, 'on the state of my soul, and the fears I had entertained for my future welfare, I found myself, in an instant, in another state of existence, under the direction of a superior Being, who ordered me to follow him. I was accordingly wafted along, I know not how, till I beheld at a distance an ineffable glory, the impression of which on my mind, it is impossible to communicate to mortal man. I immediately reflected on my happy change, and thought—Well, blessed be God! I am safe at last, notwithstanding all my fears. I saw an innumerable host of happy beings, surrounding the inexpressible glory, in acts of adoration and joyous worship; but I did not see any bodily shape or representation in the glorious appearance. I heard things unutterable. I heard their songs and hallelujahs, of thanksgiving and praise, with unspeakable rapture. I felt joy unutterable and full of glory. I then applied to my conductor, and requested leave to join the happy throng; on which he tapped me on the shoulder, and said, 'You must return to the earth.' This seemed like a sword through my heart. In an instant I recollect to have seen my brother standing before me disputing with the doctor. The three days during which I had appeared lifeless, seemed to me not more than ten or twenty minutes. The idea of returning to this world of sorrow and trouble gave me such a shock, that I fainted repeatedly.' He added, 'Such was the effect upon my mind of what I had seen and heard, that if it be possible for a human being to live entirely above the world and the things of it, for some time afterwards I was that person. The ravishing sounds of the songs and hallelujahs that I heard, and the very words that were uttered, were not out of my ears, when awake, for at least three years. All the kingdoms of the earth were in my sight as nothing and vanity; and so great were my ideas of heavenly glory, that nothing which did not in some measure relate to it, could command my serious attention.\*'

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\* The author has been particularly solicitous to obtain every confirmation of this extraordinary event in the life of Mr. Tennent. He, accordingly, wrote to every person he could think of, likely to have conversed with Mr. T. on the subject. He received several answers; but the following letter, from the worthy successor of Mr. Tennent, in the pastoral charge of his church, will answer for the author's purpose.

*"Monmouth, New Jersey, December 10, 1806.*

DEAR SIR,

Agreeably to your request, I now send you, in writing, the remarkable account which I some time since gave you verbally, respecting your good friend, my

It is not surprising, that after so affecting an account, strong solicitude should have been felt for further information as to the words, or at least the subjects of praise and adoration, which Mr. Tennent had

worthy predecessor, the late Rev. William Tennent, of this place. In a very free and feeling conversation on religion, and on the future rest and blessedness of the people of God, (while travelling together from Monmouth to Princeton) I mentioned to Mr. Tennent that I should be highly gratified in hearing, from his own mouth, an account of the trance which he was said to have been in, unless the relation would be disagreeable to himself. After a short silence, he proceeded, saying, that he had been sick with a fever—that the fever increased, and he by degrees sunk under it. After some time (as his friends informed him) he died, or appeared to die, in the same manner as persons usually do; that in laying him out, one happened to draw his hand under the left arm, and perceived a small tremor in the flesh; that he was laid out, and was cold and stiff. The time for his funeral was appointed, and the people collected; but a young doctor, his particular friend, pleaded with great earnestness that he might not then be buried, as the tremor under the arm continued; that his brother, Gilbert, became impatient with the young gentleman, and said to him, 'What! a man not dead, who is cold and stiff as a stake!' The importunate young friend, however, prevailed; another day was appointed for the burial, and the people separated. During this interval many means were made use of to discover, if possible, some symptoms of life; but none appeared excepting the tremor. The doctor never left him for three nights and three days. The people again met to bury him, but could not, even then, obtain the consent of his friend, who pleaded for one hour more; and when that was gone he pleaded for half an hour, and then for a quarter of an hour; when, just at the close of this period, on which hung his last hope, Mr. Tennent opened his eyes. They then pried open his mouth, which was stiff, so as to get a quill into it, through which some liquid was conveyed into the stomach, and he by degrees recovered.

This account, as intimated before, Mr. Tennent said he had received from his friends. I said to him, 'Sir, you seem to be one indeed raised from the dead, and may tell us what it is to die, and what you were sensible of while in that state.' He replied in the following words: 'As to dying—I found my fever increase, and I became weaker and weaker, until, all at once, I found myself in heaven, as I thought. I saw no shape as to the Deity, but glory all unutterable!' Here he paused, as though unable to find words to express his views, let his bridle fall, and lifting up his hands proceeded, 'I can say as St. Paul did, I heard and I saw things all unutterable! I saw a great multitude before this glory, apparently in the height of bliss, singing most melodiously. I was transported with my own situation, viewing all my troubles ended, and my rest and glory begun, and was about to join the great and happy multitude, when one came to me, looked me full in the face, laid his hand upon my shoulder, and said, 'You must go back.' These words went through me; nothing could have shocked me more; I cried out, Lord, must I go back! With this shock I opened my eyes in this world. When I saw I was in the world, I fainted, then came to, and fainted for several times, as one probably would naturally have done in so weak a situation.'

Mr. Tennent further informed me, that he had so entirely lost the recollection of his past life, and the benefit of his former studies, that he could neither understand what was spoken to him, nor write, nor read his own name—that he had to begin all anew, and did not recollect that he had ever read before, until he had again learned his letters, and was able to pronounce the monosyllables, such as thee and thou. But, that as his strength returned, which was very slowly, his memory also returned. Yet, notwithstanding the extreme feebleness of his situation, his recollection of what he saw and heard while in heaven, as he supposed, and the sense of divine things which he there obtained, continued all the time in their full strength, so that he was continually in something like an ecstasy of mind. 'And,' said he, 'for three years, the sense of divine things continued so great, and every thing else appeared so completely vain, when compared to heaven, that could I have had the world for stooping down for it, I believe I should not have thought of doing it.'

heard. But when he was requested to communicate these, he gave a decided negative, adding, 'You will know them, with many other particulars, hereafter, as you will find the whole among my papers;' alluding to his intention of leaving the writer hereof his executor, which precluded any further solicitation.\*

The writer of the life of Mr. Tennent, having requested of the Rev. Dr. William M. Tennent, a written account of an anecdote relative to his uncle which he had once heard him repeat verbally, received in reply the following letter :

" Abington, January 11, 1806.

SIR,

The anecdote of my venerable relative, the Rev. William Tennent, of Freehold, which you wished me to send you, is as follows :

During the great revival of religion, which took place under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield, and others distinguished for their piety and zeal at that period, Mr. Tennent was laboriously active, and much engaged to help forward the work ; in the performance of which he met with strong and powerful temptations. The following is related as received, in substance, from his own lips, and may be considered as extraordinary and singularly striking :

On the evening preceding public worship, which was to be attended the next day, he selected a subject for the discourse which was to be delivered, and made some progress in his preparations. In the morning he resumed the same subject, with an intention to extend his thoughts further on it, but was presently assaulted with a temptation that the Bible, which he then held in hand, was not of divine authority, but the invention of man. He instantly endeavored to repel the temptation by prayer, but his endeavors proved unavailing. The temptation continued, and fastened upon him with greater strength, as the time advanced for public service. He lost all the thoughts which he had on his subject the preceding evening. He tried other subjects, but could get nothing for the people. The whole book of God, under that distressing state of mind, was a sealed book to him : and to add to his affliction, he was, to use his own words, ' shut up in prayer.' A cloud, dark as that of Egypt, oppressed his mind.

Thus agonized in spirit, he proceeded to the church, where he found a large congregation assembled, and waiting to hear the word : and then it was, he observed, that he was more deeply distressed than ever, and especially for the dishonor which he feared would fall

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\* It was so ordered, in the course of divine Providence, that the writer was sorely disappointed in his expectation of obtaining the papers here alluded to. Such, however, was the will of Heaven ! Mr. Tennent's death happened during the revolutionary war, when the enemy separated the writer from him, so as to render it impracticable to attend him on a dying bed ; and before it was possible to get to his house, after his death, (the writer being with the American army at the Valley-Forge) his son came from Charleston, and took his mother, and his father's papers and property, and returned to Carolina. About fifty miles from Charleston, the son was suddenly taken sick, and died among entire strangers ; and never since, though the writer was left executor to the son, could any trace of the father's papers be discovered by him.

upon religion, through him, that day. He resolved, however, to attempt the service. He introduced it by singing a psalm, during which time his agitations were increased to the highest degree. When the moment for prayer commenced, he arose, as one in the most perilous and painful situation, and with arms extended to heaven, began with this outcry, 'Lord have mercy upon me!' Upon the utterance of this petition, he was heard; the thick cloud instantly broke away, and an unspeakably joyful light shone in upon his soul, so that his spirit seemed to be caught up to the heavens, and he felt as though he saw God, as Moses did on the Mount, face to face, and was carried forth to him, with an enlargement greater than he had ever before experienced, and on every page of the scriptures saw his divinity inscribed in brightest colors. The result was a deep solemnity on the face of the whole congregation, and the house at the end of the prayer was a Bochim. He gave them the subject of his evening meditations, which was brought to his full remembrance, with an overflowing abundance of other weighty and solemn matter. The Lord blessed the discourse, so that it proved the happy means of the conversion of about thirty persons. This day he spoke of, ever afterwards, as his harvest day.

WILLIAM M. TENNENT."

*Remarkable healing of Mrs. Mercy Wheeler.*—A remarkable instance of healing in the case of Mrs. Wheeler, of Plainfield, Con., which took place in 1743, has been published several times. For sixteen years previous, she was not able to lift a foot or take a step. The account of her case was drawn up by Rev. Benjamin Lord, A. M.

"And no sooner was he [Mr. Lord] gone from her, but it turned in her mind—The Lecture is ended, and the service all over, and I am not healed; what is become of my faith now? Won't it be with me as it used to be? Whereupon a cloud of great darkness came over her, for a minute or two; in which time she was led again into herself, to see what a poor unworthy creature she was, and had some such thoughts of the wisdom and goodness of God's will, that she felt a disposition to be as God would have her be. Then those words were repeated to her—If thou wilt believe, thou shalt see the glory of God. By which her darkness was carried off, and under the influence of this word now, she seemed (as she expressed it) to be wholly taken out of herself, into the hands of God, and enabled to believe that he could and would heal her. Immediately upon which, she felt a strange irresistible motion and shaking, which began first with her hands, and quickly spreading over her whole frame; in which time she felt a kind of weight upon her; a sort of racking of her frame; every joint, as it were, working; and as if she was with hands squeezed together in her weak places. As this trembling went off, her pains went with it, and she felt strong, especially in the seat of life, where she had been most remarkably weak; and from thence strength diffused itself all over her animal frame, into her hips, knees,

ances, &c. She felt strong and well, as if she had no disease upon her, and was under no difficulty. And as she had this sensation of new strength and freedom, she felt as if she was a raising up, and must rise; and immediately rose up and walked away among the people, with evident sprightliness and vigor, to the astonishment of herself and those about her. She went this time near 16 feet, crying out, '*Bless the Lord Jesus, who has healed me!*' But was soon damped with this thought, that she was only in a phrenzy, and not healed; and the more so, when Mr. Lord (surprised at seeing her walk thus, whom he had just before left impotent and overcome too, so that she could hardly talk) did observe to her that she was in a phrenzy, and accordingly took hold of her and led her to the bed, and bid her sit down; yea, even thrust her down. But she could not be confined there; feeling yet strong and at liberty, she quickly rose up again, with those words in her mind, *I have loved thee with everlasting love*, and with the high praises of God in her mouth. Her soul being filled with such admiration and love, as she declared was inexpressible. Now she walked several times across the room with strength and steadiness; which even constrained the people to think and say, verily, this is the power of God! And they wondered, and praised the same. And it was about six o'clock in the afternoon, when the thing was done, at which they all marvelled, and having united in a prayer, and in praise, on this remarkable occasion, they were dismissed to their several homes, still wondering and rejoicing at what their eyes had beheld, and their ears had heard that day."—*See Con. Hist. Coll.*

**Zerah Colburn.**—In 1812, the attention of the philosophical world was attracted by one of the most singular phenomenon in the history of the human mind which has appeared in modern times. It was the case of Zerah Colburn, a child under eight years of age, who, without any previous knowledge of the rules of Arithmetic, or even of the use and power of the Arabic numerals, and without giving any particular attention to the subject, possessed the faculty of solving a great variety of arithmetical questions by the mere operations of the mind, and without the assistance of any visible symbol or contrivance.

Zerah Colburn was born in Cabot, in Vermont, Sept. 1, 1804. According to a memoir, written by himself, in 1833, he was the sixth child of his parents, and was by them, in his earlier years, considered as the most backward of any of their children.

"Sometime in the beginning of August, 1810, when about one month under six years of age, being at home, while his father was employed at a joiner's work-bench, Zerah was on the floor, playing in the chips; suddenly he began to say to himself, '5 times 7 are 35—6 times 8 are 48, &c.' His father's attention being arrested by hearing this, so unexpected in a child so young, and who had hitherto possessed no advantages, except perhaps six weeks' attendance at the district school, that summer, he left his work, and turning to him be-

gan to examine him through the multiplication table ; he thought it possible that Zerah had learnt this from the other boys, but finding him perfect in the table, his attention was more deeply fixed ; and he asked the product of  $13 \times 97$  to which 1261 was instantly given in answer. He now concluded that something unusual had actually taken place ; indeed he has often said he should not have been more surprised, if some one had risen up out of the earth and stood erect before him.

It was not long before a neighbor rode up, and calling in, was informed of the singular occurrence. He, too, desired to be a witness of the fact, and soon it became generally known through the town. Though many were inclined to doubt the correctness of the reports they heard, a personal examination attested their truth. Thus the story originated, which within the short space of a year, found its way, not only through the United States, but also reached Europe, and foreign Journals of literature, both in England and France, expressed their surprise at the uncommon incident.

Very soon after the first discovery of his remarkable powers, many gentlemen at that time possessing influence and public confidence throughout the State, being made acquainted with the circumstances, were desirous of having such a course adopted as might most directly lead to a full development of his talent, and its application to purposes of general utility. Accordingly Mr. Colburn carried his son to Danville, to be present during the session of the Court. His child was very generally seen and questioned by the Judges, members of the bar, and others. The Legislature of Vermont being about to convene at Montpelier, they were advised to visit that place, which they did in October. Here large numbers had an opportunity of witnessing his calculating powers, and the conclusion was general that such a thing had never been known before. Many questions which were out of the common limits of Arithmetic, were proposed with a view to puzzle him, but he answered them correctly ; as for instance—which is the most, twice twenty-five, or twice five and twenty ( $2 \times 25$  or  $2 \times 5 + 20$ ) ? Ans. twice twenty-five. Which is the most, six dozen dozen, or half a dozen dozen ( $6 \times 12 \times 12$  or  $6 \times 12$ ) ? Ans. 6 dozen dozen. It is a fact too that somebody asked how many black beans would make five white ones ? Ans. 5, if you skin them. Thus it appeared that not only could he compute and combine numbers readily, but also he possessed a quickness of thought somewhat uncommon among children, in other things."

Mr. Colburn visited various parts of the United States with his son for the purpose of exhibiting his extraordinary power of calculation. Having resolved on a voyage to Europe, they arrived in London in May, 1812, where they continued about two years. Here Zerah attracted considerable attention, and was visited by many of the nobility and the most distinguished persons in the kingdom. After leaving London, Mr. Colburn and his son visited Ireland, Scotland, and finally passed over to Paris, where Zerah

was for a time a pupil in the Lyceum Napoleon. He returned to London in 1816, and from thence to Birmingham. At this period, being impoverished in their circumstances, the Earl of Bristol became the patron of Zerah and placed him at the Westminster school. His father becoming dissatisfied with some things relative to the school, Zerah was taken from it in 1819. In order to support himself he was for a while an actor on the stage, and afterwards opened a small school. Mr. Colburn, harassed by the many disappointments and privations of himself and son, fell a victim to his troubles, and died in February, 1823. Zerah now returned to this country and removed to Burlington, Vermont. Soon after his return his attention was drawn to the subject of religion, and having experienced a change in his feelings, he joined the Congregational Church. Being dissatisfied with some of the doctrines of that church, he united himself with the Methodist Society in Cabot, Vermont, in 1825. He soon became a devoted preacher in that denomination, and continued in that office till his death, which took place a few years since.

The following is a list of questions answered by Zerah Colburn; they are extracted from his memoirs, and are also to be found in other publications :

*In Boston, on his first visit, in the fall of 1810.*

The number of seconds in 2000 years was required.

730,000 days.

17,520,000 hours.

1,051,200,000 minutes.

63,072,000,000 seconds—Answer.

Allowing that a clock strikes 156 times in 1 day, how many times will it strike in 2000 years? 113,880,000 times.

What is the product of 12,225 multiplied by 1,223? 14,951,175.

What is the square of 1,449? 2,099,601.

Supposing I have a corn field, in which are 7 acres, having 17 rows to each acre; 64 hills to each row; 8 ears on a hill, and 150 kernels on an ear; how many kernels on the corn field? 9,139,200.

*In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June, 1811.*

Admitting the distance between Concord and Boston to be 65 miles, how many steps must I take in going this distance, allowing that I go three feet at a step? The answer, 114,400, was given in ten seconds.

How many days and hours since the Christian Era commenced, 1811 years? Answered in twenty seconds.

661,015 days.

15,864,360 hours.

How many seconds in eleven years? Answer in four seconds; 346,896,000.

What sum multiplied by itself will produce 998,001? In less than four seconds, 999.

How many hours in 38 years, 2 months, and 7 days? In six seconds; 334,488.

When at London "at a meeting of his friends which was held for the purpose of concerting the best method of promoting the interest of the child by an education suited to his turn of mind, he undertook and succeeded in raising the number 8 to the sixteenth power, and gave the answer correctly in the last result, viz. 281,474,976,710,656. He was then tried as to other numbers, consisting of one figure, all of which he raised as high as the tenth power, with so much facility and dispatch that the person appointed to take down the results was obliged to enjoin him not to be too rapid. With respect to numbers consisting of two figures, he would raise some of them to the sixth, seventh and eighth power, but not always with equal facility; for the larger the products became, the more difficult he found it to proceed. He was asked the square root of 106,929, and before the number could be written down he immediately answered 327. He was then requested to name the cube root of 268,336,125, and with equal facility and promptness he replied 645.

Various other questions of a similar nature respecting the roots and powers of very high numbers, were proposed by several of the gentlemen present, to all of which satisfactory answers were given. One of the party requested him to name the factors which produced the number 247,483, which he did by mentioning 941 and 263, which indeed are the only two factors that will produce it. Another of them proposed 171,395, and he named the following factors as the only ones, viz:  $5 \times 34279$ ,  $7 \times 24485$ ,  $59 \times 2905$ ,  $83 \times 2065$ ,  $35 \times 4897$ ,  $295 \times 581$ ,  $413 \times 415$ . He was then asked to give the factors of 36,083, but he immediately replied that it had none; which in fact was the case, as 36,083 is a prime number." [Extract from a *Prospectus printed in London, 1813.*]

"It had been asserted and maintained by the French mathematicians that  $4294967297 (=2^{32} + 1)$  was a prime number; but the celebrated Euler detected the error by discovering that it was equal to  $641 \times 6,700,417$ . The same number was proposed to this child, who found out the factors by the mere operation of his mind." *Ibid.* On another occasion, he was requested to give the square of 999,999; he said he could not do this, but he accomplished it by multiplying 37037 by itself, and that product twice by 27. Ans. 999,998,000,001. He then said he could multiply that by 49 which he did: Ans. 48,999,902,000,049. He again undertook to multiply this number by 49: Ans. 2,400,995,198,002,401. And lastly he multiplied this great sum by 25, giving as the final product, 60,024,879,950,060,025. Various efforts were made by the friends of the boy to elicit a disclosure of the methods by which he performed his calculations, but for nearly three years he was unable to satisfy their inquiries. There was, through practice, an increase in his power of computation; when first beginning, he went no farther in multiplying than three places of figures;



it afterwards became a common thing with him to multiply four places by four ; in some instances five figures by five have been given."

The question will naturally arise, by what means, or process was this faculty of computation acquired ? In the absence of any satisfactory explanation by others it will be proper to let the subject of this notice give his own testimony on this subject. The following are his words, extracted from different parts of his memoirs. [It will be observed he speaks of himself in the second person.]

"The inquiry has often been made whether the gift were natural or supernatural ; his answer is that it was partly both ; understanding by this, not the putting forth of Divine energy in the entirely new creation of a faculty hitherto unknown to the mind, but the uncommon extension of a faculty already given, and common to all ; extension in a manner beyond the operations of nature, as we see her exhibited, and therefore supernatural ; but natural, in as much as every one is to a certain extent, able to compute by mental process alone."

"That such calculations should be made by the power of mind alone, even in a person of mature age, and who had disciplined himself by opportunity and study, would be surprising, because far exceeding the common attainments of mankind ; that they should be made by a child six years old, unable to read, and ignorant of the name or properties of one figure traced on paper, without any previous effort to train him to such a task, will not diminish the surprise. The remembrance that this faculty was bestowed and exercised under such circumstances, while it necessarily prompts the possessor to speak of it as wonderful indeed, at the same time precludes all room for boasting, if he were thus disposed ; for it ever has been, and still is, as much a matter of astonishment to him as it can be to any other one ; God was its author, its object and aim perhaps are still unknown."

"In relation to the faculty of computation which he possessed, he would observe that in every particular, from its first development to the present day, it has been to him a matter of astonishment. He has felt and still feels, that it was undoubtedly a gift from his Maker, and consequently designed to be productive of some valuable ends. What the specific object was is unknown."

"This may be a suitable place for introducing a few remarks concerning the mind of Zerah in regard to other things than mental calculation. As might be expected from the nature of his early gift, he ever had a taste for figures. To answer questions by the mere operation of mind, though perfectly easy, was not any thing in which he ever took satisfaction ; for, unless when questioned, his attention was not engrossed by it at all. The study of Arithmetic was not particularly easy to him, but it afforded a very pleasing employment, and even now, were he in a situation to feel justified in such a course,

he should be gratified to spend his time in pursuits of this nature. The faculty which he possessed, as it increased and strengthened by practice, so by giving up exhibition, began speedily to depreciate. This was not as some have supposed, on account of being engaged in study; it is more probable to him that the study of any branch that included the use and practice of figures would have served to keep up the facility and readiness of mind. The study of Algebra, while he attended to it, was very pleasant, but when just entering upon the more abstruse rules of the first part, he was taken away from his books and carried to France."

*Remarkable case of Miss Rachel Baker, the Sleeping Preacher.*—Perhaps the most remarkable case on record of "*Devotional Somnium*," so called, is that of Miss Rachel Baker, of the State of New York. A full history of her case may be found in "*The Transactions of the Physico Medical Society of New York*, vol. 1, p. 395."

Rachel Baker was born at Pelham, Massachusetts, May 29th, 1794. Her parents were religious persons, and early taught her the importance of religion. From childhood, she appeared to possess a contemplative disposition; "but her mind was not vigorous, nor was she much disposed to improve it by reading. At the age of nine years, she removed with her parents to the town of Marcellus, State of New York. From that time she said, she had "frequently strong convictions of the importance of eternal things, and the thoughts of God and eternity would make her tremble."—In June, 1811, while on a visit to the town of Scipio, she was deeply affected in witnessing the baptism of a young lady; and from that period she was impressed with a stronger conviction of her own sinfulness. On her return to Marcellus, she endeavored to suppress her religious anxiety, but in vain, her anguish of mind was fully depicted in her countenance.

"On the evening of the 28th of November, as she was sitting in a chair apparently asleep, she began to sigh and groan, as if in excessive pain. She had said a short time before, that she would live only a little while, and as she now repeated the expression, her parents were apprehensive that she was dying.—This evening she talked incoherently; but manifested, in what she said, much religious concern. She continued almost every night talking in her sleep in this way, till the 27th Jan. 1812. On that evening soon after she had fallen asleep, she was seized with a fit of trembling. She shrieked aloud and awoke in great terror. Horror and despondency overwhelmed her with the dread of a miserable eternity, and of her speedy and inevitable doom. But these agonizing feelings soon were succeeded by a calm; her mind became tranquil, and in her nightly devotions, which were now regular and coherent, she poured forth a spirit of meekness,

gratitude and love." From this time, the whole tenor of her soul seemed to be changed; she was incapable of expressing her sentiments on Divine things clearly when awake; but her sleeping exercises were so solemn and impressive, that few, who heard them, doubted that they were the genuine fruits of penitence, piety and peace."

Dr. Mitchell, in describing Miss Baker's case, says, "to the latter of those remarkable affections of the human mind (*Somnium cum religione*) i. e. sleep with religion, belongs to Miss Rachel Baker, who, for several years, has been seized with Somnium of a devotional kind once a day with great regularity. These daily paroxysms recur with wonderful exactness, and, from long prevalence, have now become habitual. They invade her at early bedtime, and a fit usually lasts about three quarters of an hour. A paroxysm has been known to end in thirty-five minutes and to continue ninety-eight. . . . . The transition from the waking state to that of somnium is very quick; frequently in a quarter of an hour or even less. After she retires from company in the parlour, she is discovered to be occupied in praising God, with a distinct and sonorous voice. . . . . Her discourses are usually pronounced in a private chamber, for the purpose of delivering them with more decorum on her own part, and with greater satisfaction to her hearers. She has been advised to take the recumbent posture, her face being turned towards the heavens. She performs her nightly devotions with a consistency and fervor, wholly unexampled, for a human being in a state of somnium. Her body and limbs are motionless; they stir no more than the trunk and extremities of a statue; the only motion the spectator perceives is that of her organs of speech, and an oratorical inclination of the head and neck, as if she was intently engaged in performing an academic or theological exercise. . . . . According to the tenor and solemnity of the address, the attendants are affected with seriousness. . . . . She commences and ends with an address to the throne of grace, consisting of proper topics of acknowledgment, submission and reverence; of praise and thanksgiving and of prayer for herself, her friends, the church, the nation, for enemies and the human race in general. Between these, is her sermon or exhortation. She begins without a text, and proceeds with an even course to the end; embellishing it sometimes with fine metaphors, vivid descriptions, and poetical quotations: . . . . . There is a state of the body like groaning, sobbing or moaning; and the distressful sound continues from two minutes, to a quarter of an hour. This agitation, however, does not wake her; it gradually subsides and she passes into a sound and natural sleep, which continues during the remainder of the night. In the morning she wakes as if nothing had happened;

and entirely ignorant of the scenes in which she has acted. She declares she knows nothing of the nightly exercises, except from the information of others. With the exception of the before mentioned agitation of body and exercise of mind, she enjoys perfect health."

In October 1814, Miss Baker was brought to New York by her friends in hopes that her somnial exercises, (which were considered by some of them as owing to disease) might, by the exercise of a journey and the novelty of a large city, be removed. But none of these means produced the desired effect. Her acquaintances stated that her somnial exercises took place every night regularly, except in a few instances, when interrupted by severe sickness, from the time they commenced in 1812. In September 1816, Dr. Sears, by a course of medical treatment, particularly by the use of opium, appears to have prevented the recurrence of Miss Baker's nightly exercises.

#### AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PRINTING, &c.

[Extracted principally from Thomas' History of Printing in America.]

*Introduction of Printing.*—The Rev. Jesse Glover, a worthy and wealthy dissenting clergyman of England, may be considered as the father of the American press. This benefactor of the infant colony of Massachusetts, was early engaged in pursuing such measures as he judged would be for its interest and prosperity. Among other things, he was desirous of establishing a press for the accommodation of the business of the church and state. To raise a sum sufficient to purchase printing materials, he contributed liberally himself, and solicited aid from others, in England and Holland. In 1638, Mr. Glover having obtained the means, procured good printing apparatus, and engaged a printer to accompany it to New England. Mr. Glover, with his family, embarked in the same vessel; he however died on the passage, and his widow and children, after their arrival, settled at Cambridge.—*Stephen Daye*, (the printer engaged by Mr. Glover,) by the direction of the magistrates and elders, having erected the press and prepared the other parts of the apparatus, began business in the first month of 1639. The first thing which issued from the press, was *The Freeman's Oath*; the second, *An Almanac*; and the third, *The Psalms in metre*.

Samuel Green, the successor of Daye in the printing business, was in Cambridge eight years before the arrival of Daye from England. Green probably obtained a knowledge of the art from Daye, as he was not known as a printer until about the year 1649. Mr. Green died at Cambridge, in 1702, aged eighty-seven years. He was esteemed for his virtues, and was the father of nineteen children. For a long period, many of his descendants of his name, have been engaged in the printing business.

*Indian Bible.*—The first Bible printed in America, was the Bible

translated by Mr. Eliot into the Indian language. From the Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were agents for the Corporation in England, for propagating the Gospel in New England, we find that there were two presses in Cambridge, under the care of Green, in 1656. One was in possession of the College; this was the press purchased by Mr. Glover, and first used by Daye; the other was the property of the Corporation in England. There were types appropriated to each. The Corporation, for a time, had their printing done in London, but after Mr. Eliot, and others, had made a translation of the Bible, and other works, into the Indian tongue, it became necessary, in order to print them, that it should be done under the inspection of the translators. For this purpose, the Corporation sent over printing materials, the most of which arrived in 1655. Green now began printing the Indian Bible, which was at that period an undertaking of great magnitude. It was a work of so much consequence as to arrest the attention of the nobility and gentry of England, as well as that of king Charles to whom it was dedicated. The press of Harvard College in Cambridge, Mass., was for a time as celebrated as the presses of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in England. In order to assist Mr. Green, the Corporation, in 1660, sent over Marmaduke Johnson, who had been regularly bred to the printing business in London.

The New Testament was first printed; this was in 1661: its Indian title was *Wusku Wuttestamentum Nul-Lordumun Jesus Christ Nuppoguohwussuaeneumun*. The first edition of the Old Testament was published in 1663, being in the press three years. It was in a quarto form with marginal notes; this edition consisted of one thousand copies. The second edition was published in 1685: like the first, it had marginal notes and an Indian translation of the New England Version of the Psalms. The rev. mr. Cotton, a great proficient in the Indian language, assisted mr. Eliot in revising and correcting this edition. Both editions had title pages in English and Indian. The title in the Indian language, is as follows, *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God naneeswe Nukkone-Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament*. *Nequoshinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumak Christ noh asoowesit John Eliot. Nahohtoeu onteheto Printewoomuk*. Cambridge: *Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green*. 4 to. It was six years in the press. Two thousand copies were printed. It was not so expensive as the first edition. Mr. Eliot had the management of it; and, in his letters to the hon. Robert Boyle, president of the corporation for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England, he acknowledges the reception of 900l. sterling, in three payments, for carrying it through the press.

*New England version of the Psalms.*—The first Psalm book was printed by Daye, in 1640, and was commonly called "*The Bay Psalm Book*." The Rev. Mr. Prince of Boston, the Annalist, says, "By 1636, there were come over hither, near thirty pious and learned ministers, educated in the Universities of England, and from the same exalted Principles of Scripture purity in Religious Worship, they set

themselves to translate the Psalms and other Scripture Songs, into English Metre, as near as possible to the inspired original. They committed this work especially to the Rev. Mr. Weld, and the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury." A second edition was printed in 1647; this was somewhat amended, and a few Spiritual Songs added. After this edition was published, the rev. Henry Dunster, president of Harvard college, and a master of the Oriental languages, and mr. Richard Lyon, educated at a university in Europe, were appointed a committee further to revise and improve the Psalms, which service they performed in two or three years; when another edition was published, with the addition of other scriptural Songs. This revised version went through numerous editions, in Newengland. It was reprinted in England and Scotland; and was used in many of the English dissenting congregations, as well as in a number of the churches in Scotland—it was added to several English and Scotch editions of the Bible; and, went through fifty editions, including those published in Europe.

The following is given as a specimen of the Newengland version of the Psalms; first, as they were originally printed; and, secondly, as they appeared after being revised and corrected by president Dunster and mr. Lyon. The first psalm of each edition is selected.

[No. I.—By Eliot and others.]

THE PSALMES

In Metre

PSALME I

- O blessed man, that in th'advice  
of wicked doeth not walk:  
nor stand in sinner's way, nor sit  
in chayre of scornful folk.
- 2 But in the law of Iehovah,  
Is his longing delight:  
and in hislaw doth meditate,  
by day and eke by night.
- 3 And he shall be like to a tree  
planted by water-rivers:  
that in his season yields his fruit,  
and his leafe never withers.
- 4 And all he doth, shall prosper well,  
the wicked are not so:  
but they are like vnto the chaffe,  
which winde drives to and fro.
- 5 Therefore shall not ungodly men,  
rise to stand in the doome,  
nor shall the sinners with the just,  
in their assemblie come.
- 6 For of the righteous men the Lord  
acknowledgeth the way:  
but the way of vngodly men,  
shall vterly decay.

[No. II.—Corrected by Dunster and Lyon.

THE  
BOOK of PSALMS.

PSAL. I.

- O blessed man that walks not in  
th'advice of wicked men  
Nor standeth in the sinners way  
nor scornors seat sits in.
- 2 But he upon Jehovah's law  
doth set his whole delight:  
And in his law doth meditate  
Both in the day and night.
- 3 He shall be like a planted tree  
by water brooks, which shall  
In his due season yield his fruit.  
whose leaf shall never fall:
- 4 And all he doth shall prosper well,  
the wicked are not so:  
But they are like unto the chaff.  
- which wind driven to and fro.
- 5 Therefore shall no ungodly men  
in judgement stand upright:  
Nor in th'assembly of the just  
shall stand the sinfull wight.
- 6 For of y<sup>e</sup> righteous men, y<sup>e</sup> LORD  
acknowledgeth the way:  
Whereas the way of wicked men,  
shall utterly decay.

*First Gazette or Newspaper.*—The first newspaper in the British Colonies was published in Boston, April 24th, 1704, by John Campbell, a Scotchman, a bookseller and Post Master in that place. His paper was entitled "*The Boston News Letter.*" It was printed on a half sheet of pot paper, with a small pica type, folio.

The first page is filled with an extract from "*The London Flying Post,*" respecting the pretender, who styled himself James the 8th of Scotland, sending popish missionaries

from France into Scotland, &c. by which the kingdoms of England and Scotland were endangered. The queen's speech to both houses of parliament on that occasion, a few articles under the Boston head, four short paragraphs of marine intelligence from New-york, Philadelphia, New-london, and one advertisement, form its whole contents. The advertisement is from Campbell, the proprietor of the paper, and is as follows.

"This News Letter is to be continued Weekly; and all Persons who have any Houses, Lands, Tenements, Farms, Ships, Vessels, Goods, Wares or Merchandizes &c. to be Sold or Lett; or Servants Runaway: or Goods Stoll or Lost may have the same Inserted at a Reasonable Rate; from Twelve Pence to Five Shillings, and not to exceed: Who may agree with *Nicholas Boone* for the same at his Shop next door to Major Davn's, Apothecary in *Boston* near the Old Meeting House.

"All Persons in Town and Country may have said News-Letter Weekly upon reasonable terms agreeing with John Campbell Post Master for the same."

The imprint is, "Boston: Printed by *B. Green*. Sold by *Nicholas Boone*, at his Shop near the Old Meeting-House."

This paper languished for a long time, on account of having but few subscribers, and not much encouragement from advertising customers. It was however continued through various changes, till 1776, having been published for seventy-two years. The second paper in British America was entitled "*The Boston Gazette*:" this paper was first issued Monday, December 21, 1719. Its imprint was "Boston: Printed by J. Franklin, and may be had at the Post Office, where advertisements are taken in." The third newspaper in Boston was the "*New England Courant*," was first published in August, 1721, by James Franklin.

*First Newspaper in New York.*—In 1668, Governor Lovelace, of New York was desirous of having a press established in that province; and it appears by a record made at the time, that he sent to Boston to procure a printer, but did not succeed. In 1686, among other articles of instruction sent by king James to Governor Donegan, one was, that he should "allow no printing press in the province." The pamphlets which appeared in the dispute respecting the unfortunate Colonel Leislee in 1689 and 1690, are supposed to have been printed in Boston.—The first newspaper published in New York, was printed by William Bradford. It made its first appearance, Oct. 16, 1725, and was entitled "*The New York Gazette*." It was printed on a foolscap sheet. Bradford must have been about seventy years of age, when he began the publication of the Gazette; he continued it about sixteen or seventeen years, and then retired from business. James Parker began the *New York Gazette* anew in Jan., 1742—3. "*The New York Weekly Journal*" was the second paper established in the province; it made its appearance Nov. 5, 1733.

The Journal was of the small size usually printed at that time, that is foolscap; generally a whole sheet, printed chiefly on Pica. It was published every "*Munday*." Imprint—"New York: Printed and Sold by John Peter Zenger: By whom Subscriptions for this Paper are taken in at Three Shillings per quarter."

The Journal was established for a political purpose. For three years it was in a state of warfare with the administration of governor Crosby and his successor lieutenant governor Clarke. It was supposed to be published under the patronage of the honorable Rip Van Dam, who had been president of the council, and opposed the governor and his successor. The *New-York Gazette*, printed by Bradford, was then under the control of the governor.

In January, 1748—9, John Zenger new modelled the title of the Journal, and added a cut, coarsely executed, of a section of the royal arms, containing three lions gardant, encircled with the usual motto.

"*Honi soit qve mal y pense*;" surmounted by a crown. The imprint—New-York: Printed by John Zenger, in Stone-Street, near Fort George; Where Advertisements are taken in at a moderate rate."

John Zenger published this paper until about 1752, when it was discontinued, but in 1766, the title was revived by John Holt.\*

The Gazette which attained the greatest notoriety during the Revolutionary War was published by James Rivington, New-York, and was at first entitled

*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer; or, The Connecticut, New-Jersey, Hudson's River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser.*

This Gazette commenced its career April 22, 1773, on a large medium sheet folio. It was printed, weekly, on Thursday; and when it had been established one year, this imprint followed the title, "Printed at his EVER OPEN and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover-Square." A large cut of a ship under sail was at first introduced into the title, under which were the words "New York Packet." This cut soon gave place to one of a smaller size. In November, 1774, the ship was removed, and the king's arms took the place of it. In August, 1775, the words "*Ever open and uninfluenced*" were omitted in the imprint.

The Gazetteer was patronized in all the principal towns by the advocates of the British administration who approved the measures adopted toward the colonies; and it undoubtedly had some support from "his Majesty's government." The paper obtained an extensive circulation, but eventually paid very little respect to "the majesty of the people; and, in consequence, the paper and its publisher soon became obnoxious to the whigs.

Rivington continued the Gazetteer until November 27, 1775, on which day a number of armed men from Connecticut entered the city, on horseback, and beset his habitation, broke into his printing house, destroyed his press, threw his types into heaps and carried away a large quantity of them, which they melted and formed into bullets. A stop was thus put to the Gazetteer.

Soon after this event, Rivington went to England, where he supplied himself with a new printing apparatus, and was appointed king's printer for New-York. After the British gained possession of the city, he returned; and, on October 4, 1777, re-commenced the publication of his Gazette under the original title, but in two weeks, he exchanged that title, for the following, "Rivington's New-York Loyal Gazette," and on the 13th of December following, he called his paper "The Royal Gazette." Imprint—"Published by James Rivington, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." The Royal Gazette was numbered as a continuation of the Gazetteer, and Loyal Gazette, and was published on Wednesdays and Saturdays; printed on a sheet of royal size, with the royal arms in the title.

*First Newspaper in Rhode Island.*—Although the press had been established many years in Connecticut before it was introduced into Rhode Island, yet a newspaper was published twenty years earlier in Rhode Island, than in Connecticut. This paper was entitled "*The Rhode Island Gazette*," and was first published Sept. 27th, 1732. The day of publication was Wednesday; the imprint, "Newport, Rhode Island: Printed and sold by James Franklin, at his Printing-House, under the Town-School-House, where Advertisements, and

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\* In The New-York Journal, of February 25, 1751, is the following advertisement.

"My country subscribers are earnestly desired to pay their arrearages for this Journal, which if they don't speedily, I shall leave off sending, and seek my money another way. Some of these kind customers are in arrears upwards of seven years! Now as I have served them so long, I think it is time, ay, and high time too, that they give me my outset; for they may verily believe that my every-day cloathes are almost worn out. N. B. Gentlemen, If you have not ready money with you, still think of the Printer, and when you have read this advertisement and considered it, you cannot but say, Come Dame, (especially you inquisitive wedded men, let the Batchelors take it to themselves) let us send the poor Printer a few Gammons or some Meal, some Butter, Cheese, Poultry, &c. In the mean time I am yours, &c.

J. Zenger."



Letters to the Author are taken in." This paper continued but seven months. "*The Newport Mercury*" was first published about September, 1758, and gained a permanent establishment. It was printed by James Franklin, afterwards by Mrs. Franklin and Samuel Hall. In 1768, Hall resigned the Mercury to Solomon Southwick. During the Revolutionary War, while the British troops possessed Newport, Southwick set up a press in Attleborough, Massachusetts, and published the Mercury at that place. He returned to Newport on its evacuation by the enemy, and during the revolutionary contest conducted the Mercury with ability and patriotic zeal. "*The Providence Gazette, and Country Journal*" was first published Oct. 20th, 1762, by William Goddard. In 1769, William and Sarah Goddard resigned their right in the Gazette to John Carter. This was the only paper in Providence previous to the Revolution.

*First Printing in Connecticut.*—The first printing press in Connecticut, was set up by Thomas Short, at New London, in 1709. He was recommended by Bartholomew Green, who at that time printed at Boston, and from whom he probably learned the art of printing. In 1710, he printed "The Saybrook Platform of Church Discipline," which is said to be the first book printed in the colony. After the Platform, he printed a number of Sermons and sundry pamphlets on religious subjects, and was employed by the Governor and Company to do the work for the colony. He died at New London, three or four years after his settlement there. The next printer was Timothy Green, grandson of Samuel Green, senior, of Cambridge. Having received an invitation from the Council and Assembly of Connecticut, he removed from Boston to New London, in 1714, and was appointed printer to the Governor and Company, on a salary of fifty pounds per annum. It was stipulated that for this sum he should print the election sermons, proclamations, and the laws which should be enacted by the Assembly. Besides the work of the Government, Green printed a number of pamphlets on religious subjects, particularly sermons. It has been said of him, that whenever he heard a sermon which he highly approved, he would solicit a copy of the author, and print it for his own sales. This honest zeal, however, often proved injurious to his estate. Large quantities of these sermons lay on hand as dead stock; and after his decease, they were put into baskets, appraised by the bushel, and sold under the value of common waste paper.

The first newspaper in Connecticut was "*The Connecticut Gazette*," which made its first appearance January 1st, 1755. It was printed at New Haven, by James Parker and Company. John Holt was the editor and junior partner of the firm, till he removed to New York in 1760. Thomas Green was then employed by the company to conduct the Gazette. By the establishment of post riders at this period, to the seat of war at the northward, and to several parts of the colony, this paper, at this time, had a considerable circulation. It was continued by Parker & Co. till 1764, when it was suspended for a short time, but was afterwards revived by Benjamin Mecom a

nephew of Dr. Franklin. It was discontinued in 1767, and in October of the same year, "*The Connecticut Journal, and New Haven Post Boy*" was first published, by Thomas and Samuel Green.

*The New London Summary*, the second paper in Connecticut, was first published by the second Timothy Green, Aug. 8th, 1758, and was continued till 1763, when it was succeeded by the "*New London Gazette*," which in Dec. 1773, was entitled "*The Connecticut Gazette*." "*The Connecticut Courant*," the third paper in Connecticut, was first published in Hartford, December, 1764, by Thomas Green. The paper was published next by Ebenezer Watson, then by Watson & Goodwin, and in 1779, by Hudson & Goodwin. This was one of the most respectable papers in the State, and is still continued.—"*The Norwich Packet*," the first paper in that place, was commenced in Oct. 1773, "Printed by Alexander Robertson, James Robertson, and John Trumbull." The Packet was continued by this company until June, 1776, when Trumbull became the sole publisher, and continued it with various alterations till his death in 1802.

*First Newspapers in New Hampshire*.—A press having been established in Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, by Daniel Fowle, from Boston, he, in Aug. 1756, began to publish "*The New Hampshire Gazette*," the first paper in the province. The following is the imprint. "Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, Printed by Daniel Fowle, where this paper may be had at one Dollar per annum: or Equivalent in Bills of Credit, computing a Dollar this year at Four Pounds Old Tenor."—The second newspaper was "*The Portsmouth Mercury and Weekly Advertiser*," and was first published Jan. 21st, 1765. Imprint, "Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, Printed by Thomas Furber, at the New Printing Office, near the Parade, where this paper may be had for one Dollar, or Six Pounds, O. T. per year; one half to be paid at Entrance." The third newspaper which appeared in New Hampshire, was issued in Exeter, in 1775, published by Robert Fowle; it was continued irregularly under various titles.

*First Printing in New Jersey*.—The first newspaper in this colony, was "*The New Jersey Gazette*," first published, Dec. 3d, 1777, at Burlington. It was printed weekly, on Wednesday, with a good long primer type, and on a sheet of crown paper, folio. Imprint—Burlington: Printed by Isaac Collins. All Persons may be supplied with this Gazette for Twenty Six Shillings per Annum. Advertisements of a moderate Length are inserted for Seven Shillings and Six Pence the first Week, and Two Shillings and Sixpence for every continuance; and long Ones in Proportion." This paper was neatly printed, and well conducted. Its publisher, although of the society of friends, was a firm supporter of the rights of his country; and he carefully avoided publishing any thing which tended to injure the religious, civil, or political interests of his fellow citizens. It was discontinued in 1786.

After the American stamp act was passed by the British parliament, and near the time it was to be put in operation, a political paper was privately printed at Burlington, which attracted much notice. It was entitled "*The Constitutional Gazette*, containing Matters interesting to Liberty—but no wise repugnant to Loyalty." Imprint—"Printed by An

on-Hill, North America "arts, to represent the col-ress to the public from the was without date, but was and spirited essays against e editors of newspapers in

and there sold by hawkers ve, reprinted there, and at ken notice of by govern- , but as no discovery was e council demanded of a r was printed?" Sweeney, 's iron-works, please your own as the owner of exten- of a like kind frequently iron-works." Only one inuance of it was never in- ting hours at Burlington— monally to use his press.



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with her as was commonly reported, thirty thousand pounds in New England shillings. "He was the son of a poor woman but dutiful and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilson his minister observing pronounced that God would bless him, and altho' he was then poor yet he should raise a great estate." (*Magnalia*.)

*First emissson of Paper currency.*—Upon the unfortunate expedition against Quebec in 1690, the government of Massachusetts in particular was utterly unprepared for the return of the forces. They seem to have presumed, not only upon success, but upon the enemy's treasure, to bear the charge of the expedition. The soldiers were upon the point of mutiny for want of their wages. It was utterly impracticable to raise, in a few days, such a sum of money as would be necessary. An act was passed for levying the sum, but the men could not stay until it should be brought into the treasury. The extreme difficulty, to which the government was thus reduced, was the occasion of the first bills of credit ever issued in the colonies, as a substitute in the place of money. The debt was paid by paper notes from two shillings to ten pounds denomination, which notes were to be received for payment of the tax which was to be levied, and all other payments in the treasury. This was a new experiment. They had better credit than King James's leather money in Ireland, about the same time. But the notes would not command money, nor any commodities at money price. Sir William Phips, it is said, exchanged a large sum, at par, in order to give them credit. The soldiers in general were great sufferers, and could get no more than twelve or fourteen shillings in the pound. As the time of payment of the tax approached, the credit of the notes was raised, and the government allowing five per cent. to those who paid their taxes in notes, they became better than money. This was gain to the possessor, but it did not restore to the poor soldier what he had lost by the discount.\*

\* The government, encouraged by the restoration of credit to their bills, afterwards issued others for charges of government. They obtained good credit at the time of their being issued. The charges of government were paid in this manner from year to year. Whilst the sum was small, silver continued the measure, and bills continued their value. When the charges of government increased after the second expedition to Canada in 1711, the bills likewise increased, in the same or greater proportion the silver and gold were sent out of the country. There being a cry of scarcity of money in 1714, the government caused 50,000*l.* to be issued, and in 1716, 100,000*l.* to be paid in at a certain period, and in the mean time to pass as money. Lands were mortgaged for security. As soon as the silver and gold were gone and the bills were the sole instrument of commerce, pounds shillings and pence were altogether ideal, for no possible reason could be assigned why a bill of twenty shillings should bear a certain proportion to any one quantity of silver more than another: Sums in bills were drawing into the treasury from time to time by taxes or payment of the loans, but then other sums were continually issuing out, and all the bills were paid and received without any distinction either in public or private payments, so that, for near forty years together, the currency was much in the same state as if a hundred thousand pounds sterling had been stamped in pieces of leather or paper of various denominations and declared to be the money of the government without any other sanction than this, that, when there should be taxes to pay, the treasury would receive this sort of money, and that every creditor should be obliged to receive it from his debtor.

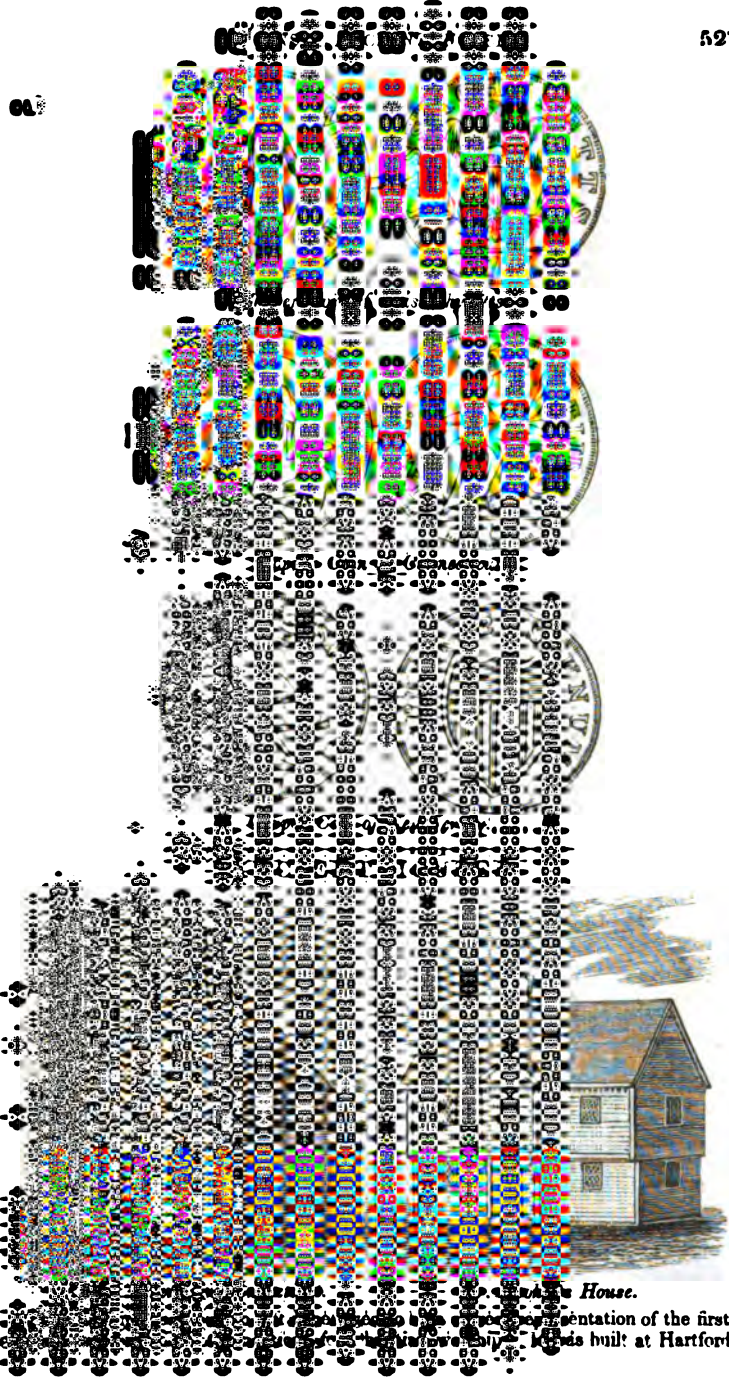
*Depreciation of the Paper Currency.*—In 1733 there was a general complaint throughout the four governments of New England of the unusual scarcity of money. There was as large a sum current in bills of credit as ever, but the bills having depreciated they answered the purposes of money so much less in proportion. The Massachusetts and New Hampshire were clogged with royal instructions. It was owing to them that those governments had not issued bills to as great an amount as Rhode Island. Connecticut, although under no restraint, yet, consisting of more husbandmen and fewer traders than the rest, did not so much feel the want of money. The Massachusetts people were dissatisfied that Rhode Island should send their bills among them and take away their substance and employ it in trade, and many people wished to see the bills of each government current within the limits of such government only. In the midst of this discontent, Rhode Island passed an act for issuing 100,000*l.* upon loan, for, I think, 20 years to their own inhabitants, who would immediately have it in their power to add 100,000*l.* to their trading stock from the horses, sheep, lumber, fish, &c. of the Massachusetts inhabitants. The merchants of Boston therefore confederated and mutually promised and engaged not to receive any bills of this new emission, but, to provide a currency, a large number formed themselves into a company, entered into covenants, chose directors, &c. and issued 110,000*l.* redeemable in 10 years, in silver at 19*s.* per oz. the then current rate, or gold in proportion, a tenth part annually. About the same time the Massachusetts treasury, which had been long shut was opened, and the debt of two or three years were all paid at one time in bills of credit; to this was added the ordinary emissions of bills from New Hampshire and Connecticut, and some of the Boston merchants, tempted by an opportunity of selling their English goods, having broke through their engagements and received the Rhode Island bills, all the rest soon followed the example. All these emissions made a flood of money, silver rose from 19*s.* to 27*s.* the oz. and exchange with all other countries consequently rose also, and every creditor was defrauded of about one third of his just dues. As soon as silver rose to 27*s.* the notes issued by the merchants payable at 19*s.* were hoarded up and no longer answered the purposes of money. Although the currency was lessened by taking away the notes, yet what remained never increased in value, silver continuing several years about the same rate, until it took another large jump. Thus very great injustice was caused by this wretched paper currency and no relief of any sort obtained; for, by this sinking in value, though the nominal sum was higher than it had ever been before, yet the currency would produce no more sterling money than it would have done before the late emissions were made.

In 1702, six shillings and eight pence was equal to an ounce of silver. In 1749, the period when bills of credit were abolished in Massachusetts, there being more than seven millions of dollars in paper in circulation, fifty shillings was judged only equal to an ounce of silver. "The honorable efforts of Massachusetts in the conquest

of Lewisburg, had induced the parliament of Great Britain, to grant one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, to indemnify that colony for her expenses. While the bill for this grant was depending, the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act that, with the specie which was expected from England, the bills of credit should be purchased, at the rate of fifty shillings in paper for an ounce of silver, or nearly seven and a half for one. This act was fortunately carried into effect, though much against popular clamor, and thus was redeemed the largest part of the paper currency. The remainder was directed to be paid into the treasury upon taxes, and an end was put to a multitude of frauds, and numberless public evils, arising from the circulation of a depreciated currency."

*Currency in New York.*—Judge Smith, in his history of New York, published in 1757, says, "The money used in this province is silver, gold, British halfpence, and bills of credit. To counterfeit either of them is felony without benefit of clergy; but none, except the latter, and Lyon dollars, are a legal tender. Twelve halfpence, till lately, passed for a shilling; which being much beyond their value in any of the neighboring colonies, the assembly, in 1753, resolved to proceed, at their next meeting, after the first of May ensuing, to the consideration of a method for ascertaining their value. A set of gentlemen, in number seventy-two, took the advantage of the discredit that resolve put upon copper halfpence, and on the 22d December, subscribed a paper, engaging not to receive or pass them, except at the rate of fourteen coppers to a shilling. This gave rise to a mob for a few days, among the lower class of people; but some of them being imprisoned, the scheme was carried into execution, and established in every part of the province, without the aid of law. Our paper bills, which are issued to serve the exigencies of the government, were at first equal to an ounce of silver, then valued at eight shillings. Before the late Spanish war, silver and gold were in great demand, to make remittances for European goods, and then the bills sunk, an ounce of silver being worth nine shillings and three pence. During the war, the credit of our bills was well supported, partly by the number of prizes taken by our privateers, and the high price of our produce abroad; and partly by the logwood trade and the depreciation of the New England paper money, which gave ours a free circulation through the eastern colonies. Since the war, silver has been valued at about nine shillings and two pence an ounce, and is doubtless fixed there, till our imports exceed what we export. To assist his majesty for removing the late encroachments of the French, we have issued 80,000*l.* to be sunk in short periods, by a tax on estates real and personal; and the whole amount of our paper currency is thought to be about 160,000*l.*"



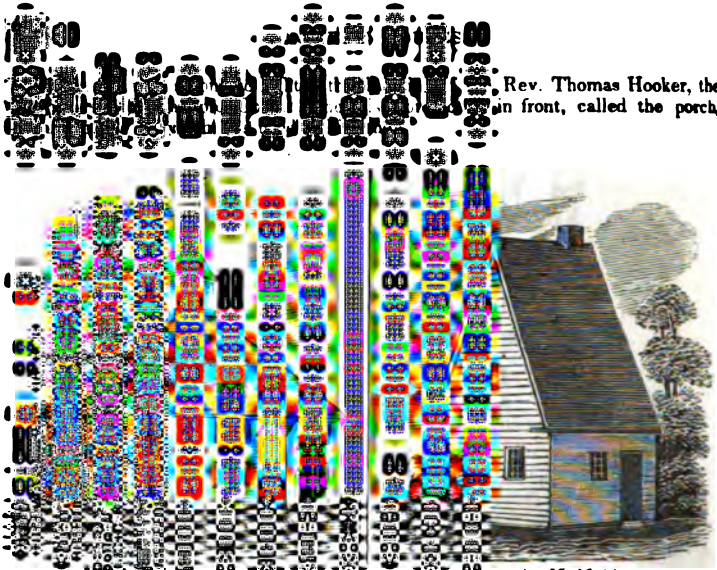


House.

Representation of the first  
house built at Hartford



Rev. Thomas Hooker, the  
in front, called the porch,

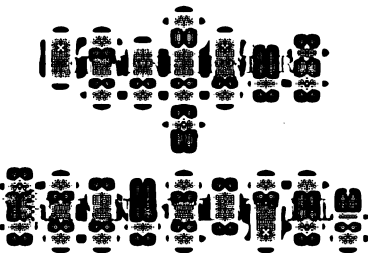


House in Medfield.

now standing in New England. The greater part of the house was burnt the ground to the eaves of the roof. There are three divisions, an entry, and a pantry; a narrow garret. It is an interesting specimen of the houses of the period, represented above, is the one it being erected in 1680;



House standing in Johnstown, N. Y. :  
American Revolution.



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six or seven vessels with about 700 men and embarked for the Delaware to subdue the Swedes. Being unprepared for a defence, the Swedes surrendered their forts. New Gottemburg, with such houses as were without the fort, was destroyed the inhabitants were plundered and their cattle destroyed. The officers, and the principal inhabitants among the Swedes were carried prisoners to New Amsterdam; and thence to Holland: but the common people remained in the country. The Dutch thus came into the possession of the territory on the west side of the Delaware, which they afterwards called the three lower counties on Delaware.

In 1664, king Charles II., whose claim to New England gave him powers to claim to the southward, granted a patent to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany. This patent comprised sundry tracts of land in America, including what the Dutch claimed under the name of New Netherlands, which extended to the settlements on the Delaware.

In 1675, the west part of New Jersey was sold out to Edward Byllinge, of the Society of Friends, to whom William Penn, a member of the same society, became a trustee. Penn, in his efforts to settle the estate of Byllinge became well acquainted with this part of the country. At his solicitation, and in recompense for the unpaid services which his father, Admiral Penn, had rendered the crown, this tract was, in 1681, granted to him by the king, who named the country *Pennsylvania*.\*

William Penn having thus come into possession, immediately published such an account as could then be given; with the royal charter, &c. He offered his lands at the rate of forty shillings sterling for one hundred acres, and *one shilling* per annum forever; and good conditions of settlement, to such as chose to be adventurers in the new country. He also wrote to the Indian natives, informing them of his desire to live at peace with them. He then drew up "The Fundamental Constitution

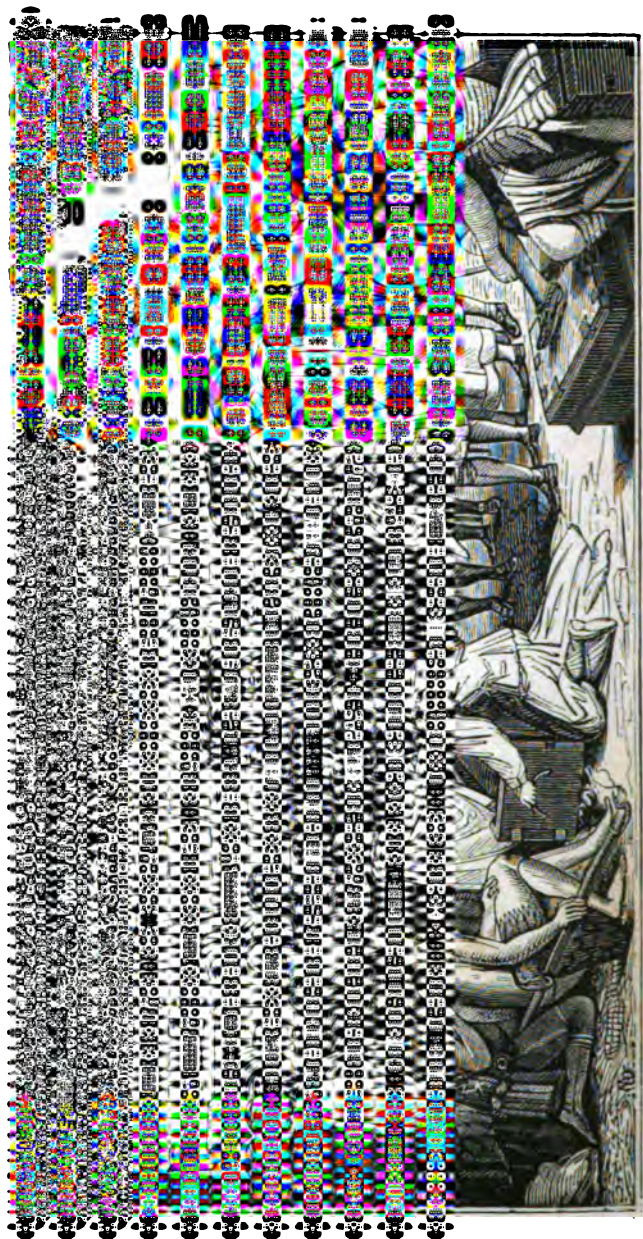
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\* The cause of the name, and the modesty of the founder, in finding it imposed on him as a family distinction and honor, is so characteristic of that great and good man as to deserve a few lines of extension to explain it. It is expressed in the simplicity and frankness of private friendship, saying, (vide his letter to Robert Turner,) "This day my country was confirmed to me by the name of Pennsylvania, a name the king would give it, in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country: but Penn, being Welch for a head,—as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England,—they called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands, for I proposed (when the Secretary, a Welchman, refused to have it called New Wales,) Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the King to have it struck out and altered, he said, 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor would twenty guineas move the under Secretaries to vary the name,—for I feared least it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the King, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise." *Watson's Annals*.





App.



PEN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.  
[From the picture by West.]

of Pennsylvania," and the following year he published "The Frame of Government," one of the laws of his code, held out for that time a remarkable degree of religious liberty. It was thus expressed, "All persons living in this Province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience, to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion, or practice, in matters of faith and worship."

On publishing these proposals, a great number of purchasers soon appeared, in London, Liverpool, and especially, about Bristol. A company was formed called "*The Free Society of Traders*," of which Nicholas Moore Predt, and J. Claypole were conspicuous members, and residents of Philadelphia. They bought at first 20,000 acres; and their appurtenant city lots "were an entire street, and on one side of a street from river to river," comprising therein 100 acres, exclusive of 400 acres besides in the Liberties. A Society of Germans was also formed at Frankfort in Germany, with a view to send out settlers. These took up Germantown township, Manatawny, &c. The first colony left England in Aug. 1681, in three ships, and the first arrival was the ship John and Sarah, from London, Capt. Smith.

In August, 1682, William Penn, with about 100 colonists, mostly Friends or Quakers, embarked in the ship *Welcome* for America. On their passage, the small-pox broke out and proved fatal to about one-third of the passengers. Penn landed at *Newcastle*, October 27th, and the next day the people were summoned to the Court House; where legal possession was given to the proprietor and founder of Pennsylvania. The ship with the passengers proceeded further up the river to the general rendezvous or settlement. Penn soon after proceeded to Upland, now Chester, where he held the first assembly.

Penn soon proceeded to select a site, and lay out a plan for a city, and to conclude his celebrated treaty of purchase of the Indians, by which the peace of the province was preserved for a period of seventy years. Penn named his city, Philadelphia, or the "*city of brotherly love*," which before the end of the year contained eighty houses or cottages. The second Assembly was held in Philadelphia, in March, 1683. At the request of the freemen and delegates, Penn granted them a second charter, which diminished the number of the Council and Assembly, and was, in other respects, different from the first.

Among the regulations adopted at this assembly it was ordained "that, to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peacemakers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear



Philadelphia. Over which it is said was held  
This venerated tree stood at  
torn down, March 3d, 1810.  
Philadelphia, "it was remarka-  
towards the river measured  
the trunk was twenty-four  
its circles of annual growth,  
stood, the Methodists and  
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man and man : that  
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and for two years after he was expelled from his kingdom, the government of the province was administered in his name.

On account of this display of attachment to the exiled monarch, Penn incurred the displeasure of King William, on vague suspicion, and unfounded charges, the founder of Pennsylvania was four times imprisoned. The government of his province was taken from him, and given to Gov. Fletcher of New York. After many persecutions, Penn was permitted to make his own defence before the king and council. By this means, he easily succeeded in removing every unfavorable impression against himself, and was speedily reinstated in his rights as proprietary and governor. William Markham was soon after sent out as deputy governor.

In 1699, Penn again visited Pennsylvania, and found the people discontented. As they complained of some of the provisions of the existing charter, he prepared a new one, which was submitted to the Assembly and accepted by them in 1701. It gave to the Assembly the right of originating bills, which, by the previous charters, was the right of the governor alone, and of amending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the governor, it gave the right of rejecting bills passed by the Assembly, of appointing his own council, and of exercising the whole executive power. The Territories, (now the state of Delaware,) refusing to accept the new charter, separated from Pennsylvania, and were allowed a distinct assembly, under the same governor.

Immediately after granting his third and last charter, Penn returned to England, where he remained till his death, in 1717. The executive authority of the province was administered by deputy governors appointed by the proprietor. The people murmured and complained; but the great prosperity of the colony shows that but slight causes of complaint existed. The greatest cause of irritation among the colonists was, the refusal of the deputy governors to assent to any law imposing taxes on the lands of the proprietors, although the sum raised was to be expended for the benefit of the whole province.

In 1742, a treaty was holden at Philadelphia by the government of Pennsylvania with the deputies of the Six Nations, who agreed to relinquish their claim to all the lands on both sides of the river Susquehanna, so far south as the province extended, and northward to the Endless Mountains, or Kittochinny hills. In compensation for this territory, they received goods of considerable value. The first settlement in the western part of the state was at Pittsburg on the Ohio. This was the site of the French fort, *Du Quesne*, which, in 1758, was reduced by Gen. Forbes. The town was commenced in 1760, purchased of the Indians in 1768, and in 1785, contained 1,303 inhabitants.



In the early part of the Revolutionary war, the people adopted a new constitution, by which the heirs of Penn were excluded from all the share they held in the government; and the quit rents due from the inhabitants, were finally discharged by paying to the representatives of his family the sum of 570,000 dollars.

In September, 1777, this state was made the theatre of war. The battle of Brandywine was fought on the 11th of that month, in which the Americans were defeated; and Philadelphia was taken by Sir William Howe on the 27th. The battle of Germantown, unfortunate to the Americans, was fought on the 4th of October. In June, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia and marched into New Jersey.

In 1794, an insurrection took place in the four western counties, to resist the laws of the Union, laying a duty on distilled spirits. On the approach of a respectable force in October, the insurgents laid down their arms, and were pardoned. In 1799, the seat of the state government was removed from Philadelphia to Lancaster; and, in 1800, that of the Federal Government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington. In 1812, the seat of the state government was removed to Harrisburg.

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## INDIANS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

MUCH that was common to the Indians of this state and New Jersey, has already been given in this work in the account of the Indians of New Jersey. It is supposed by some historians, that there were in the year 1684, as many as ten nations or tribes of Indians in the province of Pennsylvania, comprising six thousand in number. The following, relative to their primitive character and habits, is given by William Penn in his letter, of August, 1683, to the "Free Society of Traders."

"The *natives* I shall consider, in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever; and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design; as the *Gypsies* in *England*. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified; and using no defence against sun, or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight looked *Jew*. The thick lip, and flat nose so frequent with the East *Indians* and *blacks*, are not common to them: For I have seen as comely *European* like faces among them, of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the *Roman*.

"The language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the *Hebrew*, in signification, full; like short-hand, in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer: imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my

business to understand it, that I might not want an Interpreter, on any occasion ; and I must say, that I know not a language spoken, in *Europe*, that hath words of more sweetness, or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs ; for instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesen* ; all which are names of places ; and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *Anna*, is mother ; *Iffimus*, a brother ; *Netcap*, friend ; *Ufqueoret*, very good ; *Pane*, bread ; *Metfa*, eat ; *Matta*, no ; *Hatta*, to have ; *Payo*, to come ; *Sepaffen*, *Paffjon*, the names of places ; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanfe*, *Secatercus*, are the names of persons ; if one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer, *Matta ne hatta* ; which to translate, is, *not I have* ; instead of, I have not.

"Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said ; I will begin with children ; so soon as they are born, they wash them in water ; and while very young, and in cold weather to chuse, they plunge them in the rivers, to harden and embolden them. Having wrapt them in a clout, they lay them on a strait, thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast, upon the board, to make it straight ; wherefore all *Indians* have flat heads ; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go, very young, at nine months commonly ; they wear only a small clout round their waste, till they are big ; if boys, they go a fishing, till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen ; then they hunt ; and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry ; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burdens ; and they do well to use them to that young, which they must do when they are old ; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands ; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

"When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads, for an advertisement, but so, as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age, they marry at, if women, is about thirteen, and fourteen ; if men, seventeen and eighteen ; they are rarely elder.

"Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an *English* barn ; but out of the power of the winds ; for they are hardly higher than a man ; they lie on reeds, or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods, about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils, they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

"Their diet is maize, or *Indian* corn, divers ways prepared ; sometimes roasted in the ashes ; sometimes beaten and boiled with water ; which they call *homine* ; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease, that are good nourishment ; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

"If an *European* comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house, or *wigwam*, they give him the best place, and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itab* ; which is as much as to say, *Good be to you*, and set them down ; which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright ; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing, to eat, or drink, well : for they will not ask ; and be it little, or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

"They are great concealers of their own resentments ; brought to it, I believe, by the revenge, that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the *Italians*. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country : a king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it ; upon which she immediately died : and, for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement, and liberty of marriage ; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, that died a natural death. For, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage, for a portion ; but when married chaste.

"But, in liberality they excel ; nothing is too good for their friend : give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks ; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually ; they never have much, nor want much : wealth circulateth

like the blood ; all parts partake ; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land : the pay, or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners ; but the neighbouring kings, and their clans being present, when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned, consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a porportion sent, so sorted and sold, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it, in like manner, among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects ; and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little ; because they want but little ; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us : if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits, and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live ; their pleasure feeds them ; I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling ; and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening ; their seats and table are the ground. Since the *Europeans* came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of *strong liquors*, rum especially ; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep ; that is their cry, *some more, and I will go to sleep* ; but, when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world !

"In sickness, impatient to be cured ; and for it, give any thing, especially for their children ; to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times, a *teran*, or decoction of some roots in spring water ; and, if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or women ; and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love : Their mourning is blacking of their faces ; which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead ; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass, that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth, with great care and exactness.

"These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to *religion*, to be sure the tradition of it : yet they believe a *God* and *immortality*, without the help of metaphysics : for, they say, *There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country, to the southward of them ; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again.* Their worship consists of two parts, *sacrifice* and *cantico*. Their sacrifice is their first fruits ; the first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire ; where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him, that performeth the ceremony ; but with such marvellous fervency, and labor of body, that he will, even sweat to a foam. The other part is their *cantico*, performed, by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts ; two being in the middle, that begin ; and, by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures, in the dance, are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already ; to which all come, that will. I was at one myself : their entertainment was a great feat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans ; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes ; and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present, in their money ; it may be sixpence ; which is made of the bone of a fish : the *black* is, with them, as *gold* ; the *white*, *silver* ; they call it all *wampum*.

"Their government is by Kings ; which they call *Sachama* ; and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him, who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign ; for no woman inherits. The reason, they render for this way of descent, is, that their issue may not be spurious.

"Every King hath his council ; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation ; which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is under-

taken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffick, without advising with them ; and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them, upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus : The King sits in the middle of an half moon, and bath his council, the old and wise, on each hand ; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me ; he stood up, came to me, and, in the name of his King, saluted me ; then took me by the hand, and told me, "He was ordered by his King to speak to me ; and that now it was not he, but the King, that spoke ; because what he should say was the King's mind."—He first prayed me, "To excuse them, that they had not complied with me, the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither *Indian* nor *English* : besides, it was the *Indian* custom, to deliberate, and take up much time, in council, before they resolve ; and that, if the young people, and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay."—Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land, they had agreed to dispose of, and the price ; which now is little and dear ; that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time, that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile ; the old, grave ; the young, reverent, in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say, the spoil) of tradition ; and he will deserve the name of wise, that outwits them, in any treaty, about a thing, they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, "of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the *Indians* and *English* must live in love as long as the sun gave light : " Which done, another made a speech to the *Indians*, in the name of all the *Sachamakers*, or Kings ; first, to tell them what was done ; next, to charge and command them, "To love the *Christians*, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government ; that many Governors had been in the river ; but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before ; and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong."—At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, *Amen*, in their way.

"The justice they have is pecuniary : In case of any wrong, or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts, and presents of their *wampum* ; which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they kill a woman, they pay double ; and the reason they render, is, "That she breedeth children ; which men cannot do." It is rare that they fall out, if sober ; and, if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "it was the *drink*, and not the *man* that abused them."

"We have agreed, that, in all differences between us, *six* of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the *Christians* ; who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the *Christians* have not outlived their *fight*, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then, might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil ? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the knowledge of the *natives*, by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God ; for it were miserable, indeed, for us to fall under the just censure of the poor *Indian* conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

"For their original, I am ready to believe them of the *Jewish race* ; I mean, of the stock of the *ten tribes* ; and that, for the following reasons : First, they were to go to a "land not planted, nor known ;" which, to be sure, *Asia* and *Africa* were, if not *Europe* ; and he, that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of *Asia*, to the westernmost of *America*. In the next place ; I find them of like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in *Duke's place*, or *Berry-street*, in *London*, when he seeth them.

But this is not all ; they agree in *riles* ; they reckon by *moons* ; they offer their *first fruits* ; they have a kind of *feast of tabernacles* ; they are said to lay their *altar* upon *twelve stones* ; their *mourning* a year ; *customs of women*, with many other things, that do not now occur.

The following, extracted from Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, is compiled from the work of the Swedish traveller, Professor Kalm, in his notices of the Indians preceding the year 1748.

*Of their food and mode of living.*—Maize, (Indian corn) some kinds of beans and melons, made up the sum of the Indians' gardening. Their chief support arose from hunting and fishing. Besides these, the oldest Swedes related that the Indians were accustomed to get nourishment from the following wild plants, to wit :

Hopniss, so called by the Indians, and also by the Swedes, (the *Glycine Apios* of Linnæus) they found in the meadows. The roots resembled potatoes, and were eaten boiled instead of bread.

Katniss, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (a kind of *Sagittaria sagittifolia*) was found in low wet ground, had oblong roots nearly as large as the fist ; this they boiled or roasted in the ashes. Several Swedes said they liked to eat of it in their youth. The hogs liked them much, and made them very scarce. Mr. Kalm, who ate of them, thought they tasted like potatoes. When the Indians first saw turnips they called them Katniss too.

Taw-ho, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (the *Arum Virginicum* or Wake-robin, and poisonous!) grew in moist grounds, and swamps ; they ate the root of it. The roots grew to the thickness of a man's thigh ; and the hogs rooted them up and devoured them eagerly. The Indians destroyed their poisonous quality by baking them. They made a long trench in the ground, put in the roots and covered them with earth, and over them they made a great fire. They tasted somewhat like potatoes.

Taw-kee, so called by the Indians and Swedes, (the *Orontium Aquaticum*) grew plentifully in moist low grounds. Of these they used the seeds, when dried. These they boiled repeatedly to soften them, and then they ate somewhat like pease. When they got butter or milk from the Swedes, they boiled them together.

Bilberries or whortleberries (a species of *Vaccinium*) was a common diet among the Indians. They dried them in the sun, and kept them packed as close as currants.

*Of their implements for domestic or field use.*—The old boilers or kettles of the Indians were either made of clay, or of different kinds of pot stone—(*Lapis Ollaris*.) The former consisted of a dark clay, mixed with grains of white sand or quartz, and probably burnt in the fire. Many of these kettles had two holes in the upper margin ; on each side one, through which they passed a stick, and held therewith the kettle over the fire. It is remarkable that none of these pots have been found glazed either inside or outside. A few of the old Swedes could remember to have seen the Indians

use such pots to boil their meat in. They were made sometimes of a greenish, and sometimes of a greyish pot stone; and some were made of another species of a pyrous stone. They were very thin. Mr. Bartram, the botanist, showed him an earthen pot, which had been dug up at a place where the Indians had lived—on the outside it was much ornamented. Mr. Bartram had also several broken pieces. They were all made of mere clay, in which were mixed, according to the convenience of the makers, pounded shells of snails and muscles, or of crystals found in the mountains; it was plain they did not burn them much, because they could be cut up with a knife. Since the Europeans have come among them, they disuse them, and have even lost the art of making them.

The hatchets of the Indians were made of stone, somewhat of the shape of a wedge. This was notched round the biggest end, and to this they affixed a split stick for a handle, bound round with a cord. These hatchets could not serve, however, to cut anything like a tree; their means therefore of getting trees for canoes, &c. was to put a great fire round the roots of a big tree to burn it off, and with a swab of rags on a pole to keep the tree constantly wet above until the fire below burnt it off. When the tree was down, they laid dry branches on the trunk and set fire to it, and kept swabbing that part of the tree which they did not want to burn; thus the tree burnt a hollow in one place only; when burnt enough, they chipt or scraped it smooth inside with their hatchets, or sharp flints, or sharp shells.

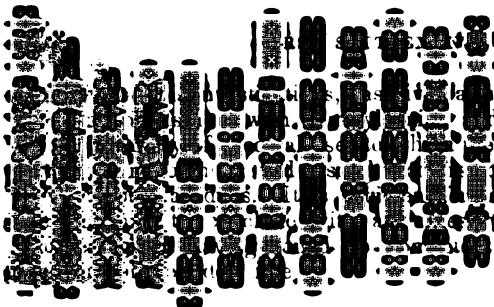
Instead of knives, they used little sharp pieces of flint or quartz, or a piece of sharpened bone.

At the end of their arrows they fastened narrow angulated pieces of stone; these were commonly flint or quartz.—[I have such, as well as hatchets, in my possession.] Some made use of the claws of birds and beasts.

They had stone pestles of about a foot long and five inches in thickness; in these they pounded their maize. Many had only wooden pestles. The Indians were astonished beyond measure when they saw the first wind-mills to grind grain in. They were, at first, of opinion that not the wind, but spirits within them gave them their momentum. They would come from a great distance, and set down for days near them, to wonder and admire at them!

The old tobacco pipes were made of clay or pot stone, or serpentine stone—the tube thick and short. Some were made better, of a very fine red pot stone, and were seen chiefly with the Sachems. Some of the old Dutchmen at New York preserved the tradition that the first Indians seen by the Europeans made use of copper for their tobacco pipes, got from the second river near Elizabethtown. In confirmation of this, it was observed that the people met with holes worked in the mountains, out of which some copper had been taken; and they even found some tools which the Indians probably used for the occasion. They used birds' claws instead of fishing-hooks; the Swedes saw them succeed in this way.

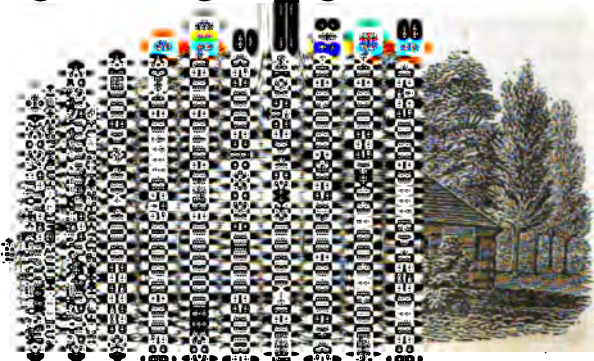
Mr. Kalm, who the reader may observe, was very curious and



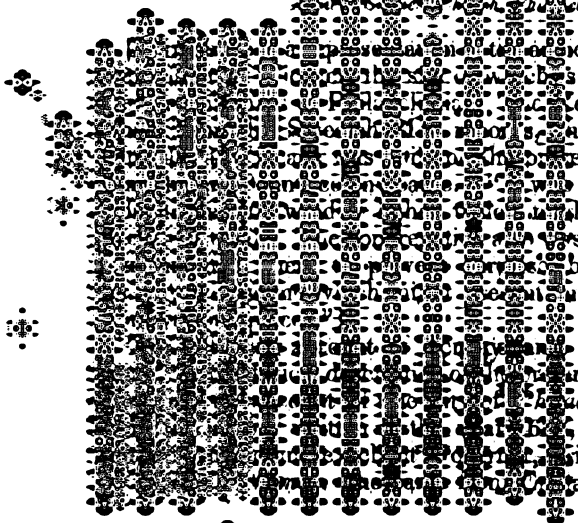
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high, with a piazza all round it, having four rooms on a floor, and a very large fireplace with seats in each jamb.]

..... "It [Philadelphia] hath in it three fairs every year, and two markets every week. They kill above 20 fat bullocks every week, in the hottest time in summer, besides many sheep, calves, and hogs.

"The city is situated between Schoolkill-river and the great river Delaware, which derives its name captain Delaware, who came there pretty early: ships of two or three hundred tons may come up to this city, by either of these two rivers. Moreover, in this province are four great market-towns, viz. Chester, the German-town, New-castle, and Lewis-town, which are mightily enlarged in this latter improvement. Between these towns, the water-men constantly ply their wherries; likewise all those towns have fairs kept in them; besides there are several country villages viz. Dublin, Harford, Merioneth, and Radnor in Cumbéry; all of which towns, villages and rivers took their names from the several countries from whence the present inhabitants came.

The corn-harvest is ended before the middle of July, and most years they have commonly between twenty and thirty bushels of wheat for every one they sow. Their ground is harrowed with wooden tyned harrows, twice over in a place is sufficient; twice mending of their plow-irons in a years' time will serve. Their horses commonly go without being shod; two men may clear between twenty and thirty acres of land in one year, fit for the plough, in which oxen are chiefly used, though horses are not wanting, and of them good and well shaped. Of such land, in a convenient place, the purchase will cost between ten and fifteen pounds for a hundred acres. Here is much meadow ground. Poor people both men and women, will get near three times more wages for their labour in this country, than they can earn either in England or Wales.

What is inhabited of this country, is divided into six counties, though there is not the twentieth part of it yet peopled by the Christians; it hath in it several navigable rivers for shipping to come in, besides the capital Delaware; there are also several other, small rivers the names of them are, Hoorkill-river, alias Lewis-river, which runs up to Lewis-town, the chiefest in Sussex county; Cedar-river, Muskmellon-river, all taking their names from the great plenty of these things growing thereabouts; Mother-kill alias Dover-river, St. Jones's alias Cranebrook-river, where one John Curtice lives, who hath three hundred head of neat beasts, besides great number of hogs, horses, and sheep; Great Duck-river, Little Duck-river, Blackbird-river, these also took their original names from the great numbers of those fowls which are found there in vast quantites; Apequinemy-river, where their goods come to be carted over to Maryland; St. George's river, Christeen river, Brandy-wine river, Upland alias Chester river, which runs by Chester-town, being the shire or county-town, Schoolkill-river, Frankford-river, near which, Arthur Cook hath a most stately brick-house; and Nishamany-river, where judge Growden hath a very noble and fine house, very pleasantly situated, and likewise a famous orchard adjoining to it, wherein are contained above a thousand apple trees of various sorts; likewise there is the famous Derby-river, which comes down from the Crumbry by Derby-town, wherein are several fulling-mills, corn-mills, &c. ....

Now the true reason why this fruitful country and flourishing city advance so considerably in the purchase of lands is their great and extended traffic and commerce, both by sea and land, viz. to New York, New England, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Nevis, Monserat, Antego, St. Christophers, Barmudoes, New foundland, Maderas, Saltetuduous, and Old England; besides several other places. Their merchandize chiefly consists in horses, pipe-staves, pork and beef, salted and barrellled up, bread and flour, all sorts of grain, peas, beans, skins, furs, tobacco, and pot-ash, wax, &c. which are bartered for rum, sugar, molasses, silver, negroes, salt, wine, linen, household-goods, &c. .... *Watson's Annals.*

"*The testimony of Richard Townsend, shewing the providential hand of God, to him and others, from the first settlement of Pennsylvania, to this day. (About the year 1727.)*

"Whereas King *Charles* the second, in the year 1681, was pleased to grant this province to *William Penn*, and his heirs for ever; which act seemed to be an act of *Providence* to many religious, good, people; and the Proprietor, *William Penn*, being one of the people called *Quakers*, and in good esteem, among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him, for the settlement of this place.

"To that end, in the year 1682, several ships being provided, I found a concern on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child; and about the latter end of the Six-month, having settled my affairs in *London*, where I dwelt, I went, on board the ship *Welcome*, *Robert Greenaway*, commander, in company with my worthy friend *William Penn*; whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested, in contributing to the necessities of many, who were sick of the *Small-pox*, then on board; out of which company about thirty died.—After a prosperous passage of about two months, having had, in that time, many good meetings, on board, we arrived here.

"At our arrival, we found it a wilderness; the chief inhabitants were *Indians*, and some *Swedes*; who received us in a friendly manner: and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of *Providence* was seen in a particular manner; in that provisions were found for us, by the *Swedes* and *Indians*, at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts, that were inhabited before.

"Our first concern was to keep up and maintain our *religious worship*; and, in order thereunto, we had several *meetings*, in the houses of the inhabitants; and one boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near *Delaware*; and, as we had nothing but love and good-will, in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings, from time to time; and after our meeting was over, we assisted each other, in building little houses, for our shelter.

"After some time I set up a *mill*, on *Chester* creek; which I brought ready framed from *London*; which served for grinding of corn, and sawing of boards; and was of great use to us. Besides, I with *Joshua Tittery*, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey, for about one shilling, and *Indian* corn for about two shillings and six pence per bushel.

"And, as our worthy Proprietor treated the *Indians* with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought in abundance of venison. As, in other countries, the *Indians* were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of

\* Now implies that he wrote this in 1697.

much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families from high and low *Germany*, of religious, good people; who settled about six miles from *Philadelphia*, and called the place *Germantown*.—The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves further back.—"Also a place called *North Wales*, was settled by many of the *ancient Britons*, an honest inclined people, although they had not then made a profession of the truth, as held by us, yet, in a little time, a large conviction was among them; and divers meeting-houses were built.

About the time, in which *Germantown* was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had purchased of the Proprietor, in *England*, about a mile from thence; where I set up a house and a corn mill;—which was very useful to the country, for several miles round:—But there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles;—I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him, instead of a horse.

"Being now settled about six or seven miles from *Philadelphia*, where leaving the principal body of friends, together with the chief place of provisions, as before mentioned, flesh meat was very scarce with me, for some time; of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence, in the following manner:—

"As I was in my meadow, mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me; I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me; upon which I laid down my scythe, and went towards him; upon which he ran off a small distance; I went to my work again, and the Deer continued looking on me; so that several times I left my work, to go towards him; but he still kept himself at a distance; at last, as I was going towards him, and he, looking on me, did not mind his steps, but ran forceably against the trunk of a tree, and stuned himself so much, that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and, getting upon him, held him by the legs:—After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and, with some difficulty, from his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile, to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and killed him for me; he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence, of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread, and improve their lands, the country became more fruitful; so that those, who came after us, were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad. And as *Philadelphia* increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a *wilderness*, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful field:—On which to look back,

and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose ; yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory pretty clear, concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the *Almighty*, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our meetings ; wherein he hath many times manifested his great loving kindness, in reaching to, and convincing many persons of the principles of truth ; and those, that were already convinced and continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of Heaven :—" I am engaged, in my spirit, to supplicate the continuance thereof to the present rising generation ; that, as God hath blessed their parents, the same blessing may remain on their offspring, to the end of time ; that it may be so is the hearty desire and prayer of their ancient and loving friend,

RICHARD TOWNSEND."

The following relative to the new settlements, the character of the first settlers in Pennsylvania, immediately after the Revolutionary War is taken from Morse's American Geography, published at Elizabethtown, N. J., 1789.

" The inhabitants of Pennsylvania consist of migrants from England, Ireland, Germany and Scotland. The Friends, and Episcopalians, are chiefly of English extraction, and compose about one-third of the inhabitants. They live principally in the city of Philadelphia, and in the Counties of Chester, Philadelphia, Bucks and Montgomery. The Irish are mostly Presbyterians. Their ancestors came from the north of Ireland, which was originally settled from Scotland ; hence they have sometimes been called Scotch-Irish, to denote their double descent. But they are commonly and more properly called Irish, or the descendants of people from the north of Ireland. They inhabit the western and frontier counties, and are numerous.

The Germans compose one quarter at least, if not a third of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. They inhabit the north parts of the city of Philadelphia, and the counties of Philadelphia, Montgomery, Bucks, Dauphin, Lancaster, York and Northampton ; mostly in the four last. They consist of Lutherans, (who are the most numerous sect,) Calvinists, Moravians, Mennonists, Tunkers (corruptly called Dunkers) and Swingfelters, who are a species of Quakers. These are all distinguished for their temperance, industry and economy.

The Germans have usually fifteen or sixty-nine members in the assembly ; and some of them have arisen to the first honours in the state, and now fill a number of the higher offices. Yet the lower class are very ignorant and superstitious. It is not uncommon to see them going to market with a little bag of salt tied to their horses manes, for the purpose, they say, of keeping off the witches.

The Baptists (except the Mennonist and Tunker Baptists, who are Germans,) are chiefly the descendants of emigrants from Wales, and are not numerous. A proportionate assemblage of the national prejudices, the manners, customs, religions and political sentiments of all these, will form the Pennsylvanian character. As the leading traits in this character, thus constituted, we may venture to mention industry, frugality, bordering in some instances on parsimony, enterprize, a taste and ability for improvements in mechanics, in manufactures, in agriculture, in commerce, and in the liberal sciences; temperance, plainness and simplicity in dress and manners; pride and humility in their extremes; inoffensiveness and intrigue; in regard to religion, variety and harmony; liberality and its opposites, superstition and bigotry; and in politics an unhappy jargon. Such appears to be the distinguishing traits in the collective Pennsylvanian character.

In this connection, and in a work of this kind, the remarks of a citizen of Philadelphia, on 'the progress of population, agriculture, manners and government in Pennsylvania, in a letter to his friend in England,' are too valuable to be omitted.

'The first settler in the woods is generally a man who has outlived his credit or fortune in the cultivated parts of the state. His time for migrating is in the month of April. His first object is to build a small cabin of rough logs for himself and family. The floor of this cabin is of earth, the roof is of split logs—the light is received through the door, and, in some instances, through a small window made of greased paper. A coarser building adjoining this cabin affords a shelter to a cow, and pair of poor horses. The labour of erecting these buildings is succeeded by killing the trees on a few acres of ground near his cabin; this is done by cutting a circle round the trees, two or three feet from the ground. The ground around these trees is then ploughed and Indian corn planted in it. The season for planting this grain is about the 20th of May—It grows generally on new ground with but little cultivation, and yields in the month of October following, from 40 to 50 bushels per acre. After the first of September it affords a good deal of nourishment to his family, in its green or unripe state, in the form of what is called *roasting ears*. His family is fed during the summer by a small quantity of grain which he carries with him, and by fish and game. His cows and horses feed upon wild grass, or the succulent twigs of the woods. For the first year he endures a great deal of distress from hunger—cold—and a variety of accidental causes, but he seldom complains or sinks under them. As he lives in the neighbourhood of Indians, he soon acquires a strong tincture of their manners. His exertions, while they continue are violent; but they are succeeded by long intervals of rest. His pleasures consists chiefly in fishing and hunting. He loves spirituous liquors, and he eats, drinks and sleeps in dirt and rags in his little cabin. In his intercourse with the world he manifests all the art which characterize the Indians of our country. In this situation he passes two or three years. In propor-

tion as population increases around him, he become uneasy and dissatisfied. Formerly his cattle ranged at large, but now his neighbours call upon him to confine them within fences, to prevent their trespassing upon their fields of grain. Formerly he fed his family with wild animals, but these, which fly from the face of man, now cease to afford him an easy subsistence, and he is compelled to raise domestic animals for the support of his family. Above all, he revolts against the operation of laws. He cannot bear to surrender up a single natural right for all the benefits of government; and therefore he abandons his little settlement, and seeks a retreat in the woods, where he again submits to all the toils which have been mentioned. There are instances of many men who have broken ground on bare creation, not less than four different times in this way, in different and more advanced parts of the state. It has been remarked, that the flight of this class of people is always increased by the preaching of the gospel. This will not surprise us when we consider how opposite its precepts are to their licentious manner of living. If our first settler was the owner of the spot of land which he began to cultivate, he sells it at a considerable profit to his successor; but if (as is often the case,) he was a tenant to some rich landholder, he abandons it in debt; however, the small improvements he leaves behind him, generally make it an object of immediate demand to a *second* species of settlers.

This species of settler is generally a man of some property; he pays one third or one fourth part in cash for his plantation, which consists of three or four hundred acres, and the rest in gales or instalments, as it is called here; that is, a certain sum yearly, without interest, till the whole is paid. The first object of this settler is to build an addition to his cabin; this is done with hewed logs: and as saw-mills generally follow settlements, his floors are made of boards; his roof is made of what are called clapboards, which are a kind of coarse shingles, split out of short oak logs. This house is divided by two floors, on each of which are two rooms: under the whole is a cellar walled with stone. The cabin serves as a kitchen to this house. His next object is to clear a little meadow ground, and plant an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. His stable is likewise enlarged; and, in the course of a year or two, he builds a large log barn, the roof of which is commonly thatched with rye straw: he moreover increases the quantity of his arable land; and, instead of cultivating Indian corn alone, he raises a quantity of wheat and rye: the latter is cultivated chiefly for the purpose of being distilled into whiskey. This species of settler by no means extracts all from the earth, which it is able and willing to give. His fields yield but a scanty increase, owing to the ground not being sufficiently ploughed. The hopes of the year are often blasted by his cattle breaking through his half made fences, and destroying his grain. His horses perform but half the labour that might be expected from them, if they were better fed; and his cattle often die in the spring from the want of provision, and the delay of grass. His house, as

as well as his farm, bear many marks of a weak tone of mind. His windows are unglazed, or, if they have had glass in them, the ruins of it are supplied with old hats or pillows. This species of settler is seldom a good member of civil or religious society : with a large portion of a hereditary mechanical kind of religion, he neglects to contribute sufficiently towards building a church, or maintaining a regular administration of the ordinances of the gospel : he is equally indisposed to support civil government : with high ideas of liberty, he refuses to bear his proportion of the debt contracted by its establishment in our country : he delights chiefly in company—sometimes drinks spirituous liquors to excess—will spend a day or two in every week, in attending political meetings ; and, thus, he contracts debts, which, (if he cannot discharge in a depreciated paper currency) compel him to sell his plantation, generally in the course of a few years, to the *third* and last species of settler.

This species of settler is commonly a man of property and good character ; sometimes he is the son of a wealthy farmer in one of the interior and ancient counties of the state. His first object is to convert every spot of ground, over which he is able to draw water, into meadow : where this cannot be done, he selects the most fertile spots on the farm, and devotes it by manure to that purpose. His next object is to build a barn, which he perfers of stone. This building is, in some instances, one hundred feet in front, and forty in depth : it is made very compact, so as to shut out the cold in winter ; for our farmers find that their horses and cattle, when kept warm, do not require near as much food, as when they are exposed to the cold. He uses economy, likewise, in the consumption of his wood. Hence he keeps himself warm in winter, by means of stoves, which save an immense deal of labour to himself and his horses, in cutting and hawling wood in cold and wet weather. His fences are every where repaired, so as to secure his grain from his own and his neighbour's cattle. But further, he increases the number of the articles of his cultivation, and instead, of raising corn, wheat, and rye alone, he raises oats, buckwheat (the *sagopyrum* of Linnæus) and spelts. Near his house, he allots an acre or two of ground for a garden, in which he raises a large quantity of cabbage and potatoes. His newly cleared fields afford him every year a large increase of turnips. Over the spring which supplies him with water, he builds a milk house : he likewise adds to the number, and improves the quality of his fruit trees : his sons work by his side all the year, and his wife and daughters forsake the dairy and the spinning wheel to share with him in the toils of harvest. The last object of his industry is to build a dwelling-house. This business is sometimes effected in the course of his life, but is oftener bequeathed to his son, or the inheritor of his plantation ; and hence we have a common saying among our best farmers, " that a son should always begin where his father left off," that is he should begin his improvements, by building a commodious dwelling-house, suited to the improvements and value of the plantation. This dwelling-house is generally built of stone ; it is large.

convenient, and filled with useful and substantial furniture ; it sometimes adjoins the house of the second settler, but is frequently placed at a little distance from it. The horses and cattle of this species of settler, bear marks in their strength, fat, and fruitfulness—of their being plentifully fed and carefully kept. His table abounds with a variety of the best provisions ; his very kitchen flows with milk and honey ; beer, cyder, and wine are the useful drinks of his family : the greatest part of the cloathing of his family is manufactured by his wife and daughters. In proportion as he increases in wealth, he values the protection of laws : hence he punctually pays his taxes towards the support of government. Schools and churches likewise, as the means of promoting order and happiness in society, derive a due support from him : for benevolence and public spirit, as to these objects, are the natural offspring of affluence and independence. Of this class of settlers are two thirds of the farmers of Pennsylvania : these are the men to whom Pennsylvania owes her ancient fame and consequence. If they possess less refinement than their southern neighbours, who cultivate their lands with slaves, they possess more republican virtue. It was from the farms cultivated by these men, that the American and French armies were fed chiefly with bread during the late revolution : and it was from the produce of these farms, that those millions of dollars were obtained from the Havanna after the year 1780, which laid the foundation of the bank of North America, and which fed and clothed the American army till the glorious peace of Paris.

This is a short account of the happiness of a Pennsylvania farmer ; to this happiness our state invites men of every religion and country. We do not pretend to offer emigrants the pleasure of Arcadia ; it is enough if affluence, independence, and happiness are ensured to patience, industry, and labour. The moderate price of land,\* the credit which arises from prudence, and the safety from our courts of law, of every species of property, render the blessings which I have described, objects within the reach of every man.

From a review of the three different species of settlers, it appears, that there are certain regular stages which mark the progress from the savage to civilized life. The first settler is nearly related to an Indian in his manners. In the second, the Indian manners are more diluted. It is in the third species of settlers only, that we behold civi-

\* The unoccupied lands are sold by the state for about six guineas, inclusive of all charges, per hundred acres. But as most of the lands that are settled, are procured from persons who had purchased them from the state, they are sold to the first settler for a much higher price. The quality of the soil ; its vicinity to mills, court-houses, places of worship, and navigable water ; the distance of land carriage to the sea-ports of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and the nature of the roads, all influence the price of land to the first settler. The quantity of cleared land, and the nature of the improvements, added to all the above circumstances, influence the price of farms to the second and third settlers. Hence the price of land to the first settler is from a quarter of a guinea to two guineas per acre ; and the price of farms is from one guinea to ten guineas per acre, to the second and third settlers, according as the land is varied by the before-mentioned circumstances. When the first settler is unable to purchase, he often takes a tract of land for seven years on a lease, and contracts, instead of paying a rent in cash, to clear fifty acres of land, to build a log cabin, and a barn, and to plant an orchard on it. This tract, after the expiration of this lease, sells or rents for a considerable profit.



lization completed. It is to the third species of settlers only, that it is proper to apply the term of *farmers*.

While we record the vices of the first and second settlers, it is but just to mention their virtues likewise. Their mutual wants produce mutual dependence : hence they are kind and friendly to each other—their solitary situation makes visitors agreeable to them ; hence they are hospitable to strangers : their want of money (for they raise but little more than is necessary to support their families) has made it necessary for them to associate for the purpose of building houses, cutting their grain, and the like. This they do in turns for each other, without any other pay than the pleasures which usually attend a country frolic. Perhaps, what I have called virtues, are rather *qualities* arising from necessity, and the peculiar state of society in which these people live. Virtue should, in all cases, be the offspring of principle. . . . .

I have only to add upon this subject, that the migrants from Pennsylvania always travel to the southward. The soil and climate of the western parts of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, afford a more easy support to lazy farmers, than the stubborn but durable soil of Pennsylvania.

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## RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

"Of the great variety of religious denominations in Pennsylvania," (says Dr. Morse in his Geography, of 1789,) "the FRIENDS or QUAKERS are the most numerous. George Fox is called the Father of this religious sect, because he first collected them into a society in England, about the middle of the 17th century. The true appellation of these people is FRIENDS ; that of QUAKERS, was early and unjustly given them by way of contempt. They came over to America as early as 1656, but were not indulged the free exercise of their religion in New England.

They were the first settlers of Pennsylvania in 1682, under William Penn, and have ever since flourished in the free enjoyment of their religion. They believe that God has given to all men sufficient *light* to work their salvation, unless it be resisted ; that this light is as extensive as the seed of sin, and saves those who have not the outward means of salvation ; that this light is a divine principle in which dwells God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. They maintain that the scriptures are not the principal ground of all truth and knowledge ; nor yet the primary rule of faith and manners ; but because they give a true testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the spirit, from whom they derive all their excellence. They believe that immediate revelation has not ceased, but that a measure of the spirit is given to every person.

That as by the light or gift of God, all spiritual knowledge is received, those who have the gift, whether male or female, though without human commission or learning, ought to preach; and to preach freely, as they have freely received the gift. All true and acceptable worship of God, they maintain, is by the inward and immediate moving of his spirit; and that water baptism and the Lord's supper were commanded only for a time. They neither give titles, nor use compliments in their conversation or writings, believing that *whatsoever is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil*. They conscientiously avoid, as unlawful, kneeling, bowing, or uncovering the head to any person. They discard all superfluities in dress or equipage; all games, sports, and plays, as unbecoming the christian. 'Swear not at all' is an article of their creed, literally observed in its utmost extent. They believe it unlawful, to fight in any case whatever; and think that if their enemy *smite them on the one cheek, they ought to turn to him the other also*.<sup>\*</sup> They are generally honest, punctual, and even punctilious in their dealings; provident for the necessities of their poor; friends to humanity, and of course enemies to slavery; strict in their discipline; careful in their observance even of the punctilios in dress, speech and manners, which their religion enjoins; faithful in the education of their children; industrious in their several occupations. In short, whatever peculiarities and mistakes those of other denominations have supposed they have fallen into, in point of religious doctrines, they have proved themselves to be good citizens.

Next to the Quakers, the PRESBYTERIANS are the most numerous.

The protestant EPISCOPAL CHURCH of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South-Carolina, met in Convention at Philadelphia, October, 1785, and revised the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, and published and proposed the book, thus revised, for the use of the church. This revision was made in order to render the liturgy consistent with the American revolution and the constitutions of the several states. In this they have discovered their liberality and their patriotism. In Pennsylvania and the southern states this revised book is pretty generally used by the episcopal churches. In New York, and New Jersey, it has not been adopted.

There are upwards of sixty ministers of the LUTHERAN and CALVINIST religion, who are of German extraction, now in this state; all of whom have one or more congregations under their care; and many of them preach in splendid and expensive churches: and yet the first Lutheran minister, who arrived in Pennsylvania about forty years ago, was alive in 1787, and probably is still, as was also the second Calvinistical minister.

The Lutherans do not differ, in any thing essential, from the Episcopalians; nor do the Calvinists from the Presbyterians.

The MORAVIANS are of German extraction. Of this religion there

<sup>\*</sup> During the late war, some of their number, contrary to this article of their faith, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a secession from their brethren, and they now form a separate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the 'Resisting or fighting Quakers.'

are about 1300 souls in Pennsylvania ; viz. between 500 and 600 in Bethlehem ; 450 in Nazareth, and upwards of 300 at Litiz, in Lancaster county. They call themselves the 'United Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal church.' They are called Moravians, because the first settlers in the English dominions were chiefly migrants from Moravia. These were the remnant and genuine descendants of the church of the ancient United Brethren, established in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the last century, they left their native country, to avoid persecution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of the religion of their fore-fathers. They were received in Saxony, and other Protestant dominions, and were encouraged to settle among them, and were joined by many serious people of other denominations. They adhere to the Augustan Confession of Faith, which was drawn up by the Protestant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and presented at the diet of the empire at Ausburg ; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal system of all the established Protestant churches. They retain the discipline of their ancient church, and make use of Episcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of succession for more than three hundred years.\*

As to their doctrinal tenets, and the practical inferences thence deduced, they appear to be *essentially* right, and such as will not be excepted against by any candid and liberal person who has made himself acquainted with them. Those who wish to obtain a thorough and impartial knowledge of their religious sentiments and customs, may see them excellently summed up in a plain, but nervous style, in 'An exposition of Christian Doctrine, as taught in the Protestant church of the United Brethren, written in German by A. G. SPANGENBERG ; and translated and published in English in 1784.' By this book nothing appears but that they are thorough in the doctrines of grace, as they are obviously exhibited in the Old and New Testament. They profess to live in the strict obedience to the ordinances of Christ, such as the observation of the sabbath, infant baptism, and the Lord's Supper ; and in addition to these, they practice 'The Foot-washing, the Kiss of Love, and the use of the Lot ;' for which their reasons, if not conclusive, are yet plausible. They were introduced into America by Count Zinzendorf, and settled in Bethlehem, which is their principal settlement in America, as early as 1741.

In Pennsylvania there are sixteen congregations of English BAPTISTS. The doctrines, discipline, and worship of these, are similar to those of the New England Baptists. In 1770, the number of this denomination of Baptists was reckoned at 650 families, making, as was supposed, 3,250 souls, who were divided into ten churches, who had eighteen meeting-houses, and 11 ministers. Besides these there are a few Sabbatarian Baptists, who keep the seventh day as holy time, and who are the remains of the Keithian or Quaker Bap-

\* See David Crantz Hist. of 'The ancient and modern United Brethren's church, translated from the German, by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe, London, 1780.

tists, and a number of Tunkers and Mennonists, both of whom are professionally Baptists, and are of German extraction.

The TUNKERS are so called in derision, from the word *tunken*, to put a morsel in sauce. The English word that conveys the proper meaning of Tunkers is *Sops* or *Dippers*. They are also called Tumblers, from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the person, while kneeling, head first under water, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans sound the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence the words Tunkers and Tumblers have been corruptly written Dunkers and Dampers.

The first appearing of these people in America, was in the fall of the year 1719, when about twenty families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves in various parts of Pennsylvania. They are what are called General Baptists, and hold to general redemption and general salvation. They use great plainness of dress and language, and will neither swear, nor fight, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards—keep the first day Sabbath, except one congregation—have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of Love-feasts, with washing of feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for their recovery, and use the trine immersion, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the person baptised is in the water. Their church government and discipline are the same with those of the English Baptists, except that every brother is allowed to speak in the congregation; and their best speaker is usually ordained to be their minister. They have deacons, deaconesses (from among their ancient widows) and exhorters, who are all licensed to use their gifts stately. On the whole, notwithstanding their peculiarities, they appear to be humble, well-meaning christians, and have acquired the character of the *Harmless* Tunkers.

Their principal settlement is at Ephrata, sometimes called Tunkerstown, in Lancaster county, sixty miles westward of Philadelphia. It consists of about forty buildings, of which three are places of worship: One is called Sharon, and adjoins the sister's apartment as a chapel; another belonging to the brother's apartment, called Bethany. To these the brethren and sisters resort, separately, to worship morning and evening, and sometimes in the night. The third is a common church, called Zion, where all in the settlement meet once a week for public worship. The brethren have adopted the White Friar's dress, which some alterations; the sisters, that of the nuns; and both, like them, have taken the vow of celibacy. All however, do not keep the vow. When they marry, they leave their cells and go among the married people. They subsist by cultivating their lands, by attending a printing office, a grist mill, a paper mill, an oil mill, &c. and the sisters by spinning, weaving, sewing, &c. They, at first, slept on board couches, but now on beds, and have otherwise abated much of their former severity. This is the congregation who keep the seventh day Sabbath. Their singing is charming, owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts, and the devout manner

of performance. Besides this congregation at Ephrata, there were, in 1770, fourteen others in various other parts of Pennsylvania, and some in Maryland. The whole, exclusive of those in Maryland, amounted to upwards of 2000 souls.

The MENNONISTS derive their name from Menno Simon, a native of Witmars in Germany, a man of learning, born in the year 1505, in the time of the reformation by Luther and Calvin. He was a famous Roman Catholic preacher till about the year 1531, when he became a Baptist. Some of his followers came to Pennsylvania from New York, and settled at Germantown, as early as 1692. This is at present their principal congregation, and the mother of the rest. Their whole number, in 1770, in Pennsylvania was upwards of 4000, divided into thirteen churches, and forty-two congregations, under the care of fifteen ordained ministers, and fifty-three licensed preachers.

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## EVENTS IN THE FRENCH

AND

## REVOLUTIONARY WARS.

THE French in order to increase their power in America, determined to erect a chain of fortifications from Canada to their settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. They claimed all the country from the Mississippi eastward, to the Alleghany mountains. In opposition to this claim, a number of noblemen, merchants and planters, of Westminster, London, and Virginia, (named the Ohio Company,) obtained a charter grant of 600,000 acres, on and near the Ohio. They accordingly surveyed lands in this region, commenced some settlements, and the Virginians commenced a fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela, where Pittsburg now stands.—Before they had completed their fortifications, a French force of one thousand men came and drove them from the country. They then erected a regular fort on the spot the Virginians had commenced theirs, and gave it the name of Fort *Du Quesne*.

These measures of the French, gave a general alarm to the colonies, and Great Britain. In 1754, Col. Washington, with 400 men, mostly from Virginia, was sent forward to drive the French from the Ohio. In May, he fell in with a party from fort *Du Quesne*, under the command of one Jumonville, whom he totally defeated. De Villier, who commanded at Fort *du Quesne*, incensed at this defeat, marched against him with a body of 900 men, besides Indians. Washington had thrown up some imper-

fect works, which he called *Fort Necessity*; hoping he should be able to defend himself in this post, till he should be reinforced. In these works, he made so brave and obstinate defence, that De Villier, finding he had desperate men to combat, offered him an honorable capitulation. This he accepted, and retreated with his party to Virginia.

About the middle of January, 1755, Gen. Braddock with about fifteen hundred regular troops, embarked at Cork for Virginia. After a passage of about six weeks, he arrived at his place of destination, and began to make preparations for his expedition against the French on the Ohio.

"Though this, with the ministry, was the favorite expedition, and though the general arrived soon enough to have begun his operations early in the spring, yet it was the tenth of June, before he commenced his march from fort Cumberland, which the Virginians had built at Will's Creek. This, it has been said, was owing to the dilatoriness of the Virginians, whom he had employed as contractors for his army. They were nearly three months in procuring provisions, horses, and a sufficient number of waggons, for the conveyance of his baggage. Some waggons were procured from Pennsylvania, and yet but about half the number for which he had contracted were procured for his service. He began his march with about two thousand two hundred men. When he had advanced as far as the great meadows, he received the intelligence that the French, at fort Du Quesne, were in expectation of a reinforcement of five hundred men. This induced him to quicken his march; and that he might proceed with greater expedition, he left Colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions and heavy baggage; while he pressed forward with such provisions and necessaries as were barely sufficient for him, until Colonel Dunbar should bring up the rear.

Before the general's departure from England, much pains had been taken to make him cautious, and to prepare him for his command. Colonel Napier furnished him with an excellent set of instructions, which he had received from the duke of Cumberland. Indeed, the duke in person frequently admonished him to be particularly watchful against an ambush or surprise. When he was on his march, Colonel Washington intreated him, with earnestness, to suffer him to precede the army and scour the woods with his rangers; but the general treated this generous and necessary proposal with contempt. He rashly pressed on, through thickets and dangerous defiles, without reconnoitering the woods, or obtaining any proper knowledge of the country through which he was to pass. By the eighth of July, he had advanced nearly sixty miles forward of Colonel Dunbar, and within twelve or fourteen miles of fort Du Quesne. In this situation, his officers, especially Sir Peter Halket, earnestly intreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army, as an advanced guard, against ambuscades and surprise. But he

was too haughty and self-sufficient, to derive any benefit even from the experience or wisdom of the greatest characters.

The next day, without any knowledge of the enemy, or any of the precautions to which he had been so repeatedly advised, he pressed on until about twelve o'clock, when, all on a sudden, he was saluted with a heavy and deadly fire in front, and on the whole of his left flank. The enemy artfully concealed themselves, and reserved their fire, until the whole army had time to enter the defile. Though the yell and fire of the enemy were tremendous, yet there was scarcely one of them to be seen. The suddenness of the attack, the horrible scream of the Indians, and the slaughter made by the first fire of the enemy, threw the advanced guard into the utmost panic, so that they, rushing back upon the main body, threw the whole of the regular troops into irretrievable confusion. The general exhibited the greatest intrepidity and imprudence. Instead of retreating from the defile, and scouring the thickets with his cannon, or ordering the Virginians to drive the enemy from his flanks, he remained on the spot, giving orders for the few gallant officers and men who remained with him, to form regularly and advance to the charge of their invisible enemy. But, as the enemy kept up an incessant and destructive fire, his officers and men fell thick about him. Five horses were soon killed under him; but his obstinacy seemed to increase with his danger: until, at length, he received a musket ball through his right arm and lungs. As he fell, those who remained, fled in great confusion. The general was carried from the field, by the bravery of Lieu. Colonel Gage, and another of his faithful officers.

The artillery, ammunition, baggage, and the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, fell into the hands of the enemy. The latter of these were sent to France, and the French court availed itself of them in their memorials and declarations. The general died of his wounds four days after his defeat. Thus the loss of his own life, and the ruin of a fine army, were by the natural consequences of his unparalleled self-sufficiency, imprudence and obstinacy. The enemy consisted of about four or five hundred men only, and these were chiefly Indians. The whole were not a match even for the Virginians, had they been allowed to fight in their own way.

One of the most remarkable circumstances of this unfortunate expedition remains yet to be told. The Virginia militia, who had been despised by the general, and kept in the rear, though equally exposed with the regular troops, amidst all the dismay and confusion, stood firm and unbroken. They alone advanced against the enemy; and, under Colonel Washington, covering the retreat, seemed to have saved the regulars from total destruction.

The loss of officers and men were very great. Sir Peter Halket was killed at the head of his regiment, by the first fire. The general's secretary, son of governor Shirley, fell soon after. The loss of officers much exceeded the common proportion. The whole loss was not less than seven or eight hundred men.\*

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\* Rider says he lost half his army. Hist. of England, vol. xl. p. 110.

The flight of the army was so precipitate and extraordinary, that it never stopped until they met the rear division. This, on their junction, was instantly seized with the same general panic which affected the main body; and though no enemy had been discovered in pursuit of them, yet the army continued retreating, without making any stand, or considerable halt, till it reached fort Cumberland, which was little less than a hundred and twenty miles from the place of action. Had the troops, even at this distance, so recovered their spirits as to have made a stand, they might, in some measure, have guarded the frontiers, and prevented those devastations, murders, and barbarities, which the French and Indians, during the rest of the summer, perpetrated on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. But, instead of adopting this prudent and salutary measure, Colonel Dunbar, who succeeded in command, leaving the sick and wounded at this post, under the care of the Virginians, marched off, with fourteen hundred men to Philadelphia.\*" *Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*

*Massacre of the Conestogoe Indians.*—"That strict amity between the Indians and the first and early English settlers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and their successors, for above seventy years, with the means of fixing and preserving that friendship, have already been occasionally mentioned in the course of the preceding history. It was about the year 1754, when a very different conduct began to exhibit itself in some of the Indians, situated north-westward of the settled parts of Pennsylvania, very contrary to what before had been the uniform practice of that people in this province.

"Hostilities commenced; and many of the frontier inhabitants suffered in consequence of a savage war. The affair was considered as very extraordinary, and caused much speculation in such persons as were but little acquainted with the nature and management of Indian affairs, about that time, in the province; that these people, who had ever showed themselves kind and steady friends to the English for such a long series of years, as ever since their first arrival in the country, should now become their enemies, and join with the French against them: and many, who had been continually flocking into the province in later years, having from their inexperience and ignorance, too despicable an opinion of that people, and treating them accordingly, were, by this conduct, foolishly enraged against the whole species indiscriminately; insomuch that, in the latter part of the year 1763, calling to their aid the madness of the wildest enthusiasm, with which, under pretence of religion, certain most furious zealots, among the preachers of a numerous sect in the province, could inspire their hearers, to cover their barbarity, a number of, not improperly named, *armed demi-savages*, inhabitants of Lancaster county, principally from the townships of *Partang* and *Donnegal*, and their neighborhood, committed the most horrible massacres that ever was heard of in this, or perhaps, any other province, with impunity † and under the notion of extirpating the heathen

\* Rider, vol. xl. p. 111.

† The following extract is taken from an authentic publication, printed at that time in Philadelphia, entitled, "A narrative of the late massacre in Lancaster county, of a number of Indians, friends of this province," &c. viz.



from the earth, as Joshua did of old, that these saints might possess the land alone, they murdered the remains of a whole tribe of

"These Indians were the remains of a tribe of the *Six Nations*, settled at *Conestogoe*, and thence called *Conestogoe Indians*. On the first arrival of the *English* in *Pennsylvania*, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, with presents of *venison*, *corn*, and *skins*; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with the first proprietor, *William Penn*, which was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run into the rivers.

"This treaty has been since frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their part, or ours, till now. As their lands, by degrees, were mostly purchased, and the settlement of the *white people* began to surround them, the proprietor assigned them lands on the *manor of Conestogoe*, which they might not part with; there they have lived many years, in friendship with their *white neighbours*, who loved them for their peaceable, inoffensive behaviour.

"It has always been observed, that *Indians*, settled in the neighbourhood of *white people*, do not increase, but diminish continually. This tribe accordingly went on diminishing, till there remained in their town, on the *manor*, but twenty persons, viz. seven men, five women and eight children, boys and girls.

"Of these, *Shebas* was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty, held with them by *Mr. Penn*, in 1701; and ever since continued a faithful friend to the *English*; he is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being naturally of a most kind, benevolent temper.

"—This little society continued the custom they had begun, when more numerous, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and praying a continuance of that favor and protection, which they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly sent up an address of this kind to our present governor (*John Penn*, Esquire) on his arrival; but the same was scarce delivered when the unfortunate catastrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

"On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1763, fifty-seven men, from some of our frontier townships, who had projected the destruction of this little commonwealth, came all well mounted, and armed with fire-locks, hangers, and hatchets, having travelled through the country in the night to *Conestogoe manor*. There they surrounded the small village of *Indian* huts, and just at break of day, broke in upon them all at once. Only three men, two women, and a young boy were found at home; the rest being out among the neighbouring *white people*; some to sell their baskets, brooms, and bowls, they manufactured, and others on other occasions. These poor, defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death! The good *Shebas*, among the rest, cut to pieces in his bed! All of them were *scalped*, and otherwise horribly mangled. Then their huts were set on fire, and most of them burnt down.

"The magistrates of *Lancaster* sent out to collect the remaining *Indians*, brought them into the town, for their better security against any further attempt; and, it is said, conduced with them on the misfortune that had happened, took them by the hand, and promised them protection.

"They were put into the work-house, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

"These cruel men again assembled themselves; and hearing that the remaining fourteen *Indians* were in the work-house at *Lancaster*, they suddenly appeared before that town on the twenty-seventh of December. Fifty of them armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the work-house, and by violence broke open the door, and entered with the utmost fury in their countenances. When the poor wretches saw they had no protection nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least weapon of defence, they divided their little families, the children clinging to their parents; they fell on their faces, protested their innocence, declared their love to the *English*, and that, in their whole lives, they had never done them injury; and in this posture, they all received the hatchet! Men, women, and children, were every one inhumanly murdered in cold blood!

"The barbarous men, who committed the atrocious fact, in defiance of government, of all laws, human and divine, and to the eternal disgrace of their country and colour, then mounted their horses, huzzaed in triumph, as if they had gained a victory, and rode off unmolested!

"The bodies of the murdered were then brought out, and exposed in the street, till a hole could be made in the earth, to receive and cover them. But the wickedness cannot be covered, and the guilt will lie on the whole land, till justice is done on the murderers. The blood of the innocent will cry to heaven for vengeance.

"Notwithstanding the proclamations and endeavours of the governor, on the occasion, &c. (continues the narrative) "The murderers having given out such threatenings against those that disapproved their proceedings, that the whole country seems to be in terror, and no one dares speak what he knows; even the letters from thence are unsigned, in which any dislike is expressed of the rioters.

"But it seems these people (being chiefly Presbyterian) think they have a better justification—nothing less than the word of God. With the Scriptures in their hands and mouths, they can set at nought that express command, 'Thou shalt do no murder,' and justify their wickedness by the command given *Joshua*, to destroy the *heathen*! Horrid perversion of Scripture and of religion! to father the worst of crimes on the God of love and peace!

"The faith of this government has been frequently given to those *Indians*, but that did not avail them with people who despise all government," &c.

So far had the infection spread, which caused this action, and so much had fear seized the minds of the people, or perhaps both, that neither the printer nor the writer of this publication, though supposed to be as nearly connected as *Franklin* and *Hall* were at that time, and men of the first character in their way, did not insert either their names, or places of abode, in it!

It was printed while the insurgents were preparing to advance towards *Philadelphia*; or on their way thither: it appeared to have some effect in preventing the threatened consequences, by exciting an exertion of endeavours, in the citizens, for that purpose; and being a relation of real facts, though writ in a hurry, it was never answered or contradicted.

peaceable, inoffensive, helpless *Indians*, who were *British subjects*, young and old, men, women, and children, situated on *Conestogoe manor*, in the same county; where they had been placed by the government in former time; and had ever since continued in strict and inviolable friendship with the *English*; being then far within the settled parts of the province, and entirely innocent as to the war: of whom mention has already been made in the preceding history, respecting their last compact with *William Penn*, in the year 1701; and in the treaties held with them since by Governor *Keith*, &c.

"The bloody scene was completed in the town of *Lancaster* itself; where the remainder of the tribe, which had escaped the first slaughter, taking refuge, declaring their innocence, and crying for mercy and protection, were, through the connivance, if not the encouragement, of the *Christian-professing* magistrates, and other principal persons of that town, all inhumanly butchered in cold blood, even infants at the breast, by the same party of armed *ruffians*, at mid-day, without opposition, or the least molestation!—to the lasting infamy of the inhabitants of that place, who had power sufficient to prevent it!"

"With hands imbrued in innocent blood, and taking courage from their unopposed success and cruelty, the insurgents now greatly increased in number, and proceeded towards *Philadelphia*, with avowed intention to cut off a party of innocent and friendly *Indians* there, consisting of those of *Wyalusing*, before mentioned, and some others, who had thrown themselves under the protection of the government, to the number of about one hundred and forty. By their conduct, they appeared to depend on the secret assistance of a number of their brethren, the same kind of saints, in that city; who, afterwards, by many of them advocating their cause and proceedings, with other strong symptoms, appeared to have been, either in some manner privately connected with them, or concerted and directed the whole tragical and bloody insurrection.

"This lawless *banditti* advanced, in many hundreds, armed, as far as *Germantown*, within about six miles of the city, threatening death and slaughter to all who should dare to oppose them; and, in all probability, they would have effected their bloody purpose, had they not met with such a proper and vigorous opposition from the government, and the inhabitants of *Philadelphia*, as they seemed not to expect, which put a stop to their career. But so far was the contagion spread, and so deeply had the spirit of faction infected the minds of many, that the weakness of the government was not able to punish these *murderers*, nor to chastise the insurgents! a sorrowful presage of an approaching change in that happy constitution, which had so long afforded a peaceable asylum to the unjustly oppressed and distressed, by means of the great influx and increase of such kind of people into it, of later years, as experience has abundantly demonstrated a rod of iron is more proper to rule, than such a mild establishment, as is better adapted to promote the prosperity of the virtuous and good, than properly to chastise the most profligate of mankind;

more calculated to make men happy, than to punish the wicked and ungovernable, according to their demerits."—*Proud's Hist*

*Battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11th, 1777.* "The American army, in order to encourage the partisans of independence and overawe the disaffected, marched through the city of Philadelphia; it afterwards advanced towards the enemy, and encamped behind White Clay Creek. A little after, leaving only the riflemen in the camp, Washington retired with the main body of his army behind the Red Clay Creek, occupying with his right wing the town of Newport, situated near the Christiana, and upon the great road to Philadelphia; his left was at Hockesen. But this line was little capable of defence.

The enemy, re-inforced by the rear guard under general Grant, threatened with his right the centre of the Americans, extended his left as if with the intention of turning their right flank. Washington saw the danger, and retired with his troops behind the Brandywine; he encamped on the rising grounds which extend from Chadsford, in the direction of northwest to southeast. The riflemen of Maxwell scoured the right bank of the Brandywine, in order to harass and retard the enemy. The militia under the command of general Armstrong, guarded a passage below the principal encampment of Washington, and the right wing lined the banks of the river higher up, where the passages were more difficult. The passage of Chadsford, as the most practicable of all, was defended by the chief force of the army. The troops being thus disposed, the American general waited the approach of the English. Although the Brandywine, being fordable almost every where, could not serve as a sufficient defence against the impetuosity of the enemy, yet Washington had taken post upon its banks, from a conviction that a battle was now inevitable, and that Philadelphia could only be saved by a victory. General Howe displayed the front of his army, but not however without great circumspection. Being arrived at Kennen Square, a short distance from the river, he detached his light horse to the right upon Wilmington, to the left upon Lancaster road, and in front towards Chadsford. The two armies found themselves within seven miles of each other, the Brandywine flowing between them.

Early in the morning of the eleventh of September, the British army marched to the enemy. Howe had formed his army in two columns; the right commanded by general Knyphausen, the left by lord Cornwallis. His plan was, that while the first should make repeated feints to attempt the passage of Chadsford, in order to occupy the attention of the republicans, the second should take a long circuit to the upper part of the river, and cross at a place where it is divided into two shallow streams. The

English marksmen fell in with those of Maxwell, and a smart skirmish was immediately engaged. The latter were at first repulsed; but being re-inforced from the camp, they compelled the English to retire in their turn. But at length, they also were re-inforced, and Maxwell was constrained to withdraw his detachment behind the river. Meanwhile, Knyphausen advanced with his column, and commenced a furious cannonade upon the passage of Chadsford, making all his dispositions as if he intended to force it. The Americans defended themselves with gallantry, and even passed several detachments of light troops to the other side, in order to harass the enemy's flanks. But after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, they were finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the river. Knyphausen then appeared more than ever determined to pass the ford; he stormed and kept up an incredible noise. In this manner the attention of the Americans was fully occupied in the neighborhood of Chadsford. Meanwhile, lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a circuitous march to the left, and gained unperceived the forks of the Brandywine. By this rapid movement, he passed both branches of the river at Trimble's and at Jeffery's Fords, without opposition, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the right flank of the American army. The republican general, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, and, as it usually happens in similar cases, the reports exaggerated its importance exceedingly; it being represented that general Howe commanded this division in person. Washington therefore decided immediately for the most judicious, though boldest measure; this was, to pass the river with the center and left wing of his army, and overwhelm Knyphausen by the most furious attack. He justly reflected that the advantage he should obtain upon the enemy's right would amply compensate the loss that his own might sustain at the same time. Accordingly he ordered general Sullivan to pass the Brandywine with his division at an upper ford, and attack the left of Knyphausen, while he, in person, should cross lower down and fall upon the right of the general.

They were both already in motion in order to execute this design, when a second report arrived, which represented what had really taken place as false, or in other words, that the enemy had not crossed the two branches of the river, and that he had not made his appearance upon the right flank of the American troops. Deceived by this false intelligence, Washington desisted; and Greene, who had already passed with the vanguard, was ordered back. In the midst of these uncertainties, the commander-in-chief at length received positive assurance, not only that the

English had appeared upon the left bank, but also that they were about to fall in great force upon the right wing. It was composed of the brigades of generals Stephens, Sterling, and Sullivan; the first was the most advanced, and consequently nearest to the English; the two others were posted in the order of their rank, that of Sullivan being next to the center. This general was immediately detached from the main body, to support the former brigades, and being the senior officer, took the command of the whole wing. Washington himself, followed by general Greene, approached with two strong divisions towards this wing, and posted himself between it and the corps he had left at Chadsford, under General Wayne, to oppose the passage of Knyphausen. These two divisions, under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, served as a corps of reserve, ready to march, according to circumstances to the succor of Sullivan or of Wayne.

But the column of Cornwallis was already in sight of the Americans. Sullivan drew up his troops on the commanding ground above Birmingham meeting-house, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, and both his flanks covered with very thick woods. His artillery was advantageously planted upon the neighboring hills; but it appears that Sullivan's own brigade, having taken a long circuit, arrived too late upon the field of battle, and had not yet occupied the position assigned it, when the action commenced. The English having reconnoitred the dispositions of the Americans, immediately formed, and fell upon them with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement became equally fierce on both sides about four o'clock in the afternoon. For some length of time the Americans defended themselves with great valor, and the carnage was terrible. But such was the emulation which invigorated the efforts of the English and Hessians, that neither the advantages of the situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, nor the unshaken courage of the Americans, were able to resist their impetuosity. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards threw themselves with such fury into the midst of the republican battalions, that they were forced to give way. Their left flank was first thrown into confusion, but the rout soon became general. The vanquished fled into the woods in their rear; the victors pursued, and advanced by the great road towards Dilworth. On the first fire of the artillery, Washington, having no doubt of what was passing, had pushed forward the reserve to the succor of Sullivan. But this corps, on approaching the field of battle, fell in with the flying soldiers of Sullivan and perceived that no hope remained of retrieving the fortune of the day. General Greene, by a judicious manœuver, opened his ranks to receive the fugitives, and

after their passage having closed them anew, he retired in good order; checking the pursuit of the enemy by a continual fire of the artillery which covered his rear. Having come to a defile, covered on both sides with woods, he drew up his men there, and again faced the enemy. His corps was composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians; they defended themselves with gallantry; the former especially, commanded by Colonel Stephens, made an heroic stand.

Knyphausen finding the Americans to be fully engaged on their right, and observing that the corps opposed to him at Chadsford was enfeebled by the troops which had been detached to the succor of Sullivan, began to make dispositions for crossing the river in reality. The passage at Chadsford was defended by an intrenchment and battery. The republicans stood firm at first; but upon intelligence of the defeat of their right, and seeing some of the British troops who had penetrated through the woods, come out upon their flank, they retired in disorder, abandoning their artillery and munitions to the German general. In their retreat, or rather flight, they passed behind the position of general Greene, who still defended himself, and was the last to quit the field of battle. Finally, it being already dark, after a long and obstinate conflict, he also retired. The whole army retreated that night to Chester, and the day following to Philadelphia.

There the fugitives arrived incessantly, having effected their escape through by-ways and circuitous routes. The victors passed the night on the field of battle. If darkness had not arrived seasonably, it is very probable that the whole American army would have been destroyed. The loss of the republicans was computed at about three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred taken prisoners. They also lost ten field pieces and a howitzer. The loss in the royal army was not in proportion, being something under five hundred, of which the slain did not amount to one-fifth.

The French officers were of great utility to the Americans, as well in forming the troops, as in rallying them when thrown into confusion. One of them the baron St. Ovary, was made a prisoner, to the great regret of congress, who bore him a particular esteem. Captain de Flury, had a horse killed under him in the hottest of the action. The congress gave him another a few days after. The marquis de la Fayette, while he was endeavoring, by his words and example, to rally the fugitives was wounded in the leg. He continued, nevertheless, to fulfill his duty both as a soldier in fighting, and as a general, in cheering the troops and re-establishing order. The count Pulaski, a noble Pole, also displayed an undaunted courage, at the head of the light horse. The congress manifested their sense of his merit by giving him, shortly after, the rank of brigadier and the command of the cavalry.

If all the American troops in the action of the Brandywine had fought with the same intrepidity as the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, and especially, if Washington had not been led into error by a false report, perhaps, notwithstanding the inferiority of number and the imperfection of arms, he would have gained the victory, or, at least, would have made it more sanguinary to the English. However this

might have been, it must be admitted that general Howe's order of battle was excellent; that his movements were executed with as much ability as promptitude; and that his troops, English as well as German, behaved admirably well." *Botta's Resolution*.

*Battle of Germantown.*—"Germantown is a considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued street of two miles in length. The British line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the center, the left wing extending on the west, from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted German chasseurs, who were stationed a little above towards the American camp; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers were in the front of the right. The center being posted within the town, was guarded by the fortieth regiment, and another battalion of light infantry stationed about three-quarters of a mile above the head of the village. Washington resolved to attack the British by surprise, not doubting that, if he succeeded in breaking them, as they were not only distant, but totally separated from the fleet, his victory must be decisive.

"He so disposed his troops, that the division of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to march down the main road, and entering the town by the way of Chesnut Hill, to attack the English center, and the right flank of their left wing; the divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by Macdougall's brigade, were to take a circuit towards the east, by the Limekiln road, and entering the town at the market-house, to attack the left flank of the right wing. The intention of the American general in seizing the village of Germantown by a double attack, was effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army, which must have given him a certain victory. In order that the left flank of the left wing might not contract itself, and support the right flank of the same wing, general Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was ordered to march down the bridge road upon the banks of the Schuylkill, and endeavor to turn the English, if they should retire from that river. In like manner, to prevent the right flank of the right wing from going to the succor of the left flank, which rested upon Germantown, the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march down the Old York road, and to fall upon the English on that extremity of their wing. The division of Lord Sterling, and the brigades of Generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the reserve. These dispositions being made, Washington quitted his camp at Skippach Creek, and moved towards the enemy, on the 3d of October, [1777] about seven in the evening. Parties of cavalry silently scoured all the roads, to seize any individual who might have given notice to the British general of the danger that threatened him. Washington, in person, accompanied the column of Sullivan and Wayne. The march was rapid and silent.

"At three o'clock in the morning, the British patrols discovered

the approach of the Americans ; the troops were soon called to arms ; each took his post with the precipitation of surprise. About sunrise the Americans came up. General Conway having driven in the pickets, fell upon the fortieth regiment and the battalion of light infantry. These corps, after a short resistance, being overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. Fortune appeared already to have declared herself in favor of the Americans ; and certainly if they had gained complete possession of Germantown, nothing could have frustrated them of the most signal victory. But in this conjuncture, Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave threw himself, with six companies of the fortieth regiment, into a large and strong stone house, situated near the head of the village, from which he poured upon the assailants so terrible a fire of musketry that they could advance no further. The Americans attempted to storm this unexpected covert of the enemy, but those within continued to defend themselves with resolution. They finally brought cannon up to the assault, but such was the intrepidity of the English, and the violence of their fire, that it was found impossible to dislodge them. During this time, General Greene had approached the right wing, and routed, after a slight engagement, the light infantry and Queen's rangers. Afterwards, turning a little to his right, and towards Germantown, he fell upon the left flank of the enemy's right wing, and endeavored to enter the village. Meanwhile, he expected that the Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, upon the right, and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, commanded by Smallwood and Forman on the left, would have executed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by attacking and turning, the first the left, and the second the right, flank of the British army. But either because the obstacles they encountered had retarded them, or that they wanted ardor, the former arrived in sight of the German chasseurs, and did not attack them ; the latter appeared too late upon the field of battle.

"The consequence was, that General Gray, finding his left flank secure, marched, with nearly the whole of the left wing, to the assistance of the center, which, notwithstanding the unexpected resistance of Colonel Musgrave, was excessively hard pressed in Germantown, where the Americans gained ground incessantly. The battle was now very warm at that village, the attack and the defence being equally vigorous. The issue appeared for some time dubious. General Agnew was mortally wounded, while charging, with great bravery, at the head of the fourth brigade. The American, Colonel Matthews, of the column of Greene, assailed the English with so much fury that he drove them before him into the town. He had taken a large number of prisoners, and was about entering the village, when he perceived that a thick fog and the unevenness of the ground had caused him to lose sight of the rest of his division. Being soon enveloped by the extremity of the right wing, which fell back upon him when it had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended from the tardy approach of the militia of Maryland and Jersey, he was compelled to surrender with all his party ; the English had al-



ready rescued their prisoners. This check was the cause that two regiments of the English right wing were enabled to throw themselves into Germantown, and to attack the Americans who had entered it in flank. Unable to sustain the shock, they retired precipitately, leaving a great number of killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, to whom belongs the principal honor of this affair, was then relieved from all peril. General Grey, being absolute master of Germantown, flew to the succor of the right wing, which was engaged with the left of the column of Greene. The Americans then took to flight, abandoning to the English throughout the line, a victory, of which in the commencement of the action, they had felt assured."

"The principal causes of the failure of this well concerted enterprise, were the extreme haziness of the weather; which was so thick, that the Americans could neither discover the situation nor movements of the British army, nor yet those of their own; the inequality of the ground, which incessantly broke the ranks of their battalions; an inconvenience more serious and difficult to be repaired for new and inexperienced troops, as were most of the Americans, than for the English veterans; and, finally, the unexpected resistance of Musgrave, who found means, in a critical moment, to transform a mere house into an impregnable fortress.

Thus fortune, who at first had appeared disposed to favor one party, suddenly declared herself on the side of their adversaries. Lord Cornwallis, being at Philadelphia, upon intelligence of the attack upon the camp, flew to its succor with a corps of cavalry and the grenadiers; but when he reached the field of battle, the Americans had already left it. They had two hundred men killed in this action; the number of wounded amounted six hundred; and about four hundred were made prisoners. One of their most lamented losses was that of general Nash, of North Carolina. The loss of the British was little over five hundred in killed and wounded; among the former were brigadier-general Agnew, an officer of rare merit, and colonel Bird. The American army saved all their artillery, and retreated the same day about twenty miles, to Perkyomy Creek." *Botta's Revolution.*

*Encampment at Valley Forge, 1777-8.* "On the 11th, Washington moved with his army to Swedesford; here in looking about for the most eligible spot for establishing his winter-quarters, he selected Valley Forge, about sixteen miles from the comfortable city quarters of his adversary, and in the midst of the richest country of Pennsylvania. This spot possessed every advantage which nature could give it, and it remained only for the Commander in Chief to exert his comprehensive mind in adopting the best means of sheltering his men from the weather. The want of clothing among his troops was so urgent, that he here for the first time made use of the powers vested in him by congress, and issued warrants to the officers to seize whatever they could find useful to the army; and on the 19th, he removed to Valley Forge, every step of his soldiers marked by the blood of their naked feet, on the frozen ground. The plan he had chosen for sheltering them, was a novel experiment, and many of his officers at first regarded it as ridiculous and chimerical; but every thing is easy to patient industry and fortitude. In a short time the men felled the trees around them, and erected a town of huts, in which, if they did

not enjoy all the comforts of their well housed adversaries, they were at least comfortably sheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and enured to the hardships of a soldier's life. Here he employed the winter in endeavouring to teach his soldiers discipline, and to guard them against the effects of idleness and disease. He seized the present moment to have the whole army inoculated for the small pox, and nearly half his troops had actually gone through this terrible disease, before his enemy knew that such a scheme was intended. He was himself at all times present to watch and encourage them; and with the most unremitting attention applied himself to the promotion of their comfort in every thing.

Now it was that the change in the Commissariat department began to be severely felt—the soldiers were sometimes for days without a mouthful of bread; and nothing can more clearly demonstrate the fitness of Washington for his great and responsible charge, than the fact of his being able under such circumstances to keep his army together. On the 23d, there was but one purchasing Commissary in his camp, and according to his letter of that date, “he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour, and could not tell where to expect any. The present commissaries, (he continues) are by no means equal to the execution of the office, or the disaffection of the people is past all belief. The change in that department took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted. No man ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army. Since the month of July, we have had no assistance from the Quarter Master General, and to want of assistance from this department, the Commissary General charges great part of his deficiency. We have by a field return this day, no less than 2898 men in camp unfit for duty, because they are barefooted, and otherwise naked. Our whole strength in continental troops, (including the Eastern brigades, which have joined us since the surrender of Burgoyne) exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, is no more than 8200 in camp fit for duty. Since the 4th, our number fit through hardships, particularly on account of blankets, (numbers have been, and still are obliged to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a common way) have decreased near 2000 men.—Upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true state of the army from public view, and thereby expose myself to detraction and calumny. There is as much to be done in preparing for a campaign, as in the active part of it.”

It is hardly credible, and yet such is the fact, that while the army were thus suffering for every article of clothing, packages

of them were lying at various places in great abundance; but such was the defect of management, that no teams or means of transportation could be procured, to carry them to Valley Forge.' *Allen's American Revolution.*

*Battle and massacre of Wyoming.*—The following authentic account of this battle, &c. is from *Chapman's History of Wyoming*, published at Wilkesbarre, Penn., 1830.\*

"The following year, (1776,) commenced a new era in the history of the American colonies, and in some measure gave peace to Wyoming in the midst of war, by removing from Pennsylvania the authority of the proprietaries, and royal governors. During this interval of comparative repose, three companies of troops were enlisted at Wyoming for the service of the united colonies. They were attached to the Connecticut line, and made part of the troops of that colony. At this time, a full enumeration of the population at Wyoming was made, and the settlements were found to contain five thousand souls. Their militia at the same time amounted to one thousand one hundred men, capable of bearing arms; and of this force about three hundred enlisted to serve against the common enemy. After their march, the settlers continued to guard themselves with increased vigilance. Regular garrison duty was performed in the several fortifications by classes of the militia in successive order; in addition to which, a patrol called the 'Scout,' was established through the valley, which was on duty night and day in succession, exploring all thickets and unfrequented grounds, in search of any lurking enemy which might have come to disturb their peace, or spy out the land.

"The frontier settlements of the different colonies were at this time continually harassed by incursive parties of British troops and Indians from Canada; and the surrender of General Burgoyne, which took place in October, 1777, did not produce an abandonment of the system. Early in the spring of 1778, a force consisting of about eight hundred men, and composed of British regulars, Tories, and Indians, under the command of Colonel John Butler, assembled at Niagara, and marched to the reduction of Wyoming. The Indians were in number about four hundred, and were commanded by Brandt, a warlike chief of mixed blood. At Tioga Point, these troops procured boats and rafts of wood, upon which they floated down the Susquehanna until they arrived about twenty miles above Wyoming Fort. Here they landed the latter part of June. On the evening of the 2d of July, they took possession of a fort which the settlers had built on the bank of the river, about a mile below the head of the

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\* This interesting volume is a duodecimo of two hundred and nine pages, entitled as follows: "A Sketch of the History of Wyoming. By the late Isaac A. Chapman, Esq. To which is added an Appendix, containing a Statistical Account of the Valley, and Adjacent Country. By a gentleman of Wilkesbarre, Penn. [Printed and published by Sharp D. Lewis, 1830.]"

valley, called Fort Wintermoot. From this fort, which the British commander made his head-quarters, were sent small scouting parties in search of plunder and provisions, as well as to ascertain the situation and strength of the force which remained for the defence of the settlement.

"Upon the arrival of these troops, the settlers collected their principal forces in a fortification situated on the west bank of the river, at a large eddy in the stream below Monockonock island, and about three miles above Wyoming Fort. This fort had been built and defended by forty of the settlers in that vicinity, and had thence obtained the name of 'Forty Fort.' The garrison now assembled here, consisted of the most active of the settlers, and amounted to three hundred and sixty-eight men, a small party being left in the other forts for the protection of the settlement in their immediate vicinity. About a month previous, messengers had been sent from the settlers to the continental army, to inform the commander-in-chief of their situation, and to request that a detachment might be sent to their assistance.

"On the morning of the 3d of July, the officers of the garrison at Forty Fort held a council to determine on the propriety of marching from the fort, and attacking the enemy wherever found. The debates in this council of war are said to have been conducted with much warmth and animation. The ultimate determination was one on which depended the lives of the garrison, and the safety of the settlements. On one side it was contended that their enemies were daily increasing in numbers—that they would plunder the settlements of all kinds of property, and would accumulate the means of carrying on the war, while they themselves would become weaker; that the harvest would soon be ripe, and would be gathered or destroyed by their enemies, and all their means of sustenance during the succeeding winter would fail; that probably all their messengers were killed, and as there had been more than sufficient time, and no assistance arrived, they would probably receive none, and consequently now was the proper time to make the attack. On the other side it was argued, that probably some or all of the messengers may have arrived at head-quarters, but that the absence of the commander-in-chief may have produced delay; that one or two weeks more may bring the desired assistance, and that to attack the enemy, superior as they were in number, out of the limits of their own fort, would produce almost certain destruction to the settlement and themselves, and captivity and slavery—perhaps torture, to their wives and children. While these debates were progressing, five men belonging to Wyoming, but, who, at that time, held commissions in the continental army, arrived at the fort. They had received information that a force from Niagara had marched to destroy the settlements on the Susquehanna, and being unable to bring with them any reinforcements, they resigned their appointments and hastened immediately to the protection of their families. They had heard nothing of the messengers, neither could they give any certain information as to the probability of relief.

"The prospects of receiving assistance became now extremely uncertain. The advocates for the attack prevailed in the council, and at dawn of day, on the morning of the 3d of July, the garrison left the fort, and began their march up the river, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler. Having proceeded about two miles, the troops halted for the purpose of detaching a reconnoitering party to ascertain the situation of the enemy. Colonel Butler rode along the flank of the column to invite volunteers for this service. Abraham Pike and an Irish companion offered their services, and they being the only volunteers, were accepted. The scout found the enemy in possession of Fort Wintermoot, and occupying huts immediately around it, carousing in supposed security; but on their return to the advancing column, they met two strolling Indians, by whom they were fired upon, and upon whom they immediately returned the fire without effect. The settlers hastened their march for the attack, but the Indians had given the alarm, and the advancing troops found the enemy already formed in order of battle a small distance from their fort, with their right flank covered by a swamp, and their left resting upon the bank of the river. The settlers immediately displayed their column, and formed in corresponding order; but as the enemy was much superior in numbers their line was much more extensive. Pine woods and bushes covered the battle ground, in consequence of which, the movements of the troops could not be so quickly discovered, nor so well ascertained. Colonel Zebulon Butler had command of the right, and was opposed by Colonel John Butler at the head of the British troops on the left. Colonel Nathan Denison commanded the left, opposed by Brandt at the head of his Indians on the enemy's right. The battle commenced at about forty rods distant, and continued about fifteen minutes through the woods and brush without much execution. At this time, Brandt, with his Indians, having penetrated the swamp, turned the left flank of the settler's line, and with a terrible war-whoop and savage yell, made a desperate charge upon the troops composing that wing, which fell very fast, and were immediately cut to pieces with the tomanawk. Colonel Denison having ascertained that the savages were gaining the rear of the left, gave orders for that wing to *fall back*, in order to prevent being surrounded by the enemy. At the same time, Colonel John Butler finding that the line of the settlers did not extend as far towards the river as his own, doubled that end of his line, which was protected by a thick growth of brushwood, and having brought a party of his British regulars to act in column upon that wing, threw Colonel Zebulon Butler's troops into some confusion.

"The orders of Colonel Denison for his troops to *fall back* having been understood by many to mean a *retreat*, the troops began to retire in much disorder. The savages considered this as a flight, and commenced a most hideous yell, rushed forward with their rifles and tomahawks, and cut the retiring line to pieces. In this situation, it was found impossible to rally and form the troops, and the rout became general throughout the line. The settlers fled in every direction, and were instantly followed by the savages, who killed or took

prisoners whoever came within their reach. Some succeeded in reaching the river, and escaped by swimming across; others fled to the mountains; and the savages, too much occupied with plunder, gave up the pursuit. When the first intelligence was received in the village of Wilkesbarre that the battle was lost, the women fled with their children to the mountains, on their way to the settlements on the Delaware, where many of them at length arrived after suffering extreme hardships. Many of the men who escaped the battle, together with their women and children, who were unable to travel on foot, took refuge in Wyoming Fort, and on the following day, July 4th, Butler and Brandt, at the head of their combined forces, appeared before the fort and demanded its surrender. The garrison being without any efficient means of defence, surrendered the fort on articles of capitulation, by which the settlers, upon giving up their fortifications, prisoners, and military stores, were to remain in the country unmolested, provided they did not again take up arms.

"In this battle, about three hundred of the settlers were killed or missing, and from a great part of whom no intelligence was ever afterwards received. The officers killed were, one lieutenant colonel, one major, ten captains, six lieutenants, and two ensigns.

"A considerable number of the inhabitants of the different settlements on the Susquehanna, who, from their attachment to the British cause, were denominated *tories*, joined the British and savage troops previous to the battle, and exhibited instances of the most savage barbarity in the manner in which they carried on the war against their former neighbors and friends. One instance may serve to show the desperate feelings which those times produced. A short distance below the battle ground, there is a large island in the river called 'Monockonock Island.' Several of the settlers, while the battle and pursuit continued, succeeded in swimming to this island, where they concealed themselves among the logs and brushwood upon it. Their arms had been thrown away in their flight, previous to their entering the river, so that they were in a manner defenceless. Two of them in particular were concealed near and in sight of each other. While in this situation, they observed several of the enemy who had pursued and fired at them while they were swimming the river, preparing to follow them to the island with their guns. On reaching the island they immediately wiped their guns and loaded them. One of them with his loaded gun soon passed close by one of these men who lay concealed from his view, and was immediately recognized by him to be the brother of his companion who was concealed near him, but who, being a tory, had joined the enemy. He passed slowly along, carefully examining every covert, and directly perceived his brother in his place of concealment. He suddenly stopped and said, "so it is you, is it?" His brother finding that he was discovered, immediately came forward a few steps, and falling on his knees, begged him to spare his life, promising to live with him and serve him, and even to be his slave as long as he lived, if he would only spare his life. "*All this is mighty good,*" replied the

savage hearted brother of the suplicating man, "*but you are a damned rebel*;" and deliberately presenting his rifle, shot him dead upon the spot. The other settler made his escape from the island, and having related this fact, the tory brother thought it prudent to accompany the British troops on their return to Canada."

"The conditions of the capitulation were entirely disregarded by the British and savage forces, and after the fort was delivered up, all kinds of barbarities were committed by them. The village of Wilkes-barre, consisting of twenty-three houses, was burnt; men and their wives were separated from each other and carried into captivity; their property was plundered and the settlement laid waste. The remainder of the inhabitants were driven from the Valley, and compelled to proceed on foot sixty miles through the great swamp almost without food or clothing. A number perished in the journey, principally women and children—some died of their wounds, others wandered from the path in search of food and were lost, and those who survived, called the wilderness through which they passed "*The Shades of Death*;" an appellation which it has since retained. On their way through the swamp, the unhappy fugitives met a detachment of regular troops from the continental army under the command of Capt. Spalding, which, in consequence of the representations made by the messengers, had been sent to the relief of the inhabitants at Wyoming; but as all was now lost, they returned to the Delaware, and the remnant of the inhabitants proceeded to their former homes in Connecticut."

*Whiskey Insurrection.*—"The year 1794 was distinguished by an insurrection in Pennsylvania, commonly called the *Whiskey Insurrection*. 'In 1791, congress had enacted laws laying duties upon spirits distilled in the United States, and upon stills. From the commencement of the operation of these laws, combinations were formed in the four western counties of Pennsylvania to defeat them; and violences were repeatedly committed. In July of the present year (1794,) about one hundred persons, armed with guns and other weapons, attacked the house of an inspector of the revenue, and wounded some persons within it. They seized the marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, (who had been previously fired on while in the execution of his duty, by a party of armed men,) and compelled him to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of his office. Both the inspector and the marshal were obliged to fly from that part of the country to the seat of government. These, and many other outrages, induced president Washington, on the 7th of August, to issue a proclamation, commanding the insurgents to disperse, and warning all persons against aiding, abetting, or comforting, the perpetrators of these treasonable acts, and requiring all officers, and other citizens, according to their respective duties, and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings."

"The president, having ordered out a suitable number of the militia, proceeded in October to Bedford, whence he gave out instructions to Governor Lee, of Maryland, whom he appointed to conduct the militia army for the suppression of the insurgents. Governor Lee marched his troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, into the western counties of Pennsylvania; and, on the approach of this respectable force, the insurgents laid down their arms, solicited the clemency of government, and promised future submission to the laws.\* Eighteen of the insurgents were tried for treason, but not convicted. During the scene of insurgency, no person was killed, except Major M'Farlane, who was killed in an attack on the inspector's house, at the commencement of the insurrection, and two men, who were killed by some of the army on their march."—*U. S. Best*

\* *Holmes' Annals.*

## DISTINGUISHED PERSONS

OF

## PENNSYLVANIA.

*Allen, William*, chief-justice of Pennsylvania, before the Revolution, was the son of an eminent merchant of Philadelphia. He was distinguished as a friend to literature; he was a patron of Benjamin West, the celebrated painter. He published the *American Crisis*, London, 1774, in which he suggests a plan "for restoring the dependence of America to a state of perfection."

*Barry, John*, born in Ireland, and came to America about 1760. He was the first Commodore in the U. S. navy; he died in Philadelphia, in 1803, aged 58.

*Bartram, John*, an eminent botanist, was born near the village of Derby, Chester Co. Penn. in 1701. He was a self-taught genius, and early discovered an ardent desire for botanical knowledge. He was the first American who conceived and carried into effect the design of a botanic garden, for the cultivation of American plants, as well as of exotics. He made such proficiency in his favorite pursuit, that Linnæus pronounced him "the greatest natural botanist in the world." He was born and educated in the Society of Friends; he died in 1777.

*Benezet, Anthony*, a celebrated philanthropist, of the Society of Friends, was a native of France. He exerted himself for the welfare of the blacks. He died in Philadelphia, in 1784, aged 71.

*Biddle, Nicholas*, captain in the U. S. navy, in the Revolution. In 1778, he was blown up with his ship, the U. S. frigate *Randolph*, of 36 guns, and 315 men, in an action off Barbadoes.

*Cadwallader, John*, a brigadier general in the Revolution, was born in Philadelphia, and died in 1786, aged 43.

*Clymer, George*, a signer of the declaration of Independence, and a distinguished advocate of the rights of his country, was born in Philadelphia. He died in 1813, aged 75.

*Dallas, Alexander James*, an eminent lawyer and statesman, came from the Island of Jamaica to Pennsylvania in 1783. He was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and acting Secretary of War. He published a valuable collection of law reports, and died in 1817.

*Fulton, Robert*, distinguished as the successful inventor of steamboats, was born in the town of Little Britain, Lancaster Co. See page 601.

*Girard, Stephen*, an eminent merchant in Philadelphia, was born in France, and from a cabin boy, became the richest man in America. He died in 1831, aged 84.

*Godfrey, Thomas*, the inventor of Hadley's quadrant, was a glazier of Philadelphia. He was deprived of the honor of having the instrument called by his name, by an Englishman, by the name of Hadley, who claimed the invention as his own. Godfrey died in 1749.

*Irvine, William*, was a native of Ireland, and was bred a physician. He was an officer in the Revolutionary army, and after the war was a member of congress from Pennsylvania. He died at Philadelphia in 1804.

*Logan, James*, was of Scotch descent, but born in Ireland, in 1674. He was a Friend in sentiment, and came over to this country in 1699, with William Penn. He was a man of extensive learning, and was much employed in public affairs. He died in 1761.

*McKean, Thomas*, L.L.D. a distinguished actor in the Revolution, Governor and chief-justice of Pennsylvania, was born in Delaware of an Irish family, and educated in Philadelphia. He died in 1817.



*Mifflin, Thomas*, a major general in the American army, and governor of Pennsylvania, was born about 1744, of parents who were Friends. He was a member of the first Congress in 1774. He was appointed quartermaster general, on the organization of the Continental army. He died at Lancaster in 1800.

*Morris, Robert*, a native of Manchester, Eng. an eminent merchant in Philadelphia, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and an able financier. He rendered important services to his adopted country during the Revolution, by sustaining the public credit. He died at Philadelphia in 1806, aged 73.



*Fac simile of Wm. Penn's signature.*

*Reed, Joseph*, a firm patriot of the Revolution, president of Pennsylvania, and aid of Washington, and afterwards an adjutant General. He died in 1785, aged 42.



*Fac simile of David Rittenhouse's signature.*

*Rittenhouse, David*, an eminent philosopher was born at Germantown in 1732. In the early part of his life he mingled the pursuits of science with the employments of a farmer and watchmaker. At the age of twenty three, he became the rival of the greatest mathematicians of Europe. His orrery by which the movements of the heavenly bodies are represented, is a masterpiece of mechanism. He succeeded Dr. Franklin in the office of president of the philosophical society, and died in 1796.

*Rush, Benjamin*, M. D. L.L. D. a distinguished physician, and statesman, was born near Bristol, Pa. in 1745. He was a member of Congress in 1776, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. His writings particularly those on professional subjects, have acquired him great reputation at home and abroad. He died at Philadelphia in 1813.

*Taylor, George*, was born in Ireland, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from Pennsylvania. He died in 1781, aged 65.

*Wayne, Anthony*, a major general in the Revolution, was born in Chester Co. in 1745. He was distinguished for his bravery, and important services in the Revolution, and in the Indian war in Ohio. He died in Presque Island, in Lake Erie in 1796.

*West, Benjamin*, an eminent painter, was born in Chester Co. in 1738. His parents were of the Society of Friends, but both they and the Society allowed young West to practice portrait painting as a profession. He went to Italy in 1760, and from thence to England, where in 1791, he was elected president of the royal academy. He died in 1820.

*Wilson, James*, L.L.D. an eminent lawyer of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the first judges of the Supreme Court of the United States. He died at Edenton, N. C., in the 56th year of his age.

*Wilson, Alexander*, a distinguished naturalist; author of the "American Ornithology," was born in Scotland, and came to Philadelphia about 1795, and by an acquaintance with Mr. Bartram, was led to devote himself to the study of ornithology. He died in 1813, aged about 40.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

OF DISTINGUISHED PERSONS IN

NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

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*Adams, Hannah*, a distinguished female writer, was born at Medfield, Massachusetts. Her first work that brought her into notice was her "View of Religion," printed in 1784. She also wrote the "History of New England," a History of the Jews, and a number of other valuable works. She died at Brookline, near Boston, December 15th, 1831, aged seventy-six.

*Adams, John*, a patriot of the revolution, a descendant of one of the first settlers of Massachusetts, was born in 1735, at Quincy, then a part of the town of Braintree, Massachusetts. He was educated at Harvard college, and took his first degree in 1755. While pursuing the study of law, he had charge of the grammar school at Worcester, and during his residence there, attracted the notice and favor of Mr. Gridley, the attorney general of the province. He began the practice of law in his native town, and in 1763 married Miss Smith, the daughter of a country clergyman, with whom he lived in wedlock more than half a century. In 1765 Mr. Adams published a "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," in which he explained the puritan principles of religion and government, and brought them to bear upon the disputes of Great Britain and her colonies; the next year he removed to Boston. In 1768 his professional standing was so high, that Governor Bernard offered him the post of advocate general of the court of admiralty. Mr. Adams, however, declined this lucrative office under the crown, on account of his attachment to the liberties and rights of the people. In 1773 he was chosen a member of the Provincial Council, but was rejected by Governor Hutchinson, and afterwards by Gen. Gage.

In 1775, John Adams, as a delegate in Congress, nominated George Washington to the office of commander in chief of the American army. He was one of the committee who drafted the Declaration of Independence. In 1777 he was appointed commissioner to France, in the room of Silas Deane. Returning home in 1779, he was again sent out in the autumn of the year, to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce. In 1785 he was appointed as the first American minister to the court of Great Britain. After his return, he assisted in forming the constitution of his native state. During the Presidency of Washington, he was Vice President, and when the former retired from office, Mr. Adams, after a hard contest with his competitor, Mr. Jefferson, became President. Though bitterly assailed by many politicians, yet during the latter part of his life, the world acknowledged him as an honest man and patriot. On the 4th of July, 1826, on the same day with his compatriot, Jefferson, at the first American jubilee, John Adams died; the last words which he was heard to utter, were, "*Independence forever.*"

*Adams, John Quincy*, the son of the preceding, was born at Quincy

Mass., in July, 1767. He has long been engaged in public life, and has been sent an ambassador of the United States to several European courts. He was one of the commissioners who signed the treaty at Ghent in 1815; he was secretary of state under President Monroe, and discharged the duties of that station with reputation and distinguished ability for eight years. Mr. Adams was elected President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1825, and continued in this office four years. Since this period, he has been a member of congress in the House of Representatives.

*Adams, Samuel*, governor of Massachusetts, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a most distinguished patriot of the revolution, was born in Boston, Sept. 27, 1722. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1740. In 1774 he was elected a member of the general congress, and in this station he remained a number of years, where he rendered the most important services to his country. He was elected governor of Massachusetts in 1794. He is distinguished as an incorruptible patriot, of stern integrity, and of dignified manners. He died Oct. 2d, 1803, in the 82d year of his age.

*Alexander, William*, "commonly called *Lord Stirling*, a major general in the American army, was a native of the city of New York, but spent a considerable part of his life in New Jersey. He was considered by many as the rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although, when he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government; yet among his friends and acquaintances he received by courtesy the title of lord Stirling. He discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, and attained great eminence in these sciences. In the battle on Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner, after having secured to a large part of the detachment an opportunity to escape by a bold attack with four hundred men upon a corps under lord Cornwallis.

He died at Albany, Jan. 15, 1783, aged 57 years. He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer."—*Allen's Biog. Dict.*

and Esteem, your  
Jes<sup>t</sup> Ethan Allen

*Ethan Allen's fac simile signature.*

*Allen Ethan*, a brigadier general in the Revolutionary war, was born at Litchfield, Ct. Jan. 10th, 1737. Having emigrated to Vermont near the period of the disturbances in this territory about the year 1770, he took a most active part in favor of the green mountain boys, as the settlers were then called, in opposition to the government of New York.

He captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point; was taken prisoner in an attempt on Montreal and sent in irons to England, and after having experienced much cruelty was exchanged. He died in Ver-

mont in 1789. In his religious opinions he maintained many absurd notions, and in his writings ridiculed the scriptures.

*Ames, Fisher*, LL. D. a distinguished statesman, and an eloquent orator, was born at Dedham, Mass. in which town his father was a respectable physician. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1774, and after a few years, commenced the study of the law in Boston. Rising into life about the period of the American revolution and taking a most affectionate interest in the concerns of his country, he felt himself strongly attached to politics.

When the general government of the United States commenced its operations in 1789, he appeared in the national legislature as the first representative of his district, and for eight successive years he took a distinguished part in the national councils. He died July 4, 1808.

*Ashmun, Jehudi*, the first colonial agent at Liberia, Africa, was born at Champlain, N. Y. April 21st, 1794. He landed in Africa Aug. 8, 1822. This philanthropist was eminently qualified for the station appointed him. Upon his arrival in the colony he found it in a feeble and defenceless state, and only twenty-eight effective men could be mustered when the colony was attacked by more than eight hundred armed savages. By his uncommon energy and prowess, he saved the colony from destruction, and laid the foundation of a large and well organized community of freemen. "Like the patriarchs of old he was their captain, their lawgiver, judge, priest and governor." By his hardships and exposure to the climate his health failed him, and he returned to the United States, and soon after his arrival, died, at the age of 34, in New-Haven, August 26th, 1828, deeply lamented by his christian brethren.

*Backus, Isaac*, a distinguished Baptist minister of Massachusetts, was born at Norwich, Con. Jan. 20th, 1724. In 1748, he was ordained minister of a Congregational church in Titicut precinct in Middleborough, Mass. In 1749 a number of the members of Mr. Backus' church altered their sentiments with regard to baptism, and obtained an exemption from the congregational tax; and he at length united with them in opinion. He was baptized by immersion in Aug. 1751. For some years afterwards he held communion with those who were baptized in infancy, but perceiving that this implied an acknowledgment, that baptism by sprinkling was valid, which he could not admit, he withdrew from this intercourse with christians of other denominations. A baptist church was formed January 16, 1756, and he was installed its pastor June 23 of the same year by ministers from Boston and Rehoboth. In this relation he continued through the remainder of his life. He died November 20, 1806, in the 60th year of his ministry and the 83d year of his age.

*Bass, Edward*, D. D., first bishop of Massachusetts, was born at Dorchester, Nov. 23, 1726, and was graduated at Harvard college in 1744. For several years afterwards he was the teacher of a school. From 1747 to 1751 he resided at Cambridge, pursuing his theological studies, and occasionally preaching. In 1752, at the request of the episcopal society in Newburyport he went to England for orders, and

was ordained May 24, by bishop Sherlock. In 1796 he was unanimously elected by the convention of the protestant episcopal churches of Massachusetts to the office of bishop, and was consecrated May 7, 1797 by the bishops of Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland. Sometime after, the episcopal churches in Rhode Island elected him their bishop, and in 1803 a convention of the churches in New Hampshire put themselves under his jurisdiction. He died Sept. 10, 1803.



*Joel Barlow, fac simile of signature.*

*Barlow, Joel*, LL. D. minister of the United States to France, was born at Reading, Con. in 1758. He commenced his collegial course at Dartmouth, but soon removed to Yale college, and was graduated at that institution in 1778. He served

a short time in the army of the revolution as a volunteer, and afterwards as chaplain of a regiment.

After the war he went to France, and resided for a time at Paris. When in England, in 1791, he published his "Advice to the Privileged Orders," and in 1792 "The Conspiracy of Kings." While at Paris he wrote his celebrated "Hasty Pudding." He returned to the United States in 1805, and in 1808 published his "Columbiad," a poem, and his principal work. In February, 1811, he was appointed minister to France. In the autumn of the next year, he was invited, by the emperor, to a conference at Wilna, in Poland, and on his way thither, died at Zarnowica, a village near Cracow, Dec. 22d, 1812, aged 54.

*Bartlett, Josiah*, governor of New Hampshire, was a native of Amesbury, Mass. and was born in November, 1729. He had not the advantages of a collegial education, but rose to distinction and usefulness by the superiority of his endowments, and uncommon application. He studied medicine, and established himself in its practice in early life at Kingston, New Hampshire. He for a long time held a seat in the legislature, and was elected a delegate in 1774, and again in 1776, to the continental congress, and signed the declaration of Independence. He died in 1795."

*Belknap, Jeremy*, a divine, and author, was born in Boston, June 4th, 1744. He graduated at Harvard College in 1762; was settled in the Christian ministry at Dover, New Hampshire, in 1767, and remained pastor of the church there till 1786, when the connexion was dissolved at his own request. After this period he was invited to settle in his native town, and in 1787, was installed pastor of the church in Federal-street, Boston, and consequently became one of the overseers of the university at Cambridge, in which he took an active interest; the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him by that university in 1792. He was the proposer, and one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, incorporated in 1794, and devoted much of his time to their object of multiplying and diffusing copies of historical documents. He died of apoplexy, at Boston, in 1798. He published the History of New-Hampshire, 3 volumes.

*Bellamont, Richard*, earl of, governor of New York Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, was appointed to these offices early in May, 1695, but did not arrive at New York until May, 1698. He had to struggle with many difficulties, for the people were divided, the treasury was unsupplied, and the fortifications were out of repair. Notwithstanding the care of government, the pirates, who in time of peace made great depredations upon Spanish ships and settlements in America, were frequently in the sound, and were supplied, with provisions by the inhabitants of Long Island. The belief, that large quantities of money were hid by these pirates along the coast, led to many a fruitless search.

and thus the natural credulity of the human mind and the desire of sudden wealth were suitably punished.

The earl of Bellamont remained in the province of New York about a year. He arrived at Boston May 26, 1699, and in Massachusetts he was received with the greatest respect, as it was a new thing to see a nobleman at the head of the government. He in return took every method to ingratiate himself with the people. He was condescending, affable, and courteous upon all occasions. Though a churchman he attended the weekly lecture in Boston with the general court, who always adjourned for the purpose. For the preachers he professed the greatest regard. By his wise conduct he obtained a larger sum as a salary and as a gratuity, than any of his predecessors or successors. Though he remained but fourteen months, the grants made him were one thousand eight hundred and seventy five pounds sterling. His time was much taken up in securing the pirates and their effects, to accomplish which was a principal reason of his appointment. During his administration captain Kidd was seized, and sent to England for trial. Soon after the session of the general court in May, 1700, he returned to New York, where he died March 5, 1701.

*Bellamy, Joseph*, D. D. was born in Cheshire, Con. He graduated at Yale College in 1735, being then sixteen years old. When he was eighteen years old, he became a preacher. He was ordained in Bethlehem in 1740. He died in 1790, in the 72d year of his age, and 50th of his ministry. "He possessed a vigorous mind, and was well versed in theology. His style was plain and his manner impressive. He held a high rank among his cotemporaries as a preacher. During the great religious revival with which the churches were visited in 1742, he devoted much of his time to itinerant labor, and was the instrument of much good in many congregations. He was also distinguished as a theological instructor, both by a happy method of teaching, and by the great number of young men who studied for the ministry under his care. The most important of his publications is his 'True Religion Delineated.' His works have been republished in three octavo volumes."

*Bellingham, Richard*, governor of Massachusetts, was a native of England, where he was bred a lawyer. He came to this country in 1634, and in the following year was chosen deputy governor. In 1641 he was elected governor in opposition to Mr. Winthrop by a majority of six votes; but the election did not seem to be agreeable to the general court. He was rechosen to this office in 1654, and after the death of governor Endicott was again elected in May, 1665. He continued chief magistrate of Massachusetts during the remainder of his life. He died Dec. 7, 1672, aged eighty years.

Governor Bellingham lived to be the only surviving patentee named in the charter. He was severe against those who were called sectaries; but he was a man of incorruptible integrity, and it is mentioned as rather a remarkable circumstance, that he never took a bribe. In the ecclesiastical controversy, which was occasioned in Boston by the settlement of the reverend Mr. Davenport, he was an advocate of the first church. Though a lawyer, his will was drawn up in such a manner, that the general court were obliged to make a disposition of his property themselves.

*Berkeley, George*, bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, and a distinguished benefactor of Yale College, was born March 12, 1681 at Kilerin in the county of Kilkenny, and was educated at Trinity college, Dublin. After publishing a number of his works, which gained him a high reputation, he travelled four or five years upon the continent. He returned in 1721, and a fortune was soon bequeathed him by a lady of Dublin, the "Vanessa" of Swift. In 1724 he was promoted to the deanery of Derry, worth eleven hundred pounds per annum.

Having for some time conceived the benevolent project of converting the savages of America to christianity by means of a college to be erected in one of the isles of Bermuda, he published a proposal for this purpose at London in 1725, and offered to resign his own opulent preferment, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of youth in America, on the subsistence of a hundred pounds a year. He obtained a grant of 10,000*l.* from the government of Great Britain, and immediately set sail for the field of his labors. He arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, in February, 1729, with a view of settling a correspondence there for supplying his college with such provisions, as might be wanted from the northern colonies. Here he purchased a country seat and farm in the neighborhood of Newport, and resided about two years and a half. His residence in this country had some influence on the progress of literature, particularly in Rhode Island and Connecticut. The presence and conversation of a man so illustrious for talents learning, virtue, and social attractions could not fail of giving a spring to the literary diligence and ambition of many, who enjoyed his acquaintance.

Finding at length, that the promised aid of the ministry towards his new college would fail him, dean Berkeley returned to England. At his departure he distributed the books, which he had brought with him, among the clergy of Rhode Island. He embarked at Boston, in September, 1731. In the following year he published his *Minute Philosopher*, a work of great ingenuity and merit, which he wrote while at Newport. It was not long

before he sent as a gift to Yale college, a deed of the farm which he held in Rhode Island: the rents of which he directed to be appropriated to the maintenance of the three best classical scholars, who should reside at college at least nine months in a year in each of the three years between their first and second degrees. All surplusages of money, arising from accidental vacancies, were to be distributed in Greek and Latin books to such undergraduates, as should make the best composition in the Latin tongue upon such a moral theme as should be given them. He also made a present to the library of Yale College of near one thousand volumes. When it is considered, that he was warmly attached to the Episcopal church, and that he came to America for the express purpose of founding an episcopal college, his munificence to an institution, under the exclusive direction of a different denomination, must be thought worthy of high praise. It was in the year 1733, that he was made bishop of Cloyne, and from this period he discharged with exemplary faithfulness the episcopal duties and prosecuted his studies with unabating diligence. On the 14th of January, 1753, he was suddenly seized by a disorder, called the palsy of the heart, and instantly expired, being near sixty nine years of age.

*Bernard, Francis*, governor of New Jersey, in 1758 and 1759, and afterwards of Massachusetts, entered on his administration in the latter province in 1760. His measures were at first popular, but he soon rendered himself extremely odious, by his zeal to sustain the British ministry in their encroachments on the rights of the people. He appointed Mr. Hutchinson instead of Mr. Otis to the office of chief justice in opposition to the wishes of the people; favoured the introduction of troops into Boston for the purpose of constraining obedience to the arbitrary acts of parliament; and endeavoured to obtain an alteration of the charter so as to transfer the right of electing the council from the people to the crown. Arbitrary in his principles, severe in his manners, and zealous to advance the interests of the king, he was peculiarly unfit for the station he occupied, and seems by his severity and rashness to have accelerated the rupture between the colonies and the parent country. He was, however, rewarded for his devotedness to the king by being knighted, and in 1769, returned to England, where he died in 1779.

*Bogardus, Everardus*, the first minister of the reformed Dutch church in New York, came early to this country, though the exact time of his arrival is not known. The records of this church begin with the year 1639. He was ordained and sent forth, it is believed, by the classis of Amsterdam, which had for a number of years the superintendence of the Dutch church in New Netherlands, or the province of New York. The tradition is, that Mr. Bogardus became blind and returned to Holland some time before the surrender of the colony to the British in 1664. He was succeeded by John and Samuel Megapolensis.

*Boudinot, Elias*, LL. D., an eminent lawyer of New Jersey, was born at Philadelphia, May 2d, 1740. He was a descendant of one of the French protestants, who at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from persecution in that country to America. He engaged in the study of law under the Hon. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, New Jersey, a member of the first American Congress. In a short time after his admission to the New Jersey Bar, he rose to the highest rank in his profession. In 1777, he was chosen a member of Congress; and in 1782 was elected President of that body. Afterwards, he was appointed by Washington, Director of the National Mint, which office he held twelve or fourteen years. He was at an early period a sincere and devoted friend of religion, the patron of various benevolent societies, and was the first President of the "American Bible Society." He died at Burlington, Oct. 1821.

*Bowdoin, James*, LL. D., governor of Massachusetts, was born at Boston, in 1727, and graduated at Harvard College, in 1745. He possessed superior talents, and was distinguished at the university for his attainments. He inherited large possessions from his father, and at an early period attracted the public regard, and received an appointment to several honourable stations. In 1775 he was elected President of the Council of Massachusetts, and continued in that office a large portion of the time, till the adoption of the state constitution, in

1780. He presided in the convention which formed that instrument, and contributed several of its most important articles. He was distinguished as a scholar as well as a politician, was a liberal benefactor of Harvard college, had a principal agency in forming the American academy of arts and sciences at Boston, in 1780, was appointed its first president, and left it valuable bequests. His literary character was known in Europe, and acknowledged by a diploma of LL. D. from several universities, and an election as member of the Royal Societies of London and Dublin. His publications on philosophical subjects were numerous and highly respectable. He was a man of piety, well versed in theology, and highly amiable and exemplary in his life. He died in 1790.—*Lord's Lempiere.*

*Bowdich, Nathaniel*, LL. D. one of the most celebrated mathematicians of the age, was born at Salem, Mass. March 26th, 1773. His ancestors, for three generations, had been ship masters, and his father, on retiring from that business, "carried on the trade of a cooper, by which he gained a scanty and precarious subsistence for a family of seven children." Dr. Bowdich was obliged at the early age of ten years to forego the advantages of a school, that he might go into his father's shop and help support the family. He was afterwards apprenticed to a ship chandler. While in this station, he manifested that genius for mathematical pursuits for which he afterwards was so distinguished. He died in Boston in 1838.

*Boylston, Zabdiel*, F. R. S. an eminent physician of Boston, Mass. was born at Brookline in that state in 1680. He became particularly distinguished in 1720, by first introducing the inoculation of the Small-pox into the British dominions. He made an experiment first in his own family, and meeting with success, soon extended it to several hundreds, and completely demonstrated the safety and usefulness of the practice. The innovation was regarded by his fellow-physicians and citizens as rash and murderous, and drew on him their violent hatred and persecution. After a long life distinguished by professional skill, usefulness and humanity, he died at his seat in Brookline, March 1st, 1766, in the 87th year of his age.

*Bradford, William*, second governor of Plymouth Colony, was born in Ansterfield, a village in the north of England, in 1588. He was educated in the practice of agriculture. In 1607, at the age of eighteen, he was one of the company of dissenters, who made an attempt to go over to Holland where a commercial spirit had established a free toleration of religious opinions; but the master of the vessel betrayed them, and they were thrown into prison at Boston, in Lincolnshire. He however effected his escape from England, and joined his brethren at Amsterdam. After a residence of about ten years in Holland he removed to America. He was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the Colony. On the death of governor Carver at Plymouth, in April 1621, Mr. Bradford was elected governor in his place.

*William Bradford*

*Fac simile of Gov. Bradford's writing.*

Governor Bradford wrote a history of Plymouth people and colony, beginning with the first formation of the church in 1602 and ending with 1648. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was deposited with Mr. Prince's valuable collection of papers in the library of the old south church in Boston. In the year 1775 it shared the fate of



many other manuscripts in this place. It was destroyed or carried away by the barbarians of the British army, who converted the old south church into a riding school. He had also a large book of copies of letters, relative to the affairs of the colony, which is lost. A fragment of it however, found in a grocer's shop at Halifax, has been published by the Massachusetts historical society, to which is subjoined a descriptive and historical account of New England in verse. If this production is somewhat deficient in the beauties of poetry, it has the more substantial graces of piety and truth. He died May 9, 1657.

*Brainerd, David*, the pious and devoted christian missionary to the Indians, was born at Haddam Con. April 20th 1718. He lost both his parents while but a youth; his mind was early impressed by the truths of religion, and engaged with uncommon ardor in the duties of religion.

*obedient humble Servt*

*David Brainerd*

*Fac simile of David Brainerd's writing.*

barbarous tribes; the most invincible patience and self denial, the profoundest humility, exquisite prudence, indefatigable industry, and such a devotedness to God, or rather such an absorption of the whole soul in zeal for the divine glory, and the salvation of men, as is scarcely paralleled since the age of the Apostles.....His constitutional melancholy, though it must be regarded as a physical imperfection, imparts an additional interest and pathos to the narrative, since we more easily sympathize with the emotion of sorrow than of joy. There is a monotony in his feelings, it must be acknowledged, and consequently a frequent repetition of the same ideas, which will disgust a fastidious or superficial reader, but it is the *monotony of sublimity*.

"His life and diary among the Indians, says a celebrated English divine, 'exhibits a perfect pattern of the qualities which should distinguish the instructor of rude and

The ancestor of the Brainerds, came to this country when a lad, and lived in the Wyllis family of Hartford. He afterwards removed to Haddam, and was one of the first settlers of the town. David, the missionary, was the third son of Hezekiah Brainerd, a man of piety and respectability, who for many years represented his native town in the General Assembly. The Rev. David Brainerd commenced his labors among the Indians in 1743, at a place called Kaunaumuck, southeast from Albany, near Kinderhook; from this place he went to the Forks of the Delaware, near the line between New York and Pennsylvania. His greatest success was among the Indians at Crosweeksunk, near Freehold in New Jersey. Overcome by wearisome journeyings, and arduous labors, in the work of the ministry, he travelled into New England for the benefit of his health. He died at the house of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, at Northampton, Mass. Oct. 10. 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age.

*Brant, Colonel*, a famous Indian chief, was educated under the care of the reverend Dr. Wheelock, first president of Dartmouth college. In the war of the American revolution he attached himself to the British cause. In 1778 he, with colonel John Butler, headed a party of one thousand one hundred men, nine hundred of whom were Indians, and broke up the settlements on the Susquehannah. Wyoming, on the eastern branch of that river, was destroyed with circumstances of treachery and cruelty. Near two hundred of the whites were killed in one engagement. In July 1779 he attacked the Minisink settlement in New York, and did much mischief. After the war he resided in upper Canada. He was a chief of the Mohawk tribe. It is said, that he was once under the necessity of killing one of his sons in order to preserve his own life. He died in upper Canada in the year 1807.

He translated into the Mohawk language the gospel of St. Mark

and the liturgy of the English church. This translation was published for the benefit of the Indians.

*Brooks, Eleazer*, a brigadier general in the Revolutionary war, was born in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1726. Without the advantages of education he acquired a valuable fund of knowledge. It was his practice in early life to read the most approved books, and then to converse with the most intelligent men respecting them. In 1774 he was chosen a representative to the general court, and continued twenty seven years in public life, being successively a representative, a member of the senate, and of the council. He took a decided part in the American revolution. At the head of a regiment he was engaged in the battle at White Plains in 1776, and in the second action near Stillwater, October 7th 1777, and distinguished himself by his cool, determined bravery. From the year 1801 he secluded himself in the tranquil scenes of domestic life. He died at Lincoln, Massachusetts, November 9, 1806, aged eighty years.

*Brooks, John*, governor of Massachusetts, was born at Medford; the following, descriptive of his character, is on his monument at that place. "Sacred to the memory of *John Brooks*, who was born at Medford in the month of May 1752, and educated at the Town School. He took up arms for his country on the 19th of April 1775. He commanded the regiment which first entered the enemy's lines at Saratoga, and served with honor, to the close of the war. He was appointed marshal of the District of Massachusetts, by President Washington, and after filling several important civil and military offices, he was in the year 1816, chosen governor of the Commonwealth, and discharged the duties of that station for seven successive years. He died March 1st, 1825."

*Bulkley, Peter*, first minister of Concord, Mass. was born in Woodhill, England, Jan. 1583. He was educated at St. John's, Cambridge, and was fellow of the college. He had a large estate left him by his father, whom he succeeded in the ministry at Woodhill. Having been silenced for non conformity, he came to New England in 1635, and after residing a number of years at Cambridge, he began the settlement of Concord with a number of planters, forming the twelfth church which was established in the colony. He died at that place in 1659, leaving a numerous posterity. Mr. Bulkley was remarkable for his benevolence, piety, and learning. He published a work which was much esteemed, entitled 'The Gospel Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace opened;' he also wrote Latin poetry, some specimens of which may be seen in Mather's Magnalia.

*Burgoyne, John*, a British Lieutenant General in America, was the natural son of Lord Bingley. In 1762 he had the command of a body of troops sent to Portugal for the defence of that kingdom against the Spaniards. After his return to England he became privy counsellor, and was chosen a member of parliament. In 1777 he was entrusted with the command of the northern army which invaded the United States from Canada, and was surrendered to General Gates. He was the author of four dramatic pieces, of which the *Maid of the Oak*, a comic opera—*Benton*, an entertainment—and the *Heiress*, a comedy, written in sprightly and elegant dialogue, were received with great applause on the public theatres. He wrote also several other pieces. He died of the gout in 1792, and was privately buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

*Burnet, William*, governor of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was the son of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of

Salisbury, and born at the Hague, in 1688 ; after having held the office of comptroller of the customs in England, he was in 1720, appointed governor of New York and New Jersey, and entered on the duties of the office in September of that year. He introduced a judicious system of measures for the purpose of guarding the province against the encroachments of the French, but it excited the clamour of the merchants, and rendered him so unpopular that in 1729, he was superseded. He was then appointed to the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His administration there was rendered unpleasant by a controversy with the assembly respecting his salary. He died at Boston, September 7th, 1729. He was a man of superior talents and learning, and published several philosophical and theological works of reputation."—*Lord's Lempriere*.

*Burr, Aaron*, president of the college at Princeton, New Jersey, was born at Fairfield, Connecticut, in 1714, and graduated at Yale college, in 1735. In 1742, he was invested with the pastoral charge of the Presbyterian church at Newark, New Jersey, where he became so conspicuous by his talents and learning, that in 1748, he was elected the successor of Mr. Dickinson to the presidency of the college then at Elizabethtown, and afterwards removed to Newark, and thence to Princeton. He discharged the duties of that station with great dignity, popularity, and usefulness till his death, in September 1757. He was unrivalled by his cotemporaries in force and elegance of mind, in learning, eloquence, and excellence as a preacher, in piety, public spirit, and popularity, in the knowledge of human nature, in polish of manners, and facility of communicating knowledge. His wife was the daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and possessed superior endowments, knowledge, and piety."—*Lord's Lempriere*.

*A. Burr*  
Fac simile.

"*Burr, Aaron*, colonel, son of the preceding, was born Feb. 6th, 1756, at Newark, New Jersey. Both his parents died before he reached the third year of his age, and was left in the possession of a handsome estate. While under the care of Dr. Shippen of Philadelphia, when but about four years old, having some difficulty with his preceptor, he ran away, and was not found until the third or fourth day afterwards : thus indicating at this early age, a fearlessness of mind, and reliance on himself, which characterised the subsequent acts of his life. At the age of ten he ran away from his uncle Timothy Edwards for the purpose of going to sea. He entered Princeton College, and graduated at the age of sixteen years, receiving the highest academic honors of the institution, though his moral character at this period could not be considered of the highest order. On the breaking out of the Revolution, Col. Burr, impelled by military ardor, joined the American army, and was a volunteer in Arnold's celebrated expedition through the wilderness to Quebec. He was afterwards for a short period in the family of Washington, but becoming somewhat dissatisfied with that great man, he became aid to Gen Putnam, and was afterwards

appointed lieutenant colonel. Col. Burr next turned his attention to the study of law, was admitted to the bar in 1782, and commenced practice in Albany. In 1791, he was appointed a Senator of the United States.

In the autumn of 1806, a project was detected, at the head of which was Col. Burr, said to be for revolutionizing the territory west of the Alleghanies, and for establishing an independent empire there, of which New Orleans was to be the capital, and himself the chief. Burr was apprehended and brought to trial Aug. 1807, no overt act being proved against him, he was acquitted. Col. Burr died at Staten Island, N. Y. Sept. 14th 1836.

"It is truly surprising" says his biographer, "how any individual could have become so eminent a soldier, a statesman, and as a professional man who devoted so much time to the other sex, as was devoted by Colonel Burr. For more than half a century of his life they seemed to absorb his whole thoughts. His intrigues were without number; his conduct most licentious."

*Byles, Mather*, D. D., congregational minister of Boston, Massachusetts, was born in that town in 1706. He was graduated at Harvard college, in 1725, and in 1733, was ordained pastor of the church in Hollis-street. He held a high rank among those of his profession in talents and usefulness, and was pre-eminently distinguished for the keenness and exuberance of his wit. He was a popular writer, and possessed talents for poetry. His literary merits procured him an acquaintance with many of the first characters in Europe. Pope and Watts were among his correspondents. He continued happily with his people until the commencement of the revolution, when on account of his friendliness to the royal cause, he was separated from them, arraigned before a court, and sentenced to transportation to England; in place of which, however, he was only confined to his house, and for several weeks subjected to the care of a guard, and occasionally for short periods afterwards; in reference to which he remarked, that "he was guarded, regarded, and disregarded." He died in 1783.

*Callender, John*, an eminent Baptist minister and writer, in Rhode Island, was graduated at Harvard college in 1723. He was a man of very considerable powers of mind, and was distinguished for his candor and piety. He collected many papers relating to the history of the Baptists in this country, which were used by Mr. Backus. He published in 1739, a historical discourse on the civil and religious affairs of Rhode Island, &c., from the settlement in 1638, to the end of the first century. He died in 1748, in the forty-second year of his age.

*Carrier, Thomas*, remarkable for longevity, died at Colchester, Connecticut, May 16, 1735, aged one hundred and nine years. He was born in the west of England, and removed thence to Andover, Massachusetts. His wife suffered at Salem in the witchcraft delusion. He had lived at Colchester about twenty years, and was a member of the church in that town. His head in his last years was not bald, nor his hair gray. Not many days before his death he

travelled on foot six miles to see a sick man, and the very day before he died, he was visiting his neighbors.—*New England weekly Journal*, June 9, 1735.

*Carteret, Philip*, governor of New Jersey, commenced his administration by the appointment of the proprietors of 1665. About 1672, there was an insurrection of the people, by which he was expelled from the government, and James Carteret substituted in his place. But he returned in 1674, and resumed his authority; soon after a division of the proprietary took place, which occasioned great confusion of jurisdiction and uncertainty of property, and finally annihilated the rule of the proprietors. He continued in the government of East Jersey, excepting the short period of the usurpation of Sir Edmund Andross, until his death in November, 1682.

*Carver, John*, the first governor of the Plymouth colony, was a native of England, and was one of the emigrants at Leyden, who composed Mr. Robinson's church, and came over with the first settlers at Plymouth, in 1620. Governor Carver was distinguished for his prudence, integrity and firmness. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He exerted himself to promote the interests of the colony, and bore a large share of its sufferings. Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character. In the time of the general sickness which beset the colony, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending to the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them without any distinction of persons or characters. While engaged in labor in the field, April 5th, 1621, he was taken with a pain his head, which in a few hours deprived him of his senses, and in a few days of his life.

*Carver, Jonathan*, an enterprising traveller, was a native of Connecticut, and was born, it is believed, in Canterbury, in 1732. He was intended for the profession of medicine, which he left for a military life. In the French war he commanded an independent company of provincials in the expedition carried on across the lakes against Canada; he served with reputation till the peace of 1763. Having formed the project of exploring the interior parts of North America, he set out from Boston in 1766, and in September of that year arrived at Michillimackinac, the most interior British post. Having been disappointed in receiving the means of prosecuting his travels to the extent he desired, he continued some months on the north and east borders of Lake Superior, exploring the bays and rivers which empty themselves into that large body of water, carefully observing the natural productions of the country, and the customs and manners of the inhabitants. He arrived at Boston in October, 1768, having been absent on this expedition two years and five months, and travelled nearly seven thousand miles. As soon as he had properly arranged his journal and charts, he went to England to publish them, and petitioned for a reimbursement of his expenses from the government. When his papers were about ready for publication, they were ordered to be put into the hands of the government officers, and were not published till ten years afterwards. Being disappointed in hopes of preferment, he became clerk of the lottery. As he sold his name to a historical compilation, which was published in 1779 in folio, entitled "*The New Universal Traveller*," he was abandoned by those whose duty it was to support him, and he died in want of the common necessities of life in 1780, aged forty-eight years. Captain Carver published a tract on the cultivation of tobacco; and "*Travels through the interior parts of North America*," octavo, London, 1778; an edition of this work was published in Boston, in 1797.

*Chandler, Thomas Bradbury*, D. D., a distinguished episcopal minister, and writer, was born at Woodstock, Connecticut, and educated at Yale College, where he was graduated in 1745. Embracing episcopacy in 1748, he went to England for ordination, and on his return, settled at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, where he resided till his death in 1790. He held a high rank in talents and learning, and was honoured with a degree of D. D. from the University of Oxford. He published a number of tracts, chiefly controversial, and relating to episcopacy.—*Lord's Lempriere's Dictionary*.

*Chauncey, Charles*, the second president of Harvard College, was born in England, in 1589. He became vicar of Ware, in 1627. Being silenced for refusing to read the book of sports, he came to New England in 1638. In 1654, he was appointed president of Harvard College, and continued in this station till his death, in 1672, at the age of 86. He was of opinion, that the baptism of infants and adults should be by immersion, and that the Lord's Supper should be celebrated in the evening.

*Chauncey, Charles*, D. D., a descendant of the preceding, was born in Boston, January 1, 1705. He entered Harvard College at the age of twelve. He became pastor of the first church in Boston, and died in 1787, in the sixtieth year of his ministry. He was ardently attached to the civil and religious liberties of his country, and his publications on various subjects were numerous.

*Cheever, Ezekiel*, an eminent instructor, was born in London, January 25, 1616, and came to this country in June, 1637, for the sake of the peaceable enjoyment of christian worship in its purity. He was first employed as a schoolmaster at New Haven for twelve years; then at Ipswich, Massachusetts, eleven years; and afterwards at Charlestown, nine years. He removed to Boston, January 6, 1671, where he continued his labors during the remainder of his life. He died August 21, 1703, in the ninety-fourth year of his age. Most of the principal gentlemen in Boston, at that time, had been his pupils, and took pleasure in acknowledging their obligations, and honoring their old master. He was not only an excellent teacher, but a pious christian. He constantly prayed with his pupils every day, and catechised them every week. He also took frequent occasions to address them upon religious subjects. Being well acquainted with divinity, he was an able defender of the faith and order of the gospel. In his old age his intellectual powers were very little impaired. He published an essay on the millenium, and a Latin accidence, which has passed through twenty editions.



*Fac simile of Governor Chittenden's signature.*

*Chittenden, Thomas*, first governor of Vermont, was born at Madison, Conn., January 6th, 1730. He received but a common school education,

and agreeable to the New England custom, married early in life, and soon removed to Salisbury, in Litchfield county, in Connecticut. Here by a regular advance he passed through the several grades in the militia, to the command of a regiment; he likewise represented the town where he lived in the general assembly. With a numerous family, he deter

mined to lay a foundation for their future prosperity, by emigrating through an almost trackless wilderness to Williston, on the Onion river, in the *New Hampshire Grants*, as Vermont was then called. In the controversy with New York, he was a strong supporter of the feeble settlers. During the war of the revolution, while Warner, Allen, and many others were in the field, he was engaged in council at home, where he rendered important services. He was a member of the convention, January 16th, 1777, which declared Vermont an independent state. When the constitution of the state was established, in 1778, Mr. Chittenden was appointed the first magistrate, which office he held, (one year excepted,) till his death, August 24th, 1797. Governor Chittenden was conspicuous for his private as well as his public virtues. In times of scarcity and distress, which are not unfrequent in new settlements, his granary was open to all the needy.

*Church, Benjamin*, distinguished for his exploits in the Indian wars of New England, was born at Duxbury, Mass., in 1639. He commanded the party which killed King Philip, in 1676. In 1704, Colonel Church went on an expedition against the eastern Indians of New England, and did them and the French much damage. He was a man of integrity and piety. He died in 1718, of the rupture of a blood vessel, occasioned by a fall from his horse. He published a narrative of Philip's war, 1716.

*Clarke, John*, one of the first founders of Rhode Island, was a physician in London before he came to this country. Being driven from Massachusetts, on account of his religious sentiments, he, with a number of others, on March 7, 1638, formed themselves into a body politic, and purchased *Aquetneck*, or Rhode Island. Mr. Clarke was soon employed as a preacher, and in 1644 he formed a church at Newport, being the second Baptist church established in America. In 1651, he was sent with Mr. Williams to England, to promote the interests of Rhode Island; he returned in 1664, having the year previous mortgaged his estate, in order to procure a charter for the colony. Mr. Clarke continued pastor of his church till his death in 1676, at about the age of fifty-six years, leaving behind him a name dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty.

*Clinton, Charles*, was born in Ireland, in 1690. Having resolved to emigrate to America, he with a number of friends chartered a ship for the purpose of conveying them to Philadelphia. On their passage, it was discovered that the captain "had formed a design of starving his passengers to death, either with a design to obtain their property, or to deter emigration. Several of the passengers actually died, among whom were a son and daughter of Mr. Clinton." They were compelled to commute with the captain for their lives, by paying a large sum of money, who accordingly landed them on Cape Cod, on the 4th of October. Mr. Clinton and his friends continued in this part of the country, until the spring of 1731, when he removed to the county of Ulster, in the colony of New York, where he formed a

flourishing settlement. He was a colonel in the French war; he died at his place in Ulster, now Orange county, in 1773, in his 83d year.

*Clinton, James*, the fourth son of the preceding, was born in 1736, and was favored with an excellent education. In 1776 he was appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States, in which station he continued during the greater part of the revolutionary war. He was appointed to various public offices; he died, December 22d, 1812, and was interred in the family burying place at Little Britain, in Orange county.

*Clinton, George*, vice president of the United States, the youngest brother of the preceding, was born July, 1739, and was bred a lawyer. He was appointed, in 1775, a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was present at the declaration of independence, and assented to that measure; but having been appointed a brigadier general in the army, was obliged to retire from Congress immediately after his vote was given, for which reason, his name does not appear among the signers. In 1777, he was elected both governor and lieutenant governor of New York, and was continued in the former office for eighteen years. In 1804, he was advanced to the vice-presidency of the United States, and continued in the office till his death, which took place in Washington, April 20, 1812. He possessed great energy of character, was distinguished as a soldier, statesman, and patriot.

*Clinton, De Witt*, son of James Clinton, was born in Orange county, N. Y. in 1769. He was chosen to many important offices in his native State, and was elected governor in 1817. In his native State, his name, his genius, and his services, are stamped upon many monuments of public munificence and private utility. He died suddenly in February 1828:

*Clinton, George*, one of the colonial governors of New York, was the youngest son of Francis Clinton, the sixth Earl of Lincoln. He was appointed governor of the colony of New York in 1743. Being unskilled in civil affairs, he was peculiarly exposed to the tumults and commotions of colonial governments. Mr. Clinton, after his retirement from New York, became governor of Greenwich Hospital, England. His son, Sir Henry Clinton, commanded the British armies a considerable portion of the Revolutionary war.

*Coddington, William*, one of the principal founders of Rhode Island, and its first governor, was a native of Lincolnshire, England, and came to Massachusetts in 1630. He was for some time a magistrate in that colony, but in 1538 removed to Rhode Island, and was the chief instrument of establishing a settlement there. In 1640, he was appointed governor of the colony, and held the office till a charter was obtained in 1648; and again in 1674, and 1675. He was a strenuous advocate for liberty of conscience, and had the honor of a chief agency in organizing the first government in modern ages under which that blessing was fully enjoyed. He died in 1678





*Fac simile of Cadwallader Colden's signature.*

*Colden, Cadwallader*, a distinguished scholar and civilian, was born at Dunse, Scotland, in 1688, and educated at Ed-

inburgh. He studied medicine, and in 1708 came to Philadelphia, and established himself as a physician. In 1718 he removed to New-York, and was soon appointed surveyor general, and afterwards master in chancery. In 1720 he was advanced to a place in the King's council of the province, and was for a long time one of the most conspicuous members of that body. In 1761 he was appointed lieutenant governor, and held the office till his death in 1776. He was a distinguished scholar as well as a civilian; was thoroughly versed in the knowledge of medicine, botany, and astronomy; and corresponded with many of the most eminent scholars both in America and Europe. Beside his publications relating to mathematics, botany, and medicine, and which were highly respectable, he wrote a valuable history of the five Indian nations.

*Cooper, Myles, D. D.*, president of King's college, New York, was educated in the university of Oxford, where he took the degree of master of arts in 1760. He arrived at New York in the autumn of 1762, being recommended by the archbishop of Canterbury as a person well qualified to assist in the management of the college, and in a few years to succeed the president. In the year 1775 Dr. Cooper, as his politics leaned towards the British, was reduced to the necessity of withdrawing from the college, and returning to England. He was afterwards one of the ministers of the episcopal chapel of Edinburgh, in which city he died May 1, 1785, aged about fifty years.

*Cornbury, Lord*, governor of New York, was the son of the Earl of Clarendon, and being one of the first officers who deserted the army of King James, King William, in gratitude, appointed him to an American government. He commenced his administration in 1702, and soon became detested for his avarice, bigotry, meanness and tyranny. His behavior was trifling and extravagant. It was not uncommon for him to dress himself in a woman's habit, and then to patrol the fort in which he resided. His oppressions reaching the ears of the queen, he was displaced, and succeeded as governor by Lord Lovelace in 1708.

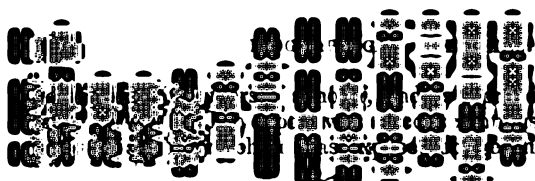
*Cotton, John*, one of the most distinguished of the early ministers of New England, was born at Derby, England, December 4th, 1585. He was admitted a member of Trinity College at the age of thirteen, and afterwards removed to Emanuel College, where he obtained a fellowship. About the year 1612, he became minister of Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he was remarkably useful, though he entertained doubts of the lawfulness of complying with some of the ceremonies of the established church. At length, after the government of the English church fell into the hands of bishop Laud, divisions arose among

the parishioners of Mr. Cotton; a dissolute fellow, who had been punished for his immoralities, informed against the magistrates and the minister for not kneeling at the sacrament; and Mr. Cotton, being cited before the high commission court, was obliged to flee. After being concealed for some time in London, he embarked for this country, anxious to secure to himself the peaceable enjoyment of the rights of conscience, though in a wilderness. He sailed in the same vessel with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, and the circumstance of their names caused the people to say on their arrival, September 4, 1633, that their three great necessities would be now supplied, for they had Cotton for their clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their building. This was an age of conceits. During the voyage three sermons or expositions were delivered almost every day, and Mr. Cotton was blessed in the birth of his eldest son, whom, at his baptism in Boston, he called Seaborn.

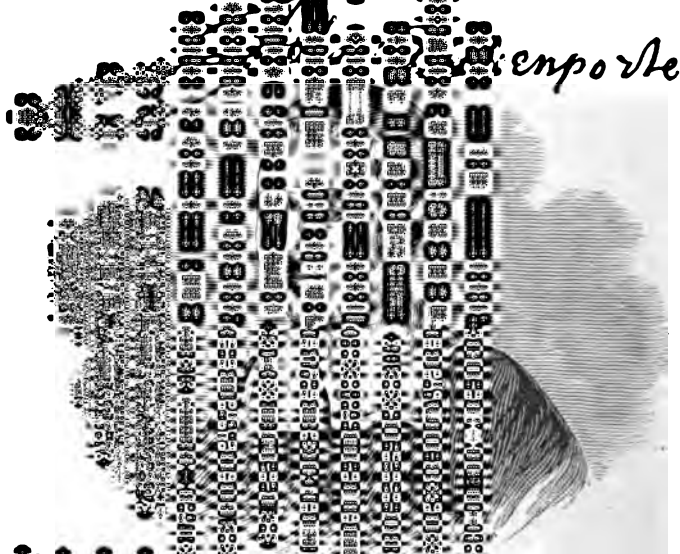
On the tenth of October, 1633, he was established teacher of the church in Boston, as colleague with the reverend Mr. Wilson, who was pastor. He was set apart to this office, on a day of fasting, by imposition of the hands of Mr. Wilson, and his two elders. He remained in this town, connected with this church, more than nineteen years, and such was his influence in establishing the order of our churches, and so extensive was his usefulness, that he has been called the patriarch of New England. The prevalence of those erroneous doctrines, which occasioned the synod of 1637, so much disturbed his peace, that he was almost induced to remove to New Haven. Mrs. Hutchinson endeavored to promote her wild sentiments by shielding them under the name of Mr. Cotton; but though he was imposed upon for some time by the artifices of those of her party, yet when he discovered their real opinions, he was bold and decided in his opposition to them. Though he did not sign the result of the synod of 1637, on account of his differing from it in one or two points; he yet approved of it in general, and his peaceable intercourse with his brethren in the ministry was not afterwards interrupted on account of his supposed errors. In 1742 he was invited to England with Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, to assist in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and he was in favor of accepting the invitation, but Mr. Hooker was opposed to it, as he was at that time forming a system of church government for New England. His death, which was occasioned by an inflammation of the lungs, brought on by exposure in crossing the ferry to Cambridge, where he went to preach, took place December 23, 1652, when he was sixty-seven years of age. So universally was he venerated, that many sermons were preached on his decease in different parts of the country.

Dr. Cotton sustained a high reputation for learning, and was the author of numerous publications, some of which were of a controversial character.—*Allen's Biog. Dic.*

*Davenport, John*, first minister of New Haven, and one of the founders of that colony, was born in the city of Coventry, England, in 1597. He entered Merton College in 1613. By his great industry



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ted into New Jersey, in directing the execution of the measures adopted for their annoyance; after the war was concluded, he held the office of major general of the militia. In private life he sustained a high reputation. He died at Philadelphia, July, 1806, aged 71.

*Deane, Silas*, a native of Connecticut, was a member of Congress in 1774, and afterwards was appointed minister to France. He died in 1789.

*Delancy, James*, lieutenant governor of New York, was the son of a protestant refugee from Caen, in Normandy, and was sent to Cambridge, England, for his education. On his return to New York in 1729, he was appointed a member of Montgomery's council, and after studying law, obtained the appointment of judge of the supreme court, and in 1734, in consequence of his attachment to governor Crosby, was advanced to the office of chief justice. He possessed commanding talents, and an extensive knowledge of law, was ambitious and intriguing, and was for a long time one of the most influential characters in the colony. In 1753 he was appointed lieutenant governor. Under his administration the charter of King's college was granted. He was at the head of the association which founded that institution, and one of the first board of trustees. He died Aug. 2d, 1760, aged 57.

*Dexter, Samuel*, LL. D. an eminent lawyer, son of Hon. Samuel Dexter, was born at Boston in 1751. During the administration of the first president Adams he was appointed Secretary of war, and afterwards Secretary of the Treasury. On the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, he resigned his public employments and resumed the practice of law. He died suddenly at Athens, New York, May 3d, 1816.

*Dickinson, Jonathan*, first president of New Jersey College, received his education at Yale college, where he was graduated in 1706. He was settled a year or two after pastor of the presbyterian church at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and laboured there with great reputation and success for forty years. On the establishment of the college of New Jersey at Elizabethtown in 1746—he was appointed its president, but died in October of the next year. He possessed superior endowments and extensive learning, and enjoyed much celebrity as a preacher and controversial writer on theology.

*Dickinson, Philemon*, an officer in the war of the American revolution, who engaged in that contest at an early period, and enjoyed the praise of courage and zeal in the cause of liberty. He commanded the Jersey militia at the battle of Monmouth. After the organization of the national government in its present form, he was appointed to a seat in congress. Having discharged the duties of the several civil and military stations which he held with reputation, and enjoyed several years of retirement from public life, he died at Trenton in 1809.

*Dudley, Thomas*, governor of Massachusetts, was born in Northampton, England, in 1574. After having been for some time in the army, his mind was impressed by religious truth, and he attached

himself to the nonconformists. He came to Massachusetts in 1630, as deputy governor, and was one of the founders and pillars of the colony. He was chosen governor in the years 1634, 1640 and 1645. His zeal against heretics did not content itself with arguments, addressed to the understanding, and reproofs, aimed at the conscience; but his intolerance was not singular in an age, when the principles of religious liberty were not understood. He died at Roxbury, July 31, 1653, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a man of sound judgment, of inflexible integrity, of public spirit, and of strict and exemplary piety.

*Dudley, Joseph*, governor of Massachusetts, was the son of the preceding. In 1682 he went to England as an agent of the province. He was appointed governor of Massachusetts in 1702. He died at Roxbury in 1720, in the 73d year of his age.

*Dummer, Jeremiah*, an agent of Massachusetts, in England, and a distinguished scholar, was a native of Boston. He graduated at Harvard College in 1699, and soon afterwards went to Europe and spent a number of years in the university of Utrecht, where he received a doctor's degree. He then returned to New England, but finding no prospect of employment in this country, that would be agreeable to him, he went to England, where he arrived a little before the change of queen Ann's ministry. In 1710 he was appointed agent of Massachusetts, and his services were important. Contrary to the expectation of his countrymen he devoted himself to the persons in power, and was an advocate of their measures. He was employed by lord Bolingbroke in some secret negotiations, and had assurances of promotion to a place of honor and profit; but the death of the queen blasted all his hopes. If he had espoused a different side, it is thought that his great talents might have elevated him to some of the highest offices. He died in 1739.

*Dummer, William*, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, received a commission for this office at the time that Shute was appointed governor in 1716. At the departure of Shute, January 1, 1723, he was left at the head of the province, and he continued commander in chief till the arrival of Burnet in 1728. He was also commander in chief in the interval between his death and the arrival of Belcher. His administration is spoken of with great respect, and he is represented as governed by a pure regard to the public good. The war with the Indians was conducted with great skill, the Norridgewocks being cut off in 1724. From the year 1730 Mr. Dummer lived chiefly in retirement for the remainder of his life, selecting for his acquaintance and friends men of sense, virtue, and religion, and receiving the blessings and applauses of his country. He died at Boston, October 10 1761, aged eighty-two years. He preserved an unspotted character through life. During his life his alms were a memorial of his benevolence, and at his death he left a great part of his estate to pious and charitable purposes. He aided the foundation of Dummer Academy at Newbury.

*Dunster, Henry*, first President of Harvard College, was inducted

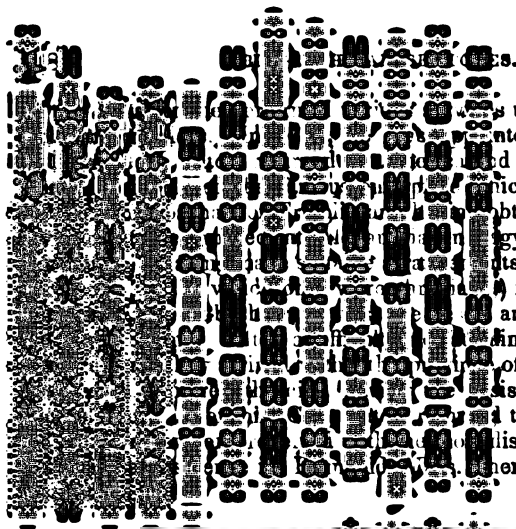
into this office August 27, 1640. He succeeded Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who was the first master of the seminary, being chosen in 1637 or 1638, and who had been removed on account of the severity of his discipline. He was highly respected for his learning, piety, and spirit of government; but having at length imbibed the principles of antipedobaptism, and publicly advocated them, he was induced to resign the presidentship October 24, 1654, and was succeeded by the reverend Mr. Chauncey. He now retired to Scituate, where he spent the remainder of his days in peace. He died in 1659. He was a modest, humble, charitable man. By his last will he ordered his body to be buried at Cambridge, and bequeathed legacies to the very persons, who had occasioned his removal from the college.

*Dwight, Timothy*, D. D. LL.D. president of Yale College, was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1752. His mother was the daughter of the celebrated Jonathan Edwards, president of the college of New Jersey. He was graduated at Yale College in 1769 at the age of seventeen. He was tutor in that institution for six years, and afterwards for a short time served as chaplain of the American army in the revolution. In 1783 he settled as clergyman in the parish of Greenfield in the town of Fairfield, Con. In 1785 he published an epic poem in eleven books, entitled the 'Conquest of Canaan.' In 1794, he published "Greenfield Hill," a poem in seven books. In May 1795, on the death of president Stiles, he was elected to the presidency of Yale college. Under his superintendence the institution began to flourish beyond all preceding example. He died February 11th, 1817, and was universally and deeply lamented. Since his death, his theological lectures, under the title of "*Theology*," have been published in five volumes octavo, and have passed through several large editions, both in the United States and Great Britain. His "Travels in New England and New York" have also been published in four volumes octavo.

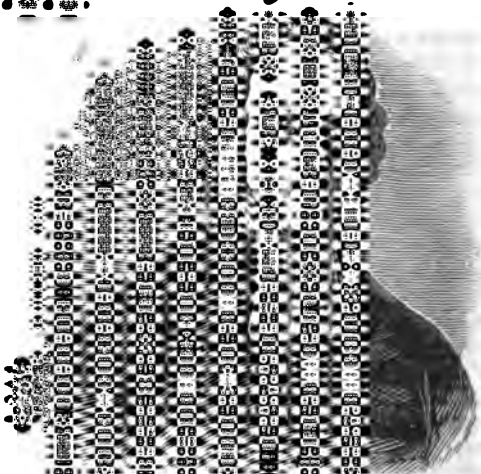
*Eaton, Theophilus*, first governor of New Haven colony, was born at Stony Stratford in Oxfordshire, Eng., his father being minister of the place. He was bred a merchant, and was for several years agent of the king of England at the court of Denmark, and after his return prosecuted his business in London with high reputation. He accompanied Mr. Davenport to New England, and was one of the founders of New Haven in 1638, and was annually elected governor till his death in Jan. 1657, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The wisdom and integrity of his administration attracted universal respect. He was amiable in all the relations of life, beloved by his domestics, and ever preserved the esteem of the commonwealth. His monument at New Haven has upon it the following lines:

Eaton, so meek, so fam'd, so just,  
The Phenix of our world, here hides his dust;  
This name forget, New England never must.

*Eaton, William*, a general in the service of the United States, was born at Woodstock, Con. in Feb. 23d, 1764. In March, 1792, he was appointed a captain in the army of the United States; and whilst



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*Edward*

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r. Sergeant as mission-  
he continued here six

years, preaching to the Indians and white people; during this time he found leisure for prosecuting his theological and metaphysical studies, and produced works which have distinguished his name. In Jan. 1758, he accepted the office of president of the college in New Jersey. Before he had fully entered upon the duties of his station, he was inoculated with the small pox, which was the cause of his death in March 22d, 1758. His most celebrated works are '*On Original Sin*,' '*Freedom of the Will*,' '*Treatise on Religious Affections*,' &c. His essay on the freedom of the will, is considered by many as one of the greatest efforts of the human mind.

*Edwards, Jonathan*, D. D. president of Union college, Schenectady, New York, and son of the preceding, was born at Northampton, Mass. in 1745. In his infancy his father removing to Stockbridge, where the population was chiefly composed of Indians who spoke their native language, Mr. Edwards acquired a perfect familiarity with it, which he afterwards retained. He was sent at a tender age in company with the Rev. Mr. Hawley, as a missionary to the Oneida Indians. He finished his education at Princeton college, and afterwards preached in Colebrook and New Haven, Conn. In 1799 he was appointed president of Union college, Schenectady, where he died in August, 1801, in the 56th year of his age. 'There was a number of remarkable coincidences in the lives of Dr. Edwards and his father. Both were tutors in seminaries, in which they were educated, were dismissed on account of their religious opinions, were settled again in retired situations, were elected to the presidentship of a college, and in a short time after they were inaugurated, died at near the same age. They were also remarkably similar in person and character.'

*your writings to serve you  
in o' Lord Jesus  
John Eliot*

*Fac simile of John Eliot's hand writing.*

*Eliot, John*, minister of Roxbury, Mass. and usually denominated 'The Apostle to the Indians,' was born at Nasin, England, in 1604, and was educated at Cambridge university. In 1632, a year after his

arrival in Massachusetts, he settled in the ministry at Roxbury, in which office he remained till his death. His labors were not confined to his own people. About the year 1646, he began his labors among the Indians in his vicinity; he commenced by learning their language which it was difficult to acquire. With great labor he translated the whole Bible into the Indian tongue which was printed in Cambridge in 1664. He also translated in the Indian language the '*Practice of Piety*,' '*Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*,' besides some other smaller works. In the course of his labors, Mr. Eliot passed through many scenes of danger, difficulty and suffering. Having performed many wearisome journeys, and endured many



hardships and privations, this indefatigable missionary closed his labors in 1690, aged eighty-six years.

*Ellsworth, Oliver*, LL. D., chief justice of the United States, was born at Windsor, Con. 1745. Devoting himself to the practice of law he rose to eminence. In 1777, he was sent a delegate to the continental congress. In 1799 he was appointed envoy extraordinary to France. He died in 1807.

*Endicot, John*, governor of Massachusetts, was sent to England as agent for the plantation at Salem in 1628. In 1644, he was elected governor of Massachusetts. He died in 1665.

*Faneuil Peter*, founder of Faneuil Hall in Boston, was a descendant of the French protestants. He possessed a large estate, and employed it in doing good. His liberal spirit induced him to present to the town of Boston a large edifice, for the accommodation of the inhabitants in their public meetings. He died in 1743.

*Finley, Samuel*, D. D., president of the college of New Jersey, was a native of Armagh, Ireland, born in 1715. He came to Philadelphia in 1734, and was ordained as an evangelist in 1740, by the presbytery of New Brunswick. He contributed his efforts with the Rev. Gilbert Tennent and Mr. Whitefield, in promoting the great revival of religion about the year 1740, and suffered some persecution on that account. In 1744, he was settled at Nottingham, Maryland, where he labored nearly seventeen years, with distinguished fidelity and success. Upon the death of president Davies, of the New Jersey college, Dr. Finley was chosen his successor, and removed to Princeton, July, 1766. After occupying this station about five years with reputation he died in July, 1766.

*Finley, Robert*, D. D., a highly respectable minister of the Presbyterian Church, was born at Princeton, N. J., in 1772. He graduated at the college in his native town, in his sixteenth year. In 1817 he accepted the presidency of the University of Athens, in Georgia. He had scarcely entered upon the duties of his office, when he was removed by death in the 46th year of his age.

*Fitch, James*, first minister of Saybrook and Norwich, Conn., was born in the county of Essex, England, and came to this country in 1638. In 1646 he was ordained over a church gathered in Saybrook; in 1660 he removed with the greater part of his church to Norwich. He became acquainted with the Mohegan language, and preached the gospel to the Indians in his vicinity. He died in Lebanon, Conn., in 1702, in the eightieth year of his age.

*Fitch, John*, inventor of the first steamboat in this country, was born at East Windsor, Connecticut. He was apprenticed to a watch and clock maker, and before the revolutionary war, set up the business of clock making, engraving, and repairing muskets at New Brunswick, in New Jersey. When this state was overrun by the British troops, he retired into the interior of Pennsylvania, where he employed himself in repairing arms for the American army. In the year 1785, Mr. Fitch conceived the project of propelling a vessel by the force of condensed vapor. "When the idea occurred to him, as he himself tells us, he did not know that there was such a thing as a steam engine in existence." In 1788 he obtained a patent for the application of steam to navigation. By unwearied exertion he succeeded in interesting about twenty persons in his plan, and inducing them to take shares of fifty dollars each. A boat was built in 1787 at Philadelphia, which went at the rate of eight miles an hour. The governor and council of Pennsylvania were so much gratified

with the experiment that they presented the company with a rich silk flag. About this time the company sent Mr. Fitch to France, in order to introduce the invention into that country; nothing, however, was effected, as France was in the midst of a revolution. Mr. Fitch returned; in 1790 he made an alteration in his boat, and it worked tolerably well, but still required further alterations. He was not able, however, to obtain the necessary means to perfect his invention. He became disheartened and impoverished, "and to drown his reflections, he had recourse to the common but deceptive remedy, strong drink, in which he indulged to excess, and retiring to Pittsburg, he ended his days by plunging into the Alleghany."

*Franklin, Benjamin*, LL. D., a philosopher and statesman, was born at Boston, January 17th, 1706. His father, who was a native of England, was a soap boiler and tallow chandler in that town. At the age of eight years, he was sent to a grammar school, but at the age of ten, his father required his services to assist him in his business. Two years afterwards, he was bound as an apprentice to his brother, a printer. In this employment he made great proficiency, and having a taste for books, he devoted much of his leisure time to reading. His brother having experienced some difficulties in regard to his business, Franklin went to Philadelphia in search of employment. He went to London in 1724, where he supported himself as a journeyman printer.

He returned to Philadelphia in 1726, where he established himself in the printing business, which, however, did not extinguish his taste for science. He formed a club of intelligent young men for the discussion of various subjects, which continued for almost forty years. This society has been the source of most of the useful establishments in Philadelphia for the purpose of promoting the cause of the sciences and mechanic arts. In 1732 Franklin began to publish "*Poor Richard's Almanac*," which contained maxims of frugality, industry and integrity; it was continued by him about twenty-five years. In 1736, he was appointed clerk of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, and next year post master of Philadelphia, and afterwards member of the assembly. In 1752 he made his great discovery of the identity of the electric fluid and lightning, and recommended the utility of lightning rods. In 1757 he was sent an agent from Pennsylvania to Great Britain. In 1766 he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons respecting the repeal of the celebrated stamp act, and by his answers raised his name in the political world. He was a member of the first congress, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence; he was sent to France, where he effected important services for his country. He died, April 17th, 1790, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

*Franklin, William*, son of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, was appointed in 1762 governor of New Jersey, and was the last royal governor of that province. When the revolution commenced, he adhered to the British interest, and was sent prisoner to Connecticut in June, 1776. He was ultimately permitted to retire to England, and was there the agent for the loyalists of New Jersey and New York to support their petition for relief, agreeably to the treaty of 1783. He died in England.

*Fulton, Robert*, distinguished for his success in applying steam to navigation, was born in Little Britain, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1765. His parents, who were Irish, were respectable, and gave him a common English education at Lancaster. He early exhibited a superior talent for mechanism and painting, and in his eighteenth year established himself in Philadelphia in the latter em-

ployment. In his 22d year he went to England, and was received into the family of Mr. West, the painter. He afterwards turned his attention to mechanics, &c., and went to France and spent seven years in Paris, in the family of Mr. Barlow. Under the patronage of the first Consul, (Buonaparte,) he performed many experiments with torpedoes, &c., for the destruction of vessels. While in France, he turned his attention to the steam engine, for the purpose of propelling boats. On his return to New York, in 1806, he commenced, in conjunction with Mr. Livingston, the first Fulton boat, which was launched in the spring of 1807. This boat, which was called the Clermont, performed a passage to Albany at the rate of about five miles an hour, and may be considered as the first successful application of steam in propelling boats. Between this period and his death, he superintended the building of 14 other steam boats, and made great improvements in their construction. In 1814, he contrived an armed steam ship for the defence of the harbor of New York, and also a sub-marine vessel, or plunging boat, of such dimensions as to carry 100 men, the plans of which being approved by government, he was authorized to construct them at the public expense. But before completing either of these works, he died suddenly, Feb. 24th, 1815.

*Tho. Gage*

*Gage, Thomas*, the last governor of Massachusetts appointed by the king, was an officer of distinction in the British army. He first came to America as a lieutenant with Braddock. He was appointed governor of Montreal in 1760, and in 1763

succeeded general Amherst as commander in chief of the British forces in North America. In 1774 he succeeded Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and furnishing several regiments to support his measures, soon began the course of illegal and oppressive acts, which drew on the war of the revolution. In 1775 the provincial congress of Massachusetts declared him an enemy to the colony, and released the inhabitants from all obligation to obey his mandates. Not long after, he returned to England, where he died in 1787.

*Gerry, Elbridge*, a native of Massachusetts; a signer of the Declaration of Independence; minister to France; governor of the State of Massachusetts, and afterwards Vice President of the United States; he died at Washington in 1814.

*Gookin, Daniel*, author of the historical collections respecting the Indians of New England, and major general of Massachusetts, was a native of Kent, England. In 1621 he came with his father to Virginia; but in 1644 removed to Massachusetts, that he might enjoy a ministry which he approved. He left in manuscript, historical collections respecting the New England Indians, which in 1792 were published by the Massachusetts Historical society in their first volume.

*Granger, Gideon*, post master general of the United States, was born at Suffield, Connecticut, 1767. He graduated at Yale College in 1787, and in the following year was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. In 1783 he was elected a member of

the legislature of that State, and in 1801 he was appointed post master general, the duties of which he executed with great ability till 1814, when he removed to the State of New York. He died at his seat in Canandaigua in 1822.

*Greene, Nathaniel*, a major general in the American army, was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, about the year 1740. He had a strong passion for the military life, though educated a Quaker. At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he was intrusted, by his native State, with the command of three regiments, which he led on to Cambridge. In 1776 he was appointed by Congress major general, and soon after, at the battles of Trenton and Princeton, displayed his military talents. In 1781, by his victory at Eutaw Springs, he won for himself the most flattering applause from Congress and the American army. In 1785 he removed to Georgia, to take possession of a tract of land presented by that State; but died suddenly, June 19th, 1786, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

*Hancock, John*, LL. D. governor of Massachusetts, was the son of the Rev. Mr. Hancock of Braintree, Mass. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1754, and receiving a considerable fortune from an uncle, became a merchant. He was elected a member of the assembly, and soon distinguished himself by a talent for business, and a zealous opposition to the oppressive acts of Great Britain. He was chosen President of Congress, and in that capacity signed the Declaration of Independence. His health declining in 1777, he left that appointment, and in 1780 was elected the first governor of Massachusetts under the new Constitution. He died in 1793, in the fifty sixth year of his age.

*Harvard, John*, the founder of Harvard College, died in Charlestown, Mass. in 1638, soon after his arrival in this country. He had been a minister in England, and he preached a short time in Charlestown. He left a legacy of seven hundred and seventy nine pounds seventeen shillings and two pence to the school at Newtown or Cambridge. The next year the general Court constituted it a College.

*Hawley, Gideon*, many years a missionary to the Indians, was a native of Connecticut. He commenced his labors among the Stockbridge tribe of Indians in Massachusetts in 1752. He was afterward a missionary among the Iroquois, or Indians of the Six Nations. In 1756, the French war compelled him to leave Oughquaga, the place of his residence on the Susquehanna. He afterwards preached to the Marshpee tribe of Indians on Cape Cod, where he died Oct. 1807, aged eighty years.

*Hicks, Elias*, a preacher among the Friends or Quakers. He was the founder of the sect in that Society called Hicksites. He was born in Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y. March 19th, 1748, and died in Jericho, Long Island, Feb. 27th, 1830.

*Hooker, Thomas*, was born at Leicestershire, Eng. 1586, and educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge; he preached in London and Chelmsford with great success. On account of the persecution which raged, he came to New England, and was the first minister of Cambridge, Mass. He was one of the founders of the colony of Connecticut, where he removed with his people in 1636, travelling through the wilderness with no other guide but a compass. He published many sermons and treatises which were much admired. He

died July 7th, 1647. As he lay dying, one of his friends that stood by his bed side, observed to him that he was now going to receive the reward of all his labors; "Brother," said he, "I am going to receive mercy."

*Hopkins, Edward*, governor of Connecticut, was born in Shrewsbury, England, in 1600 and became a merchant in London. He arrived at Boston in 1637. He removed to Hartford, and was chosen governor of Connecticut repeatedly, between 1640 and 1654. He afterwards went to England, where he was chosen warden of the English fleet, and a member of parliament. He died in London in 1657. He left the sum of fifteen hundred pounds for the benefit of learning in New England.



*Fac simile of Mr. Hopkins' hand writing.*

*Hopkins, Stephen*, LL. D. one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Scituate in Rhode Island. In 1755 he was elected governor. In 1774 he was elected a delegate to Congress, and remained in that office until after the establishment of Independence. He died in July, 1785, aged seventy-nine. For several years before his death he suffered a paralytic affection, the effects of which are apparent in the signature of his name to the declaration of Independence.

*Hopkins, Samuel*, D. D. minister of Newport, R. I. was born at Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1721, and graduated at Yale College, in 1741. Having studied theology with Mr. Edwards, of Northampton, he was in 1743, settled in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where he continued till 1769, when he was dismissed, and soon after resettled at Newport, Rhode Island. He continued there until his death, in 1803, eminently distinguished for piety and devotedness to the labors of his office. He possessed a vigorous mind, and a love of searching for the reasons of mysterious events in the divine government, that led him to the adoption of some peculiar opinions, such as that sin is necessary to the divine glory—that submission to God includes a willingness to suffer the punishment of sin in the future world, if necessary to his glory. It is from his name, that the term Hopkinsonianism is derived. His chief publication was a system of Theology in 2 vols. octavo.

*Hopkins, Lemuel*, a physician and poet, was born at Waterbury, Con. in 1750. He died at Hartford, Con. 1801. He was a physician of skill and reputation. He was somewhat singular in his appearance, and was remarkable for his retentive memory. His poetic productions are but few; but of singular humor.

*Hopkinson, Francis*, district judge of the United States, for Pennsyl-

vania, was born in that state in 1738. He was a member of Congress from New Jersey in 1776, in which year he signed the declaration of Independence. He died in 1791. He was distinguished for his vivacity and wit, and published during the Revolution, several poetic pieces which were highly popular, particularly "The battle of the Kegs." After his death his miscellaneous essays and writings were published in three vols. octavo, 1792.

*Hubbard, William*, minister of Ipswich, Mass. and a historian, was born in 1621, and was graduated at Harvard College, in the first class, in 1642. In 1677, his first historical work relative to the *Indian Wars*, received the approbation of the colonial licencers, and was soon published. He also wrote a *History of New England*, for which he in 1682, received the thanks of the General Court, and a gift of fifty pounds. This work lay in manuscript till 1815, when it was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, who received a donation from the legislature for this purpose. Mr. Hubbard died in 1704.

*Humphreys, David*, LL. D. a soldier of the revolution, aid-de-camp to Putnam, Greene, and Washington successively, ambassador to Lisbon, and minister to Spain. He died at New-Haven, Con., in 1818. He was distinguished for his poetical and patriotic writings, also for the introduction of merino sheep from Spain into the United States.

*Hutchinson, Thomas*, LL. D. governor of Massachusetts, was a native of Boston, Mass. and was graduated at Harvard College in 1727. He employed himself for a time in mercantile pursuits, but soon turned his attention to politics, and gained popularity as an agent to Great Britain, and a member of the legislature. In 1758, he was elected lieutenant Governor, and three years afterwards, he was appointed chief judge. Being suspected of being friendly to the arbitrary proceedings of the mother country, he became unpopular. In 1769, he was appointed governor, but soon became obnoxious to the people by his subserviency to the British ministry. In 1772, a number of his letters, hostile to the liberties of the colonies, were obtained by Dr. Franklin and sent to Massachusetts; in consequence, the general Court took measures to procure his removal. He however remained till he was superseded by governor Gage, in 1774. He went to England, where he was vindicated by the Privy Council from all charges brought against him. He died at Bampton, June, 1780, aged sixty-nine years. Governor Hutchinson was the author of a most valuable work entitled "The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from the first settlement thereof in 1628, until the year 1750," in two volumes, octavo.

*Irving, Washington*, was born in the city of New York about 1783. He is at the present time one of the most distinguished American authors. In 1810 he published "Knickerbocker's History of New York," which established his fame; since that time, he has added to his literary reputation by several volumes under the titles of "The Sketch Book," "Bracebridge Hall," and "Tales of a Traveller," &c

*Jay, John*, was born in the city of New York in 1745, he was a member of the first American Congress, in 1774, and was president of that body in 1776. In 1778 he was minister plenipotentiary to Spain, and was one of the commissioners to negotiate a peace with Great Britain, at the close of the Revolution. As an envoy extraordinary to Great Britain, he negotiated and signed the treaty which bears his name; afterwards he was elected governor of the State of New York, in 1795; this office he held till 1807, when he declined a re-election, and retired to his farm in Bedford, N. Y., where he died on the 17th of May, 1829.

*Johnson, Edward*, an inhabitant of Woburn, Massachusetts, was one of the military officers, who were sent to seize Gorton in 1643. He published the wonder working providence of Sion's Savior in New England, containing a history of New England from 1628 to 1652, London, 4to, 1654. In this work he gives a description of the country, an account of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs, &c.

*Johnson, Sir William*, a major general of the militia of New York, was a native of Ireland, and born about the year 1774. He came to America in early life, and settled on the Mohawk, where he carried on an extensive traffic with the Indians, and by learning their language, and accommodating himself to their manners, gained great influence over them. In 1755, he commanded the provincial troops of New York, marched against Crown Point, and gained a victory over the French under baron Dieskau, for which he received from the house of commons the gift of 5000 pounds, and the title of baronet from the king. He died at his seat on the Mohawk, in 1774.

*Johnson, Samuel*, D. D. first president of King's college in New York, was born in Guilford Con. and graduated at Yale College in 1714. In 1722, embracing Episcopalianism, he went to England to obtain ordination. He returned the following year to Stratford, Con. He was afterwards appointed president of King's College in New York. He died in Stratford in 1772.

*Kidd, William*, a noted pirate, who buried a large sum of money on Gardiner's Island. He was seized and sent to England, where he was executed for murder about the year 1699. It has been supposed that he buried other large sums on the American coast, and many attempts have been made to obtain them by digging in various places.

*Kirkland, Samuel*, a distinguished missionary among the Indians, was the son of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland of Norwich, Con. He was for a time in Mr. Wheelock's school, but finished his education at the New Jersey college, where he graduated in 1765. For more than forty years, his attention was directed to the Oneida tribe of Indians in New York. He died at Paris, New York, at his residence near Oneida, March 1808, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

*Knox, Henry*, major general in the army of the United States, was a native of Boston, born 25th July, 1750, and received his education at the schools in that town. He had displayed something of his military talents, as an officer of militia, antecedent to the revolution, and in consequence of his entering the army at the commencement of hostilities, was placed at the head of the artillery, in which station he

served during the whole war with the highest reputation, for valor, talents, and activity, and rendered the most essential services to the country. In 1785, he was appointed secretary of war, and enjoyed the same office after the organization of the present government, till 1784, when he resigned and retired to private life. He settled at Thomastown, in Maine, where he died October 25, 1806.



*Fac simile of B. Lincoln's hand writing.*

*Lincoln, Benjamin*, a major general in the army of the American Revolution, was born at Hingham, Mass. May, 1749, and was bred a farmer. In 1776 he was appointed a brigadier, and soon after, major general in the American army. He took the command of the American army in the Southern States. Having retired to Charleston, S. C. he was compelled to capitulate May 1780. At the siege of Yorktown he commanded a central division, and shared largely the dangers and triumphs of the day. On the surrender of Cornwallis, he was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army. In 1781 Congress appointed him secretary of the war department. After the establishment of peace he returned to his native state, where in 1787 he was appointed to the command of the troops raised for the suppression of Shay's Insurrection. He died in 1810.

*Livingston, Philip*, a distinguished member of the American Congress in 1776, a signer of the declaration of Independence, was born at Albany 1716, and graduated at Yale College in 1737. He settled in the city of New York and devoted himself to mercantile pursuits. In 1759 he was elected to a seat in the provincial assembly, and was chosen a member of the general Congress in 1774. He died June 12th 1778, while attending the session of Congress.

*Livingston, William*, L.L. D. governor of New Jersey, was born in the city of New York about the year 1723, and graduated at Yale College in 1741, and afterwards pursued the study of law. After filling several important stations in New York, he removed to New Jersey, and was a distinguished representative from that state in the Congress of 1774. On the formation of the new constitution of New Jersey in 1776, he was appointed the first governor, and was annually elected to the office till his death in 1790. His writings evince a vigorous mind and a refined taste. He died at his seat near Elizabethtown, July 1790, aged sixty seven years.

*Livingston, Robert R.*, chancellor of New York, and minister of the United States to France, was born in the city of New York. He was a member of the first Congress, and was one of the committee which drew up the declaration of Independence. In 1780 he was appointed Secretary of foreign affairs, and held the place till 1783. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of New York, and was appointed chancellor, in which capacity he administered the oath of office to Washington when he was inaugurated the first President. He was appointed minister to France in



1801, and while in that country, assisted Mr. Fulton by furnishing means to enable him to pursue those experiments which resulted in the discovery of a successful method of applying the steam engine for navigation. He died Feb. 15th 1813.

*Manly, John*, a captain in the navy of the United States was a native of Massachusetts, and born in 1733. He received a naval commission from Washington in 1775. Having the command of the schooner *Lee*, in which he performed a hazardous cruise in Massachusetts Bay during a whole winter, the captures she made were of immense value at the moment. An ordnance brig, which fell into his hands, supplied the continental army with heavy pieces, mortars, and working tools of which it was destitute. Being raised to the command of the frigate *Hancock* of 22 guns, he captured the British frigate *Fox*, which increased his reputation for bravery and skill. Before he could return to port with his prize, he was captured by a superior force, July 1777, and was carried to Halifax, where he was long held a prisoner. In 1782 he was entrusted with the *Hague* frigate with which he was driven on a sand bank at the back of Guadalupe where he sustained a heavy fire from four line of battle ships for three days, and finally escaped. He died at Boston in 1793, in the sixtieth year of his age.

*Mather, Increase*, D. D., president of Harvard college, was born at Dorchester, June 21st, 1639. He was graduated at the college, over which he afterwards presided, in 1836. The next year he went to England, and returned in 1671. He was settled in the North church, Boston, in which he had before preached several years, in 1664, and continued there in the labors of the ministry sixty-two years, with great reputation for talents and piety. He was an indefatigable student, and gave the world a great number of useful publications on religion, politics, history, and philosophy.

*are you'd gold? No, but how vallye Rich of  
that any are, you cannot cautions; Nor can  
get Toughed of Angles & Romphs & relate!*

*Cotton Mather.*

*Fac simile of the hand writing of Cotton Mather.*

*Mather, Cotton*, D. D., F. R. S., a celebrated minister and writer, was a native of Boston, born Feb. 12, 1663. He was

distinguished for his early piety, and was ordained colleague with his father, in 1684. He was a man of unequalled industry, vast learning, and expansive benevolence, also distinguished for his credulity, pedantry and want of judgment. No person in America had so large a library, or had read so many books, or had retained so much of what he had read. So precious did he consider his time, that, to prevent visits of unnecessary length, he wrote over his study door '*be short.*' He understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Iroquois, and wrote in them all. By his diary, it appears that in one year he kept sixty fasts and twenty vigils, and published fourteen books, besides discharging the duties of his pastoral office. His publications amount in number to three hundred and eighty-two. His great work was his *Magnali Christi Americana*, or Ecclesiastical history of New England,

from its founding to the year 1698. His style abounds with puerilities, puns, and strange conceits, and he makes a great display of learning. In his *Magnalia* he has saved numerous and important facts from oblivion. In the work are contained biographical accounts of many of the first principal settlers. He died in 1728.

*Mayhew, Thomas*, governor of Martha's Vineyard, was distinguished for his regard for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Indians. He died in 1681. A number of his descendants, of his name, were distinguished for their ministerial labors among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard.

*Miles, John*, minister of the first Baptist church in Massachusetts, was settled near Swansea, in South Wales, from 1649, till his ejection in 1662. He soon came to this country and formed a church at Rehoboth, Mass. in 1663. The legislature of Plymouth colony granted to this Baptist church in 1667, the town of Swansey, to which place they removed.

*Mills, Samuel J.*, an American clergyman, distinguished for his piety and zeal in promoting the missionary cause. He died in 1818, on his return from Africa, whither he had gone as an agent of the American Colonization Society.

*Montgomery, Richard*, a major general in the army of the American revolution, was a native of Ireland, and born 1737. He possessed a fine genius, and enjoyed the advantages of an excellent education. He entered the British army, and fought with Wolfe at the battle of Quebec, in 1759. After his return to England he left his regiment and came to the colony of New York, where he settled. In 1775 he was appointed a general in the northern army, and on the indisposition of general Schuyler received the chief command, and soon reduced fort Chamblee, and took St. John's and Montreal. Uniting with colone Arnold at Quebec, they assaulted that city on the 31st of December, where he fell, in the 39th year of his age. He was an officer of great bravery, judiciousness, and vigor. An elegant monument was erected to his memory by congress, in front of St. Paul's church, New York.

*Morgan, Daniel*, brigadier general in the revolutionary war, was a native of New Jersey, but removed in early life to Virginia. Having neither the advantages of wealth, nor of a good education, he was dependent for his support on hard labor. He commanded a company in the army which general Arnold led through the wilderness to Quebec. In 1781 he fought the famous battle of the Cowpens, in which he defeated the British force under colonel Tarleton. He died in Winchester, Virginia, in 1799.

*Morris, Lewis*, governor of New Jersey, was, for several years, chief justice of New York. He resided most of his life in New Jersey. In 1738 he was appointed the first governor of New Jersey as a separate province from New York. He was a man of letters, and though a little whimsical in his temper, was grave in his manners, and of a most penetrating mind. He died in 1746.

*Morris, Gouverneur*, an eminent political character, was a descendant from the distinguished family of that name, of Morrisania, New York. He was born in 1751, and graduated at the college at New York, in 1768. He was called into public life at an early age, by

being elected a member of the provincial legislature of New York, in 1775. In 1792 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to France, and was afterwards a senator in congress. He died at his seat in Westchester, N. Y., November, 1816, aged sixty-five.

*Nathaniel Morton*

*Fac simile of Nathaniel Morton's signature.*

*Morton, Nathaniel*, secretary of Plymouth colony, was one of its early planters, and for many years employed in the public service. He wrote in 1680 a brief ecclesiastical history of the church at Plymouth, in the records of the church, which is preserved by Hazard; and New England's Memorial, or a brief relation of the most memorable and remarkable passages of the providence of God, manifested to the planters of New England, 4to, 1669. This work, which is confined very much to Plymouth colony, was compiled principally from manuscripts of his uncle, William Bradford, extending from 1620 to 1646, and he had access also to the journals of Edward Winslow. This work has been of great service to succeeding historians.

*Newell, Samuel*, American missionary at Bombay, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1807. He was a member of the first mission sent to the East by the American Board of Foreign Missions, and embarked for Calcutta in 1812. He died at Bombay in 1821. His wife, Mrs. Harriet Newell, celebrated for her devotion to the same cause, died at the Isle of France.

*Occum, Sampson*, an Indian preacher of the Mohegan tribe in Connecticut, embraced Christianity at the age of eighteen, and was educated by the Rev. Dr. Wheelock for the ministry. He was ordained in 1759, and went as missionary to various tribes of Indians, particularly to the Six Nations. In 1766, or 1766, he accompanied the Rev. Mr. Whittaker to London, to solicit donations to Mr. Wheelock's school. About the year 1786 he removed to the neighborhood of Oneida, in New York. For the last years of his life, he resided with the Indians at New Stockbridge. He died, July, 1792, aged sixty-nine years. He wrote an account of the Montank Indians, which is preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

*Osgood, Samuel*, post master general of the United States, was born at Andover, Mass., in 1748, and was educated at Harvard College. He served in various offices, and in 1785 was appointed by congress the first commissioner of the treasury. He was post master general for a number of years, and afterwards supervisor for the state of New York. He became, in 1803, naval officer for the port of New York, and held the place till near the close of his life, in 1812. He was a man of piety and literature, and published several volumes on religious subjects.

*Otis, James*, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was the son of the Hon. James Otis, of Barnstable, Mass. and was graduated at Harvard college, in 1743. He devoted himself to the study of the law and rose to the highest distinction. He was a staunch defender of the rights of the colonies against the partizans of the British ministry. In 1769, he was attacked and severely wounded by some of them. From this time he was subjected to fits of insanity. He survived till 1783, when he was killed by lightning.

*Paine, Robert Treat*, LL. D., one of the signers of the declaration of Independence, was born at Boston in 1731, and was graduated at Harvard college in 1749. He held various public offices, and died in Boston in 1814. He was an eminent lawyer, well versed in literature, and eminently upright. His son of the same name, a poet of some celebrity, was born at Taunton, Mass. in 1773, and graduated at Harvard college with a high reputation for genius. He died in 1811 in impoverished circumstances.

*Parsons, Samuel H.* a general in the revolutionary army, was the son of

the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Newburyport, Mass., and was graduated at Harvard college in 1756. He soon after established himself as a lawyer in Connecticut, and rose to distinction. At the commencement of the revolution he entered the army as a lieutenant colonel. After the close of the war, he was appointed one of the commissioners to form a treaty with the Indians northwest of the Ohio; and, on the establishment of a territorial government over that district, was appointed the first judge. He removed to Marietta, and was drowned near Pittsburg, in November, 1789.

*Parsons, Theophilus*, LL. D., chief justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts, was born at Byfield, in that State, in 1750, and graduated at Harvard college in 1769. After qualifying himself for the bar he settled at Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, but after the destruction of that place by the British, in 1776, he removed to Newburyport, Mass. In 1800, he removed to Boston, and in 1806, was appointed chief justice of the State, and continued in that station till his death in 1813. He is considered by many, as one of the greatest men which this country has produced.

*Patterson, William*, governor of New Jersey, was a native of that State, and was graduated at Princeton, in 1763. His superior talents procured him several important offices, both from his native State and from the United States. In 1790, he was chosen governor of New Jersey; and sometime after was appointed judge of the supreme court of the United States, in which office he continued till his death in 1806.

*Pepperell, Sir William*, lieutenant general in his majesty's service, was born in Maine, (then in the State of Massachusetts,) and was bred a merchant. About 1727, he was chosen one of his majesty's council, and was annually re-elected thirty-two years till his death. He rose to the highest military honors his country could bestow upon him. He was entrusted with the successful expedition against Louisburg, in 1745. The king, in reward of his services, conferred upon him the dignity of a baronet, an honor, never before, nor since, conferred on a native of New England. He died at his seat in Kittery, Maine, 1759, aged sixty-three years.

*Peters, Hugh*, minister of Salem, Mass. was born at Fowey, in Cornwall, in 1599, and was educated at Cambridge. He was licensed by the bishop of London, and preached in that city with great popularity and success. Meeting with some trouble on account of his non-conformity, he went to Holland, and from thence to New England, where he arrived in 1635. He took charge of the church at Salem; but did not however confine his attention to religious concerns, as he took an active interest in mercantile and civil affairs. Being considered as a suitable person to send to England to procure an alteration in the laws of exercise and trade, he was, with Mr. Welde and Mr. Hibbins, sent over by the general court in 1641. He never returned to America. During the civil wars in England, he supported the cause of the parliament, and contributed much aid to it by his preaching. After the restoration of monarchy, he was tried for conspiring with Cromwell and compassing the king's death, and was executed, October 16th, 1660, aged sixty-one years. He was charged by his enemies with great vices; but it is not probable that the charges were well founded.

*Phillips, John*, LL. D. a distinguished friend of learning, was graduated at Harvard college, Mass. in 1735, and for several years held a seat in the council of New Hampshire. In 1778, he, in conjunction with Samuel Phillips, Esq. his brother, founded an academy at Andover, Mass. by liberal endowments, and eleven years after he added to its funds a further bequest of \$20,000. He also, in 1781, founded an academy at Exeter, by a donation of 15,000*l*. and at his death bequeathed the whole of his remaining estate to those institutions.

*Phips, Sir William*, governor of Massachusetts, was born at Peppaquid, in Maine, in 1650, of obscure parents, and was one of the youngest of twenty-six children his mother bore. He followed the seas, and being sent out by the Duke of Albemarle, he recovered

from a Spanish wreck, 300,000 pounds. For this success he was knighted by the king, and appointed high sheriff of New England. In 1690, he captured Port Royal. He died in 1695.

*Pike, Zebulon Montgomery*, a brigadier general of the army of the United States, was born at Lamberton, New Jersey, 1779. In 1805, he was employed to explore the Mississippi. In 1813, he was employed a brigadier general. He was killed in an assault on York, Upper Canada, in April of the same year.

*Preble, Edward*, commodore in the American navy, son of Gen. Preble, was born in Falmouth, now Portland, Maine, in 1761. About the year 1779, he entered the navy as a midshipman. In 1803, he was appointed commodore, with a squadron of seven sail to act against the Barbary states. By his skillful and vigorous exertions, he soon procured a peace from the emperor of Morocco, and repeatedly attacked Tripoli with considerable success. The Pope declared he had done more towards humbling the anti-christian barbarians on that coast, than all the Christian states of Europe had ever done. He died Aug. 1807, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

*Prince, Thomas*, minister in Boston, and a descendant of Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth Colony, was a native of Middleborough. He graduated at Harvard College in 1707, and after studying theology he visited England, and preached at Combs, where he was invited to settle, but he preferred to return to America. He published a valuable Chronological history of New England, and made large collections for a civil and religious history of it in manuscripts and books, many of which unhappily were destroyed during the war of the revolution.

*Israel Putnam*

*Fac simile of Israel Putnam's hand writing.*

*Putnam, Israel*, major general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, the 7th of January, 1718. He

possessed a mind of great vigour, but had not the advantages of a thorough education. In 1739 he removed to Pomfret, Connecticut, and employed himself in agriculture. He there gave an example of the singular courage, which characterized him as a military officer, by descending at the imminent hazard of his life into a cavern, and shooting a wolf which he and his neighbours had driven thither. During the war of 1755 with the French, he commanded a company, and was engaged in several contests with the enemy, in which he displayed the most adventurous bravery, and great skill. Soon after the battle at Lexington he joined the army at Cambridge at the head of a regiment, and was not long after appointed major-general, and signalized himself at the battle of Bunker's Hill. On the arrival of general Washington he was given the command of the reserve. In 1776 he was despatched to New York to complete its fortification begun by general Lee, and afterwards sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. During the winter of 1777 he was stationed with a small body at



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*Reeve, Tapping*, LL. D. chief justice of Connecticut, was born at Brookhaven, Long Island, and graduated at Princeton College in 1763. He established himself as a lawyer in Litchfield, Hon. and soon became one of the most eminent in his profession. He founded the law school, formerly at Litchfield, and for nearly thirty years was the principal instructor in that institution.

*Robinson, John*, minister of the English church in Holland, to which he first settlers of New England belonged, was born in Great Britain in 1575, and educated at Cambridge. In 1602 he became pastor of a dissenting congregation, and in consequence of persecution, went with them to Leyden, in Holland. His talents and reputation were such, that in 1613, he held a public disputation with Episcopius, the successor of Arminius in the University of Leyden. A part of his church emigrated to Plymouth in 1620, and it was his intention to follow them with the remainder, but this was prevented by his sudden death in March, 1625.

*Romeyn, Theodoricus*, D. D., professor of theology in the Reformed Dutch Church, was born at Hackensack, New Jersey, 1744, and was educated at Princeton College. He settled in the ministry in his native town, where he continued till 1784, when he removed to Schenectady, N. Y., where he accepted the care of a church. It was chiefly by his efforts, that Union College was instituted at Schenectady. He died in 1804.

*Schuyler, Peter*, mayor of Albany, New York, and distinguished for his patriotism and popularity with the Indians. In the year 1691, with a party of English and Mohawks, he attacked the French at the north end of lake Champlain, and defeated them. He had great influence with the five Indian nations, and in 1710 went to England with five of their chiefs, for the purpose of exciting the government to expel the French from Canada.

*Schuyler, Philip*, major general in the army of the American revolution, was appointed to that office in 1775. In consequence of the evacuation of Ticonderoga by St. Clair, he unreasonably fell under some suspicion, and was superseded in the chief command by general Gates. He was a member of congress previous to the establishment of the present constitution, and afterwards twice a senator. He died at Albany in 1804, in his seventy-third year. He possessed a mind of great vigor and enterprise, and was characterized by integrity and amiableness.

*Sergeant, John*, missionary among the Indians, was born at Newark, New Jersey, and was graduated at Yale College, where he was afterwards taken as a tutor for four years. In 1734 he went to Stockbridge, in Massachusetts, and began to preach to the Indians at that place, and continued his labors till his death in 1749, in the forty-ninth year of his age. With great labor he translated the whole of the New Testament, excepting the Revelations, into the Indian tongue, and several parts of the Old Testament. The Stockbridge Indians were many years under the care of his son, Rev. John Sergeant, at New Stockbridge, in the state of New York.

*Seabury, Samuel*, D. D., first bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States, was born in Groton, Conn. in 1728, and was graduated at Yale College in 1751. He went to Scotland, and studied theology, and in 1753 obtained orders in London. After returning to America he settled in New London, Connecticut, where his father had preached. In 1784 he went to England to obtain consecration as bishop of that state. Not succeeding in England, he went to Scotland, and was consecrated by three non-juring bishops. Returning to New London, he discharged the duties of his office with ability, till his death in 1796.

*Sedgwick, Theodore*, LL. D., judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts, was born in Hartford, Conn., in 1746, and was educated at Yale College. He first practised law in Great Barrington, then in Sheffield, and in 1785 removed to Stockbridge, all in the same county. He rendered important services in the suppression of Shay's insurrection, in the western counties of Massachusetts. In 1796 he was

chosen a senator of the United States, and also filled various public offices. He died at Boston, January, 1813, from whence his remains were removed to Stockbridge, Mass.

*Sewall, Samuel*, chief justice of the supreme court of Massachusetts, was born in England in 1652, and came with his father to America, in 1661. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1671, was made chief justice in 1718, and died in Jan., 1730. He was distinguished for his learning and piety. He left behind him a diary in three volumes, which embraces about forty years.

*Sewall, Samuel*, LL. D., chief justice of Massachusetts, was born at Boston in 1757, graduated at Harvard College in 1776, and devoted himself to the study of the law, and soon became eminent in this profession. He was elected a member of congress in 1797, and also served in other important offices. He died suddenly at Wiscasset in Maine, June, 1814.

*Shepard, Thomas*, minister of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was born in England in 1605, and was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He entered the ministry, but his puritan principles exposing him to persecution, he came to New England in 1635. The next year he formed and took charge of a church in Cambridge, Mass., where he continued till his death, in 1649, aged forty-four years. He was distinguished for his humility and piety, and as a writer on religious subjects, he was one of the most distinguished men of his times.

*Sherman, Roger*, a senator of the United States, was born at Newton, Mass., in 1724, and by the force of his genius and industry, rose to distinction as a lawyer and statesman, without the advantages of a collegiate education. In 1761 he removed to New Haven, Conn., and was appointed a judge of the superior court, which office he held for twenty-three years. He was a member of congress in 1774, and was one of the committee appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and signed that instrument. This able statesman, upright judge, and sincere Christian, died in 1793.

*Shirley, William*, governor of Massachusetts, was an Englishman by birth, and educated a lawyer. He came to Boston about the year 1733, and employed himself in the profession till 1741, when he was appointed governor. In 1755 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and proceeded to Oswego on an expedition against Niagara, but was the next year superseded by Abercrombie. He was soon after recalled from Massachusetts to England, and appointed governor of the Bahama islands. In 1770 he returned to Massachusetts, and resided at Roxbury till his death the next year. He possessed a strong mind, great firmness, diligence, and address, and rendered many important services to the colony.

*Smalley, John*, D.D. was born at Lebanon Con. 1734, and graduated at Yale College in 1756. He studied theology with Dr. Bellamy, and was ordained pastor of a church in Berlin, Con. in 1758, where he labored with great fidelity and success for nearly sixty years. He was considered an eminent divine; his sermons on Natural and Moral Inability have been repeatedly published in Europe. He died in June 1820.

*Smith, William*, chief justice of New York, was the son of William Smith, an eminent lawyer of new York: he graduated at Yale College in 1745. He was educated a lawyer, and was one of the



first of his time in America. In 1763 he was appointed a judge of the supreme court, and was afterwards chief justice. When the revolution commenced, he adhered to the royal government, and in 1781 was one of Clinton's deputies for receiving acknowledgments of allegiance from the colonists. He was afterwards chief justice of Canada. He published an excellent history of New-York, from its first settlement until 1732, 4to. London, 1757.

*Smith, Samuel*, author of a History of New Jersey, from its settlement to 1721 was a resident of Burlington, New Jersey. His history, which is considered a judicious and faithful compilation, was published in 1765, 8vo. He died at Burlington 1776.

*Myles Standish*

*Fac simile of Myles Standish's hand writing.*

Netherlands, he settled at Leyden, with Mr. Robinson's congregation, and accompanied them to Plymouth in 1620. He was there chosen captain, or chief military commander, and rendered the most important services to the colony, in the wars with the Indians. Many of his exploits were peculiarly daring, and his escapes extraordinary.

*Standish, Myles*, the first military commander of Plymouth, New England, was born at Lancashire, about the year 1584. After having served

some time in the army in the

*John Stark*

*Fac simile of the hand writing of John Stark.*

donderry New Hampshire, born Aug. 1728. He commanded a company of rangers in the French war, and on the opening of the Revolution, was placed at the head of the New Hampshire troops, and rendered important aid at the battle of Bunker's Hill. On the invasion of Burgoyne in 1777, he distinguished himself by his bravery and skill at the battle of Bennington, by defeating Colonel Baum. He died May 9th, 1822, in the ninety fourth year of his age.

*Stiles, Ezra*, president of Yale College, was born at North Haven, Con. 1727, and graduated at Yale in 1746. After being a tutor at this institution, he studied theology, and afterwards law. In 1755 he settled at Newport Rhode Island, as a preacher, and continued there till his congregation was broken up by the Revolutionary war in 1776. In July 1778 he entered upon the duties of the presidency of Yale College, and remained in that station till his death in 1795, in the 68th year of his age. He was one of the most learned men this country has ever produced. He had a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, and made considerable progress in the oriental.

He published a History of the three judges of Charles I., Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell, 12 mo. 1795. He left an unfinished ecclesi-

*John, Stark*, general in the American army of the Revolution was a native of Lon-

astical history of New England, and more than forty volumes of manuscripts.

*Stockton, Richard*, a signer of the declaration of Independence from New Jersey, was graduated at Princeton College in 1748 in the first class, and was for many years a distinguished patron of that Seminary. He devoted himself to the law, and soon rose to unrivalled reputation, refusing to engage in any cause, which he knew to be unjust. He filled various public offices, and was an exemplary christian. He died at Princeton in 1781.

*Stoddard, Solomon*, minister of Northampton, Mass., was born at Boston, in 1643, and graduated at Harvard college in 1662. He was afterwards a fellow of that institution. In 1672 he was settled at Northampton, where he preached with little interruption till his death in 1729. He possessed extensive learning, was particularly familiar with religious controversies, and an acute disputant on such subjects. He obtained for himself great notoriety in the churches of New England by his publications in controversy with Dr. Increase Mather, in which he taught that all baptised persons not scandalous in their lives, might partake of the Lord's Supper, and was the instrument of extensively introducing that custom.

*Stone, Samuel*, one of the first ministers of Hartford, Con., was a native of England, and was educated at the university of Cambridge. To escape persecution he came to this country with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, and was settled as an assistant of the latter at Cambridge, October 11, 1633. He removed with him in 1636 to Hartford, where he died, July 20, 1663. While he was regarded as one of the most accurate and acute disputants of his day, he was also celebrated for his wit, pleasantry, and good humor. Being eminently pious, he abounded in fastings and prayer, and was a most strict observer of the Christian sabbath. He published 'a congregational church is a catholic visible church,' &c. London, 1652. In this work, which is a curious specimen of logic, he endeavors to demolish the system of a national, political church. He left in manuscript a confutation of the antimonians; and a body of divinity. The latter was so much esteemed as to be often transcribed by theological students.

*Sullivan, John*, LL. D. major general in the American revolutionary army, was born at Berwick, Maine, and was of Irish descent. In 1772, having established himself as a lawyer in New Hampshire, he received the commission of major in the militia, and in 1775, was appointed a brigadier general, and during the campaign commanded on Winter Hill. In 1779, he conducted an expedition against the Six Nation Indians in New York, and having defeated them near Seneca lake, laid waste their country. He was president of New Hampshire in 1786, 1787, and 1789. He died at his residence in Durham, Jan. 1795, in the fifty-first year of his age.

*Sullivan, James*, LL. D. governor of Massachusetts, brother of the preceding, was born in 1744, and was educated by his father. He was destined for the military life, but the fracture of a limb in his early years induced him to apply the vigorous powers of his mind to the study of the law. On the approach of the Revolution, he took an active part on the side of his country. Soon after his second election to the office of governor, his health failed him

and he died Dec. 10th, 1808, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Amidst the constant pressure of business he found time for the pursuits of literature and science, and was the author of several works.

*Swift, Zephaniah, LL. D.* chief justice of Connecticut, was graduated at Yale college in 1778, established himself as a lawyer at Windham in that State. He was early elected to a seat in congress, and in 1800, was secretary to Ellsworth, Davie, and Murray, in their mission to France. He published a digest of the laws of Connecticut in 2 vols. on the model of Blackstone, a work of great learning and reputation. He died at Warren, Ohio, Oct. 27th, 1823, in the 65th year of his age.

*Thomas, John*, a major general in the American army, served in the wars against the French and Indians with reputation. In 1775, he was appointed by congress a brigadier general, and during the siege of Boston he commanded a division of the provincial troops at Roxbury. In the following year he was appointed major general, and after the death of Montgomery was entrusted with the command in Canada. He joined the army before Quebec on the first of May, but soon found it necessary to raise the siege and commence his retreat. He died of the small pox at Chamblee, May 30, 1776. On his death the command devolved for a few days on Arnold, and then on general Sullivan. He was a man of sound judgment and fixed courage, who was beloved by his soldiers and amiable in the relations of private life.

*Thompson, Benjamin*, Count Rumford, was born in New Hampshire, became a colonel in the British army, and received the honor of knighthood. He was a lieutenant general in the Bavarian service, and a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and also a member of many scientific societies, and was celebrated for his mechanical inventions and philosophical discoveries. He died near Paris in 1814.

*Thornton, Matthew*, signer of the declaration of American Independence, was a native of Ireland, and came to America at an early age. He first settled in the eastern part of New Hampshire. He held various public offices, and was remarkable for his uncommon powers of mind; his memory was surprisingly tenacious. He died at Newburyport in 1803, aged 88 years.



*Fac simile of Jonathan Trumbull's hand writing.*

*Trumbull, Jonathan*, governor of Connecticut, was born at Lebanon, Ct. in 1710, and graduated at Harvard college in 1727. He at first devoted himself to theology, afterwards turned his attention to law, and became eminent in the profession. He was chosen governor in 1769, and was annually elected till 1783, when he resigned, having been occupied for fifty years without interruption in public employments, and having rendered during eight years war the most important services to his country. He died Aug. 1785. He enjoyed the highest confidence of Washington, and was pronounced by him to be among the first of patriots. His son of the same name was also governor of Connecticut, and held important stations both in the state and national governments and distinguished for his talents and virtues. He was elected in 1798 and continued in his office till his death in 1808, in the seventieth year of his age.

*Truxton, Thomas*, a naval commander, was born on Long Island, N. Y. in 1755. He commanded a vessel as early as 1775, and during the Revolutionary war, annoyed the enemy by his depredations on their commerce. In

1794, he was appointed to the command of the frigate *Constellation*. Being sent to protect the American commerce in the West Indies, he captured the French frigate *L'Insurgente*, though of superior force, Feb. 9th, 1799. In February of the next year, he obtained a victory over the *La Vengeance* of 54 guns and 500 men, though she afterwards escaped him. He died at Philadelphia, May, 1823.

*Vane, Sir Henry*, governor of Massachusetts, was born in England, and educated at Oxford. He then went to Geneva, where he became a republican, and found arguments against the established church. On his return to London, as his non-conformity displeased the bishop, he came to New England in the beginning of 1635. In the next year, though he was only twenty-four years of age, he was chosen governor; but attaching himself to the party of Mrs. Hutchinson, he was in 1637 superseded by governor Winthrop. He soon returned to England, where he joined the party against the king, though he was opposed to the usurpation of Cromwell. After the restoration, he was tried for high treason, and beheaded, June 14, 1662, aged fifty years. Hume, in his history of England, represents his conduct at his execution, in a manner which renders him an object of admiration.

*Ward, Artemas*, the first major-general in the army of the American revolution, was graduated at Harvard College in 1748. He served in the army during the French war. He was chosen a member of congress in 1774, and in 1775 appointed the first major general. He resigned his commission in 1776, and was elected to a seat in congress both before and after the adoption of the present constitution. He was greatly esteemed for his integrity, independence, and fidelity. He died at Shrewsbury in 1800.

*Warren, Joseph*, a major general in the American army, was born in Roxbury, Mass., in 1740, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1759. He studied medicine, and rose to eminence in this profession. He distinguished himself at an early period of the revolution, by a bold and zealous opposition to the arbitrary measures of the British government. Four days previously to the battle of Bunker Hill, he received his commission of major general. He was the first victim of rank that fell in the struggle with Great Britain.

*Warren, Mercy*, was the wife of general James Warren, and daughter of the Hon. James Otis, of Barnstable, Mass. Her connection with these distinguished persons, was the means of leading her into an acquaintance and correspondence with several leading revolutionary characters. The advantages she thus enjoyed, led her to write a "History of the American Revolution," which was published in 3 volumes 8vo, Boston, 1805. She died in Plymouth, October, 1814.

*Wentworth, Benning*, governor of New Hampshire, was a native of that state, and graduated at Harvard College in 1715. He resided at Portsmouth, and employed himself in merchandize. After having a seat both in the house of representatives and in the council, he was, in 1741, when that colony obtained a distinct government, appointed its governor, and held the office nearly twenty years. He was superseded in 1767, and died in 1770, in his seventy-fifth year.

*Wheelock, Eleaser*, D. D., first president of Dartmouth College, was

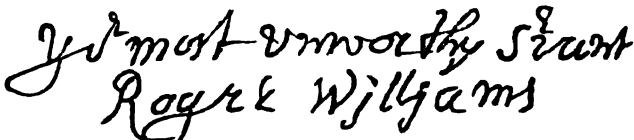
graduated at Yale College, in 1733. He was settled at Lebanon, Conn, where he formed a school for the instruction of Indian youth for missionaries. He removed to Hanover, N. H., and founded Dartmouth College, 1770. He died in 1774, aged sixty-eight.

*Whipple, William*, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a delegate from New Hampshire. In 1777 he was appointed a brigadier general of the troops of that state. He was a member of the executive council, and a judge of the supreme court. He died at Portsmouth, November, 1785.



*Fac simile of Eli Whitney's hand writing.*

*Whitney, Eli*, the celebrated inventor of the cotton gin, was born at Westborough, Mass., December 8th, 1765, and graduated at Yale College in 1792. While pursuing the study of law in Georgia, he resided with the widow of general Greene, and it was at this time that he invented the cotton gin, a machine for separating the seed from the cotton. In 1798 he contracted with the United States to furnish, for \$134,000, ten thousand stand of arms, which he completed in ten years. He next contracted for fifteen thousand stand of arms. He died, January 8th, 1825, aged fifty-nine.



*Fac simile of Roger Williams' hand writing.*

*Williams, Roger*, the founder of Rhode Island, was born in Wales in 1599. After being for some time a minister in the Church of England, his non-conformity induced him to seek religious liberty in America. He died in April, 1683. His memory is deserving of lasting honor, for the liberty of conscience, and generous toleration which he established.

*Williams, Ephraim*, founder of Williams College, Massachusetts, was a native of Newton, in that state. Possessing superior military talents, he was entrusted with the command of the line of the Massachusetts forts on the west side of Connecticut river, during the French war. At this period, he resided chiefly at Hoosic fort, in the limits of the present town of Adams, Mass. In 1755 he received the command of a regiment, and joined Gen. Johnson to the northward of Albany. He was killed in an ambuscade of the enemy on the 8th of September. He gave his property for the establishment of a free school in the town now called Williamstown, on condition that it should bear that name.

*Williams, Samuel*, LL. D. professor in Harvard College, was born at Waltham, Massachusetts, and graduated at Harvard college in 1761. He was ordained minister of Bradford, November 20th, 1765, where he continued until his appointment as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. After holding that office from 1780 to 1788, he resigned and removed to Rutland, Vermont, where he resided during the remainder of his life. He was a fellow of the Amer-

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was the son of the pre-  
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of persons to build a fort at Shaybrook. He was chosen governor in 1657 and again in 1659, and from that period he was annually re-elected till his death. In 1661 he went to England and procured a charter, incorporating Connecticut and New Haven into one colony. He died at Boston, April 5, 1676, in the seventy first year of his age. He possessed a rich variety of knowledge, and was particularly skilled in chemistry and physic. His valuable qualities as a gentleman, a Christian, a philosopher, and a magistrate, secured to him universal respect. He published some valuable communications in the philosophical transactions.

*Witherspoon, John*, D. D. LL. D. president of the college at New Jersey, was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1722, and was lineally descended from John Knox. He was educated at Edinburgh, and became one of the most distinguished of Scotch preachers. He was invited to remove to several distinguished cities in Europe, but at length accepted the presidency of the college at Princeton, New Jersey, and came with his family to this place in 1768. The Revolutionary war dispersing the students, he was called to engage in civil employments. In 1776, he was appointed a member of congress, and retained a seat in that body till the end of the war. He was a signer of the declaration of Independence. He died in 1794 in the seventy-third year of his age. His works were published in 4 vols. with an account of his life by Dr. Rogers.

*Wolcott, Roger*, governor of Connecticut, was born at Windsor, Con. in 1679, was bred a weaver, and rose to distinction without even the advantages of a common school education, during his early years. He was commissary of the Connecticut forces in the expedition against Canada in 1711. At the capture of Louisburg in 1745, he bore the commission of major general. He died in 1767 in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He had some poetical talent and wrote several pieces, the chief of which is preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Hist. Soc. It describes with considerable minuteness the Pequot war.

*Wolcott, Oliver*, LL. D. son of the preceding, a signer of the declaration of Independence, and governor of Connecticut, was born at East Windsor, Con. Dec. 1725. He was graduated at Yale college in 1747, and the next year commanded a company of soldiers in the French war. Retiring from the military service, he studied physic. In 1751, he was appointed sheriff of Litchfield county, Con. and in 1774 a representative in congress. He was chosen governor in 1796, and died the next year in the seventy-second year of his age. His son *Oliver Wolcott* was born in 1760. In 1794, he succeeded Gen. Hamilton as secretary of the treasury. In 1817, he was elected governor of Connecticut, which office he held till 1827. He died in New York in June, 1833, being the last survivor of the administration of Washington.

*Wooster, David*, major general in the Revolutionary war, was born at Stratford in 1711, and was graduated at Yale college in 1738. At the commencement of the war with Great Britain he was appointed to the chief command of the troops in the service of Connecticut, and made a brigadier general in the continental service; but this commission he afterwards resigned. In 1776 he was appointed the first major general of the militia of his native State. While opposing a detachment of British troops, whose object was to



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ealth, and became gov-  
he was chosen governor  
to the college then re-  
nd 1721, amounting in all  
which, the college bears











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